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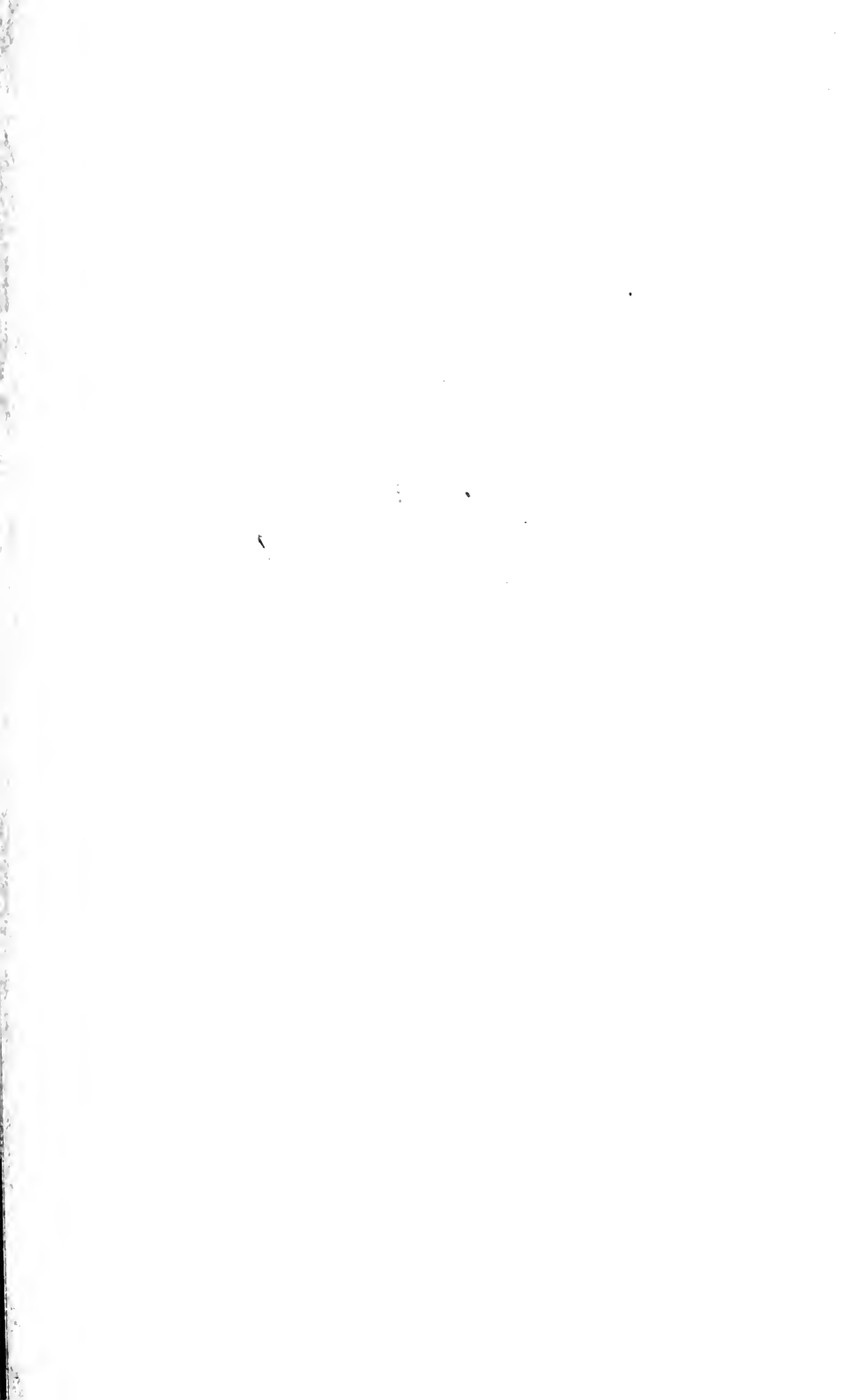
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# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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## HEARINGS BEFORE A SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION ON **H. Res. 282**

TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THAT IS INSTIGATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AS GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL OTHER QUESTIONS IN RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID CONGRESS IN ANY NECESSARY REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

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### VOLUME 9

SEPTEMBER 28, 29, 30, AND OCTOBER 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, AND 14, 1939  
AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

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Printed for the use of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities





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SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Dies, Mason, and Voorhis.

Also present: Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee, and J. B. Matthews, director of research for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. In view of the absence of most of the members of the committee, the Chair, under the authority vested in him, declares a meeting of a subcommittee, with himself as chairman, and with Mr. Voorhis and Mr. Mason present, until we can have a full committee present.

## TESTIMONY OF EMIL REVYUK, ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF SVOBODA

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Revyuk, you will have to speak distinctly, because there will be difficulty in understanding your testimony. Speak slowly and distinctly, and loud enough so we can hear your statement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I also suggest that the witness not answer questions too quickly before we have a chance to spell out names for the reporter. State your full name.

Mr. REVYUK. Emil Revyuk.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. REVYUK. I was born in what was then Austria.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is it now?

Mr. REVYUK. It is under Soviet Russian occupation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your present address?

Mr. REVYUK. 6142 Seventy-eighth Street, Elmhurst, Long Island.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your business address?

Mr. REVYUK. 83 Grand Street, Jersey City, N. J.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your occupation?

Mr. REVYUK. I am associate editor of Svoboda.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is Svoboda?

Mr. REVYUK. It is the Ukrainian daily, published at the Jersey City address I gave.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you occupy any official position in any movement of the Ukrainian people in the United States?

Mr. REVYUK. I am president of the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are by virtue of your own descent and occupation as associate editor of *Svoboda*, a Ukrainian newspaper, acquainted with the Ukrainian population of the United States and its movements, are you not?

Mr. REVYUK. I am, and I have been connected with the movement for many years. I am not only the associate editor but also the manager of that paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been in the United States?

Mr. REVYUK. I came in 1917.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. REVYUK. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When were you naturalized?

Mr. REVYUK. In 1922.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you naturalized?

Mr. REVYUK. In the county of New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please sketch briefly the nature and purposes of the Ukraine organization in the United States known as *Hetman*?

Mr. REVYUK. It is difficult for me to say much about that, because I am not a member of that organization. I never was a member of that organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a great deal about it from your acquaintance with the Ukrainian movement in the United States?

Mr. REVYUK. It came into much public notice in the newspapers as an organization, when as important an organization as the United Ukraine Organizations in the United States came in conflict with that organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you read any of its literature?

Mr. REVYUK. Some of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have matters concerning that organization appeared in your own newspaper from time to time?

Mr. REVYUK. No, sir. We have mentioned them and wrote about them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From your knowledge of that organization as an outsider, what would you say is its purpose?

Mr. REVYUK. I know the purpose which they proclaim. They proclaim to be an organization for the establishment of a Ukrainian nation under a monarchistic order, the monarchy to be hereditary and the monarchy to be the family of General Skoropadsky.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The organization, you would say, is proclaiming itself to be a monarchistic organization?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For the purpose of establishing on the throne of a reborn Ukrainian state a monarchy under the family of General Skoropadsky?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand that this organization exists here in the United States?

Mr. REVYUK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it have branches in other countries throughout the world?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir; it is connected with a central organization in Germany—in Berlin.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any idea what the membership is here in the United States?

Mr. REYUK. I have no idea about that.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no way of formulating an opinion on that?

Mr. REYUK. It is very small—not more than 1,000 people in the whole United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, will you please sketch briefly, either as an insider or outsider, the Ukrainian organization known as the Odwu? First, I will ask if you are a member of that organization.

Mr. REYUK. I never was and am not a member now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has there been any special reason why you did not want to join the Odwu?

Mr. REYUK. First, it was an organization in competition with the organization of which I am president, the Ukrainian United Organizations of the United States; second, from what I have heard about that organization, it was contrary to my opinions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What particular things were contrary to your opinions?

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see about that. Is this hearsay or based on just what you have heard?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you hear it—from members of the organization?

Mr. REYUK. Some I heard from people in whom I have some confidence. For instance, a classmate of mine, with whom—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Can you not develop that, Mr. Matthews, without having hearsay statements against the organization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The witness, I believe, has had personal experience with the organization, and has acquainted himself thoroughly with its literature. He has even associated professionally with some of the leaders of the organization. Is that correct?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir; I met some of the leaders.

The CHAIRMAN. You have talked with some of the leaders?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you had close contact with some of the leaders?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the editor of the paper of which you are the associate editor?

Mr. REYUK. The editing chief is Dr. Luke Myshuha.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Myshuha is editor in chief of Svoboda?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The paper of which you are the manager and associate editor?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Dr. Myshuha associated with the organization known as Odwu?

Mr. REYUK. I do not know that he is a member. I do not know that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You see a great deal of him, do you not?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you had considerable correspondence with him, both in this country and abroad?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does any reference to Odwu appear in that correspondence, or did it appear in your conversations with him?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would not those references lead you to believe that he is a member of or closely associated with that organization?

Mr. REVYUK. I cannot say whether he is a member.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Approximately what is the population of the Ukrainian people in the United States?

Mr. REVYUK. It is quite difficult to say, but a man by the name of Halych, who made a study of it as a thesis at the Chicago University, says that it is approximately about 800,000.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the first generation?

Mr. REVYUK. Of the first and second generations in the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Coming back to the organization known as the Odwu, the word Odwu is the initials of a Ukrainian word?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes; they are the first letters of a name which means an organization for the national reconstruction of the Ukraine. They call it an organization for the reconstruction or the rebirth of the Ukraine.

Mr. MATTHEWS. An organization for the rebirth of the Ukraine?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who is the president of the organization for the rebirth of the Ukraine?

Mr. REVYUK. I know him personally. He is Prof. Alexander Granowsky.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where is Dr. Granowsky employed as a professor?

Mr. REVYUK. He is a professor at the State University of Minnesota.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know him personally?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have that contact with the organization?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the secretary of the Odwu?

Mr. REVYUK. That I do not know for sure, but my impression is that Mr. Rizuyk is the secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. On what do you base your statement that he is the secretary? We do not want you to make statements on the basis of hearsay or rumors.

Mr. REVYUK. I saw letters that came from the organization, and I remember that name signed to them.

The CHAIRMAN. It is your impression that they were signed by him as secretary?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will ask the witness to identify a copy of a Ukrainian Press Service. Are these copies of Ukrainian Press Service reports?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir; they are releases of the Ukrainian Press Service, Forty-second Street, New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As an editor, do you receive this press service?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know from the press releases that Mr. Rizuyk is secretary of the Odwu?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that Professor Granowsky is president of the organization?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it your understanding, from your acquaintance with the Ukrainian movement in this country, that the Hetman organization and the Odwu are appealing to the Ukrainian population in this country to support their purposes?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir; they are.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And they have, at least, a potential following, you might say, of 800,000 Ukrainian people in the United States?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by "potential"? Do you mean that there are seven or eight thousand members?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the group to which these organizations make their special appeals.

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Their objectives are similar in that both aim at the national reconstruction of the Ukrainian state?

Mr. REYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know what the membership of the Odwu is?

Mr. REYUK. I have no way of finding out, but I can give it approximately.

The CHAIRMAN. How can you approximate it, if you do not know?

Mr. REYUK. By observing the people, or by observing how many people come to their meetings and conventions.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen them?

Mr. REYUK. Not lately in conventions, but I have heard of them.

The CHAIRMAN. It seems to me that is farfetched. You are basing an opinion on something that you do not know about, and we do not want to have that kind of testimony. Do you know whether it is a large membership or a small membership?

Mr. REYUK. I think it is a small membership.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From your acquaintance with members of the Odwu and your knowledge of its literature and published statements, do you have any information concerning its purposes? You have stated that it is for the national reconstruction of a Ukrainian state. What would you say was its present ideology?

Mr. REYUK. Its present ideology is somewhat different from what it was some time ago. At the convention in 1938 they proclaimed themselves to stand for authoritarianism.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or totalitarianism?

Mr. REYUK. Authoritarianism.

The CHAIRMAN. In their convention, they announced that was one of their objectives?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir. They said they would like to reconstruct the Ukraine state on the basis of authoritarianism.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever in their resolutions use the phrase "fuhrership," describing it as one of their objectives?

Mr. REVYUK. They might have put it that way. They used the Ukrainian word for that.

The CHAIRMAN. The Ukrainian word which means the same thing as leadership or "fuhrership"?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the enunciation of those principles have anything to do with your own disinclination to associate yourself with the Odwu organization?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you believe in the democratic system of Government as set out in the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. REVYUK. I do believe in that, and my statements for those principles were made in the organization and in the writings I did in the Ukrainian Press.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You stated a moment ago that there had been some change in the ideological position of the Odwu organization since its inception. When was the Odwu organization set up in the United States?

Mr. REVYUK. It was set up around 1930, roughly.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time, did it have, to your knowledge, a political ideology?

Mr. REVYUK. At that time, it was more of a revolutionary organization, or, rather, an American organization to support a revolutionary movement for a reconstructed Ukrainian state.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you speak of the reconstruction of the Ukrainian nation, do you mean the territory presently occupied by several European powers in which Ukrainian people live?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir. It was territory taken from Austria by Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania. At the present time it is divided among three powers—Soviet Russia, Rumania, and Hungary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, the Odwu's original aim was to do that by a revolutionary process for the reconstruction of a Ukrainian state, but it did not have any particular political ideology?

Mr. REVYUK. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Since its inception, however, you have noted from published statements and literature that it has adopted what you described as the authoritarian philosophy?

Mr. REVYUK. It has gradually drifted in that direction.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know from your acquaintance with the leaders of the Odwu, or from correspondence, or from published statements in the Ukrainian press in this country, whether, or not, there is an international organization with which the Odwu is connected?

Mr. REVYUK. The Odwu was always claiming to be a member of an international movement, which has branches in various countries in Europe and in America.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the name of the international organization with which the Odwu is connected?

Mr. REVYUK. The name of that organization is the Organization of Ukraine Nationalists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They use an abbreviation?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes; Oun.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where the international headquarters of the Oun are?

Mr. REYUK. That I cannot state from my first-hand knowledge, but I saw letters from the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you have seen letters?

Mr. REYUK. Those letters were posted from the headquarters, so-called.

The CHAIRMAN. The letters were posted from headquarters?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir; they said from headquarters.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were they posted?

Mr. REYUK. They were posted in Austria and Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From what cities, or do you recall?

Mr. REYUK. From Vienna and Berlin.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From Vienna and also from Berlin?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the organization known as the Provid?

Mr. REYUK. It means the leadership of the organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where the Provid is located?

Mr. REYUK. I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you seen any correspondence or statements with reference to the Provid?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir; I saw correspondence which I described a moment ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Coming from Germany?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir; from Vienna and Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This international organization is known as the leadership or the executive committee. That is known as the Provid?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the headquarters, to your knowledge, having seen correspondence, are in Germany at the present time?

Mr. REYUK. That is what I have to infer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have seen correspondence sent to it from this side?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you know about any money raised in the United States in support of the Oun?

Mr. REYUK. The organization of the Ukraine International issues appeals to Americans of Ukrainian descent to support them by their contributions, and that money is usually sent to my organization, the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States, so we may transmit the money to the addresses indicated by them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What addresses have they indicated?

Mr. REYUK. I remember some of them. One indicated the address of a man—I think it was Sedyma in Danzig, which was then a free city.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you transmit the funds to Danzig?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From you personally?

Mr. REYUK. From the organization, the United Ukrainian Organizations. Then, so far as I remember, money was also sent to Mr. Lachovich in London. Then it was sent to Mr. Selesko, in Amsterdam, Holland. Those are the addresses, I remember.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is Mr. Lachovich?

Mr. REYVUK. Mr. Lachovitch at the present time is one of the associate editors of Svoboda.

Mr. MATTHEWS. One of your colleagues on the newspaper?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. About how much money did you transmit in any single year to those individuals on behalf of the Odwu organization?

Mr. REYVUK. In various years various sums. Last year it was about \$20,000.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever transmitted to them more than that in any single year?

Mr. REYVUK. I do not think so. I do not remember.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Altogether, you have some idea of how much money you have transmitted to those agents abroad within the past few years?

Mr. REYVUK. I have no idea.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How much in the past 12 months?

Mr. REYVUK. In the past 12 months, about \$20,000.

The CHAIRMAN. For how many years have they been transmitting those funds?

Mr. REYVUK. We have transmitted them since we came into existence in 1923, before this organization started, and when they came into being.

The CHAIRMAN. That was what year?

Mr. REYVUK. About 1930.

Mr. VOORHIS. As I understand it, appeals for funds would go out from the Odwu. They were the people who asked for the money, but when they asked for it, they told the people to send it to you?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you sent it. Who told you where you were to send it? How did you find out where to send it?

Mr. REYVUK. Usually the organization, the Odwu, told us to whom to send it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Why did the people want the money sent through you?

Mr. REYVUK. Because we have been established for some time. We were known as being very honest transmitters of funds.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you believe that they think they would have a better chance of collecting the money if it is sent through you?

Mr. REYVUK. Perhaps that would be.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You stated that you had sent approximately \$20,000 during the past 12 months. Do you mean that you sent \$20,000 for political agitation in Europe?

Mr. REYVUK. It was sent to Provid for political purposes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you transmitted any money for any other purpose than political agitation to any agencies abroad?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How much?

Mr. REYVUK. In the last year we have—I cannot say exactly, but we have sent perhaps as much as this sum for other purposes, such as the support of war veterans of Ukrainian descent in Poland, for the support of private Ukrainian schools in Poland, for hospitals, and for some churches. Some of the money went for the support of people who were in the Carpathian Ukraine after it was occupied; \$1,000 or more was spent for a club for youth by the name of the George Washington Home, in Hirst.



Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you mean that you transmitted \$20,000 or more for those purposes?

Mr. REYUK. Yes; that and for other purposes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So you transmitted from \$45,000 to \$50,000, in addition, in the 12-month period for all purposes?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like, if I may, to interject here to say that my attention has been called to a story published in the Herald this morning, signed by Eugene Warren, who undertook to interview me yesterday. When I refused to give any statement other than I had previously given, much to my surprise, he has attributed to me a statement for which he had no authority whatever. I want that statement to appear in the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you identify the name of the official publication of the Odwu?

Mr. REYUK. The name of the official publication at first was the Vishnyk. That is the official publication of the Odwu.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Which means——

Mr. REYUK. Message of the Odwu. Later it was the Nationalist. Since the last convention, which was held in 1939, it is the Ukrainian.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Ukrainian is the present name?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir. They have also another publication, the Trident, which is a monthly publication.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is a monthly magazine?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the editor of the Ukrainian?

Mr. REYUK. The editor of the Ukrainian is Vladimir Dushnyk.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether he has any other occupation?

Mr. REYUK. I think he is a student in the Columbia University.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know that?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Mr. Dushnyk an American citizen?

Mr. REYUK. That I do not know, but I think he is not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did he come to the United States?

Mr. REYUK. He came to the United States at the end of 1934 or the beginning of 1935.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen any articles from Dushnyk in his publication?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall an article in which he said that he had ever been arrested in Belgium? Do you recall such an article?

Mr. REYUK. No, sir. I recall only that the Congress of Ukrainian Youth League of Newark, N. J., in one of the addresses at the convention stated that Mr. Dushnyk, under his own name, in his own publication, stated that he had some trouble in Belgium.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the trouble?

Mr. REYUK. I think he was suspected and arrested as being a German spy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a copy of the Svoboda.

Mr. REYUK. That is the paper of which I am the associate editor and manager.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, on this page is a statement signed by Mr. Vladimir Dushnyk.

Mr. REYUK. There is here an article entitled "Current Immigration in Belgium." \*

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does it say here he was arrested as a German spy in Belgium?

Mr. REYUK. He says the police have arrested two students, Dushnyk and Protzyshyn.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As German spies?

Mr. REYUK. Yes; they say as agents of Hitler.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the connection there?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Dushnyk is the editor of the official organ of Odwn, and that organ is known as—

The CHAIRMAN. Is that published in the United States?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; it is published in the United States.

Mr. REYUK. In New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Mr. Revyuk's own paper there is an article over—is this an article by Mr. Dushnyk?

Mr. REYUK. Yes; there is the name, Vladimir Dushnyk, signed to the article.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In which he himself states he was arrested in Belgium as an agent of Hitler.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the head of the newspaper for this organization, the Odwn.

Mr. REYUK. That is the post he held.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the official paper of the organization?

Mr. REYUK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And over his own signature he admits he was arrested in Belgium as an agent of Hitler?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. Revyuk, will you please tell us again who the editor of your own paper is?

Mr. REYUK. The editor in chief is Dr. Luke Myshuha.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Mr. Lachovitch is an associate editor?

Mr. REYUK. Mr. Lachovitch is an associate editor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On the paper with you. And he is an official of the Odwn organization, Mr. Revyuk.

Mr. REYUK. I do not think that he is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether he ever was or not?

Mr. REYUK. Some time ago, some 3 years ago, when he came from Europe he was referred to as an officer.

The CHAIRMAN. How was he referred to? Let us not have any testimony that will hurt somebody.

Mr. REYUK. Everybody in the office called him that. So the members of the Odwn call him that, too.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard it?

Mr. REYUK. I heard them say it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As a liaison officer between Odwn in this country and Provid in Germany. Is that it?

Mr. REYUK. I do not know whether he was referred to as liaison officer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have identified copies of the Ukrainian press service in the United States. At this time we will have a copy of the paper you have just referred to marked as an exhibit.

(The copy of the paper referred to was marked "Revyuk Exhibit No. 1.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you some press releases in the Ukrainian language. [Showing paper to witness.]

Mr. REYUK. That is correct.

(The press releases referred to were marked "Revyuk Exhibits Nos. 2 to 6, inclusive.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are these services received by the Ukrainian press in the United States?

Mr. REYUK. They are.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do they emanate from abroad?

Mr. REYUK. It says this is the Ukrainian press service, Ukrainian edition, from Germany—Berlin.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the date line is Berlin?

Mr. REYUK. There are also some in German.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And also some in French.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you describe what that is?

Mr. MATTHEWS. These are press releases of the Ukrainian press service in Germany, received by the Ukrainian press in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Sent from where?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Sent from Berlin.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are press releases they sent to Ukrainian newspapers in this country?

Mr. REYUK. To Ukrainian newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. All Ukrainian newspapers?

Mr. REYUK. All Ukrainian newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Ukrainian newspapers do you have in this country?

Mr. REYUK. About 10.

The CHAIRMAN. These press releases come regularly to all Ukrainian newspapers?

Mr. REYUK. Perhaps they eliminate those whom they know surely would not publish them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do some of the papers use the material in those press releases?

Mr. REYUK. Yes; some of them use it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revyuk, will you please translate the caption from this press release?

Mr. REYUK. The caption is "Hitler," and then it says "sympathizes with the Slovaks, Poles, Magyars, and Ukrainians."

The CHAIRMAN. That is a direct quotation from Hitler, supposedly?

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is sent by the Ukrainian press service in Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. To the 10 Ukrainian newspapers in this country?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And those 10 newspapers are pretty generally read by Ukrainians in the United States. Does that press service come from Germany?

Mr. REYUK. It is dated here Berlin.

The CHAIRMAN. That is where it always comes from?

Mr. REYUK. Some of them, I think, come from other places. There is a French one, from a different bureau, which comes from Paris.

The CHAIRMAN. Does this Provid organization have charge of that?

Mr. REVYUK. That I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are there branches of the Ukrainian Press Service in the United States, Mr. Revyuk?

Mr. REVYUK. I do not know if this is a branch, but—

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many bureaus are there in the United States?

Mr. REVYUK. There is one in New York, on Forty-second Street, and another one in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see if we have an understanding about the releases he has testified about. One is from the Odwu. What is the other one?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Hetman.

The CHAIRMAN. Both of those organizations are in the United States, and the membership is composed entirely of people of Ukrainian descent, of the first and second generations. They are part of an international organization which has headquarters in Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And money has been sent by members of these organizations to representatives of the international organization abroad?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was through Mr. Revyuk.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to that, these organizations have gone on record in favor of some form of authoritarian government?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to that, the Ukrainian newspapers have a regular service from Berlin. Do they pay for that service, or is it free?

Mr. REVYUK. They receive it free. May I correct one thing?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; if your statement is not accurate.

Mr. REVYUK. The Hetman organization was the so-called Sich organization, which means fortress, which organization used to belong to the United Ukrainian organization, but about 1925 or 1926 that organization left our organization because of the differences, we wanted to remain a democratic organization and they wanted us to become a monarchistic organization, and they left us and never sent money to us.

The CHAIRMAN. Your judgment is there are about a thousand members of that organization?

Mr. REVYUK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the Odwu bigger than the Hetman?

Mr. REVYUK. It is somewhat bigger.

The CHAIRMAN. Do both of them work together now?

Mr. REVYUK. They are at daggers drawn.

The CHAIRMAN. One is for the restoration of the old monarchy?

Mr. REVYUK. No; that is the Ukrainian monarchy.

The CHAIRMAN. And the other is for some dictatorship?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Hetman organization work in sympathy with the Nazis; do they have any sympathetic feeling for the Nazis?

Mr. REVYUK. They have.

The CHAIRMAN. Both of them are international organizations, are they, or just the Odwu?

Mr. REVYUK. The Hetman organization has also sympathizers in other nations in Europe, and in America.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know where their international office is?

Mr. REVYUK. Their office is in Berlin.

The CHAIRMAN. Then both organizations have their headquarters in Germany?

Mr. REVYUK. That is right, so far as I can infer.

Mr. VOORHIS. What kind of a position are these people in right now, I mean these organizations seeking Ukrainian independence, which are located in Germany, dependent upon Hitler's support? How can they expect to get that in view of his agreement with Russia? Has not that been a confusing thing?

Mr. REVYUK. It was a terrific blow to both of them.

Mr. VOORHIS. What do they think about it?

Mr. REVYUK. I have had no chance to evaluate that. I do not think they have had a chance to formulate their thought about it.

Mr. VOORHIS. They are just bewildered, and they do not know what to think about it.

Mr. REVYUK. No; they do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the head of the Provid, Mr. Revyuk?

Mr. REVYUK. The head of the Provid is now Col. Andrew Melnyk.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long has he been head of Provid?

Mr. REVYUK. He was proclaimed head of Provid in 1938, after the death of the first leader, Colonel Konovaletz.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How did Colonel Konovaletz die?

Mr. REVYUK. He was assassinated in May 1938 in Rotterdam, Holland.

Mr. MATTHEWS. After his assassination Col. Andrew Melnyk was proclaimed leader of the Provid?

Mr. REVYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Colonel Melnyk purport to speak for all of the Ukrainians in the United States? Have you known of occasions on which Colonel Melnyk purported to speak for all the Ukrainians in the United States?

Mr. REVYUK. I do not know of any such occasion.

The CHAIRMAN. Do not say anything that you do not absolutely know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does he purport to speak for the nationalists among the Ukrainians in the United States?

Mr. REVYUK. The nationalists refer to him as the leader of the nationalist movement, and also occasionally as leader of the entire Ukrainian nation, but I never heard him say anything, because I do not know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever had any reason, from other reliable information, to think that he claims to speak for all of the Ukrainians in this country?

Let me ask you another question: Do you know Mr. Baranowsky?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes; I know him. He is also one of the leaders, I think, of the Provid, one of the members of Provid. I saw letters signed by him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where is he from, Mr. Baranowsky?

Mr. REVYUK. At present he must be probably in Germany.

MR. MATTHEWS. I show you a document, and ask you to identify, first, this envelope [handing envelope to witness]. Is this envelope addressed to you?

MR. REVYUK. Yes; it is addressed to me.

MR. MATTHEWS. What is the postmark on the envelope?

MR. REVYUK. The postmark is Vienna.

MR. MATTHEWS. What is the date?

MR. REVYUK. The date is October 17, 1938.

MR. MATTHEWS. Is this the document which came to you in that envelope [handing document to witness]?

MR. REVYUK. I think it is.

MR. MATTHEWS. I will ask you to follow that while I read a translation, and I will ask you if the translation is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You received this about what time?

MR. MATTHEWS. It is postmarked "October 17, 1938."

The CHAIRMAN. Is it postmarked Vienna?

MR. MATTHEWS. This letter is addressed to him, enclosing a communication written in the Ukrainian language.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it sent to him in any official capacity?

MR. REVYUK. It says only "Mr. Revyuk ST. 81-83 Grand Street, Jersey City, New Jersey."

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead and read the translation.

MR. MATTHEWS. The translation reads as follows:

#### COMMUNIQUE

We do hereby bring to the notice of all the Nationalists the following resolution of the Inner Provid of the Ukrainian Nationalists:

1. In accordance with the will of the late Fuehrer Eugene Konovaletz, the Inner Provid of the Ukrainian Nationalists proclaims Col. Andrew Melnyk head of the Provid of the Ukrainian Nationalists and the fuehrer of the nationalist movement.

2. From today on Col. Andrew Melnyk takes into his hands the Provid of the OUN, UVO (Ukrainian Military Organization), and all the organized branches of the nationalist movement.

3. The head of the Ukrainian Nationalists, Col. Andrew Melnyk, convokes and presides over the second executive (inner) session of the Ukrainian Nationalists instituted by the late Fuehrer Eugene Konovaletz.

Glory to the Ukraine! Heil, Fuehrer!

For the Provid of the Ukrainian Nationalists,

JAROSLAV BARANOWSKY,  
*Secretary.*

HEADQUARTERS, Oct. 17, 1938.

MR. MATTHEWS. Is that a correct translation of the document you have before you?

MR. REVYUK. That is correct, as to the translation of this document, perhaps with one exception, which is wrong, written in English. It says, not "the late Fuehrer," but it says "of glorious memory."

The CHAIRMAN. With that exception, the translation is correct?

MR. REVYUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What does it refer to when it speaks of the Ukrainian military organization, the UVO?

MR. REVYUK. The UVO was the predecessor of this Ukrainian organization and the Ukrainian Nationalists.

The CHAIRMAN. It is no longer in existence?

MR. REVYUK. Evidently it was dissolved and absorbed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that that envelope and the translation be marked as exhibits.

(The envelope, letter, and translation referred to were marked "Revyuk Exhibit No. 7," "Revyuk Exhibit No. 8," and "Revyuk Exhibit No. 9," respectively.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a copy of the Nationalist [handing paper to witness]. What is the Nationalist?

Mr. REYUK. It says here it is the official organ of the Ukrainian Organization of Nationalists in America.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the Odwu?

Mr. REYUK. That is published by Odwu.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the official organ of Odwu?

The CHAIRMAN. Where is that published?

Mr. REYUK. In New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read a translation of the headline and ask you if that is correct:

Long live Hitler of the Ukraine, Colonel Andrew Melnyk.

Is that a correct translation?

Mr. REYUK. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this a photograph of Col. Andrew Melnyk [indicating picture in the Nationalist]?

Mr. REYUK. That is what it is supposed to be. It says here:

The Fuehrer of the Ukrainian Nationalists, Colonel Andrew Melnyk.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this a public notice of the document which you received announcing that Col. Andrew Melnyk is the Fuehrer of the Ukrainian Nationalists? Is that the substance of this article?

Mr. REYUK. The word is the same here.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it would appear that the newspaper got the same communication, and that this publication was based upon the information contained in this official notice.

Mr. REYUK. The first paragraph is omitted; the second paragraph also was omitted.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that that paper be marked as an exhibit.

(The newspaper referred to was marked "Revyuk Exhibit No. 10.")

Mr. REYUK. It also says:

We inclose herewith for your knowledge a communique of the Provid of the organization of Ukrainian Nationals. Glory to the Ukraine. Reporter of liaison.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that also in the envelope?

Mr. REYUK. That was in the same envelope.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have identified Mr. Baranowsky as the name of the man who sent you that communique from Germany. It is your understanding that Mr. Baranowsky is one of the leaders of the inner circle of this movement, the Oun?

Mr. REYUK. That is my understanding.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that Colonel Melnyk is the fuehrer for the entire organization throughout the world?

Mr. REYUK. That is my understanding, too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In that communication I think it should be especially noted that all of the branches, including the branches in the United States are declared to be subject to the directions of Colonel Melnyk.

Mr. REVYUK. That is a logical inference.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A clear statement in the communication.

Mr. REVYUK. A clear statement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you knowledge of Mr. Baranowsky's coming to this country? Did I understand you to say that a moment ago?

Mr. REVYUK. He came to this country last year for the convention of the Odwn.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where was that convention held?

Mr. REVYUK. It was held in July 1938, in Newark, N. J.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there a demonstration of the convention held in New York City?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes; after that there was a demonstration held in the Hippodrome Hall, New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Mr. Baranowsky address that convention, or that demonstration?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes; he did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he make reference to Colonel Konovaletz as the fuehrer of the entire Ukrainian race, in the course of that address?

Mr. REVYUK. I would have to refresh my memory; I was not there.

The CHAIRMAN. If you were not there, obviously you could not testify to what he said, unless you have a record of his speech. Do you have a record of his speech anywhere?

Mr. REVYUK. There was a record of that speech later on.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know from press reports how many persons attended the meeting at the Hippodrome in New York?

Mr. REVYUK. About 4,000 people.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any knowledge through press reports or through conversations of the fact that the Nazi salute was given at that mass meeting at the Hippodrome?

Mr. REVYUK. People told me that there was indignation that the Fascist salute was given at that meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. It seems to me we had testimony last year that these organizations meet with the bund, that there is a direct tie-up between the Hetman organization, where members met with the bund. Do you know anything about that? Do they work with Fritz Kuhn and the bund?

Mr. REVYUK. I have no knowledge of such facts. I know I heard that the Hetman organization worked with the bund in Chicago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to ask Mr. Revyuk if he not only heard from persons in conversation that the Nazi salute was given at this Hippodrome mass meeting, but also that it was published in the Ukraine papers that that was done?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes; there was a great deal of controversy about this, and the management of that meeting was attacked in the Ukraine press for permitting such a demonstration.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it correct that this man Baranowsky who came from Europe was appointed a member of the nominating committee of the national convention of the Odwn, held in Newark, N. J. Do you know whether that is true? Did you read such a statement?

Mr. REVYUK. I read the statement in the paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the Nationalist?

Mr. REVYUK. In the Nationalist; yes.



Mr. MATTHEWS. Did it strike you as extraordinary and improper that one coming from Germany representing Provid should sit on the nominating committee for this American organization?

Mr. REVYUK. Well, it is extraordinary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yet that was a matter of some controversy, you say?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes; people naturally discussed it; that is how I remember it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it generally understood among Ukrainians that Mr. Baranowsky brought considerable influence to bear upon that nominating committee by virtue of the fact that he was also a member of Provid?

Mr. REVYUK. That is how people generally reasoned about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever heard the name of Capt. Riko Yary?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes; there is such a man who lives in Germany and belongs among the leaders of the inner circle, the inner circle of the leaders, the organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of Provid in Germany?

Mr. REVYUK. Of Provid.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it generally understood, to your knowledge, that Captain Yary is a member of Provid?

Mr. REVYUK. That is the general understanding.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is there any information you have, or understanding from Ukrainians, that Captain Yary is the liaison between the Provid in Germany and the War Ministry of the Nazi Government?

Mr. REVYUK. Well, I have heard such a statement made.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By informed persons?

The CHAIRMAN. By who?

Mr. MATTHEWS. By informed persons among Ukrainians.

The CHAIRMAN. That looks rather indefinite. Who were the persons you heard say that?

Mr. REVYUK. One was Levitsky, who is editor of the Narodna Vola. He lived a long time in Berlin, and he warned me against any dealings with the organization because that organization is in close contact with the War Ministry of Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is one of the sources of your information on that point?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes. I told him, why doesn't he publish that in the press? He said, "We wrote it already in our paper and we are still going to write it in our paper, publicly."

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have also testified, I believe, that the Hetman organization has its ultimate headquarters in Berlin; is that correct?

Mr. REVYUK. They have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that the real distinction between these two organizations of Ukrainians is that one is furthering a Nazi ideology and the other a royalist movement.

Mr. REVYUK. Hetman stands for hereditary monarchy and the other organization, according to its proclamation of 1938, stands for authoritarianism.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And both of them head up in Germany; is that correct?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this question. Over the period since 1923 has there been considerable money raised among Ukrainians and sent abroad?

Mr. REYVUK. We sent on the average yearly between twenty and thirty thousand dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. Would that be the total amount?

Mr. REYVUK. The total amount for all purposes, about twenty to thirty thousand dollars a year.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have been sending that since 1923?

Mr. REYVUK. 1923.

The CHAIRMAN. How is that raised, by contributions?

Mr. REYVUK. By contributions, by voluntary contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not assess the Ukrainians any definite amount.

Mr. REYVUK. No; we do not.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you ever send any of that money to the Russian Ukraine?

Mr. REYVUK. During the famine of 1932 and 1933 we tried to send money there for the purpose of support of those people.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom did you send it, to some agency in the United States, some Russian agency?

Mr. REYVUK. We sent it through private channels.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know anything about what happened to it, whether it got to where you were trying to send it?

Mr. REYVUK. That is what we believe, that they really got it, but we do not have any proofs of it. Therefore, that whole movement petered out. Nobody believed in it, that it could be done effectively.

The CHAIRMAN. No one believed that the money ever got there?

Mr. REYVUK. Ever got there, or perhaps nobody was really sure of it, that it got there.

The CHAIRMAN. Nobody was sure who got the money, and that is the reason you stopped sending it?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What private agency did you get to do that, the Amtorg?

Mr. REYVUK. No; we did not. We contacted only private people who were, in a way, opposed to the Soviet Government, and who had connections, claimed to have connections.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they Communists?

Mr. REYVUK. No; they were not Communists. Our organization has always been anti-Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. Then how in the world did they have connections in Russia?

Mr. REYVUK. They had connections through private families.

The CHAIRMAN. Just had private couriers to take the money over there?

Mr. REYVUK. Private people; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revyuk, do you know of any organization in this country among the Ukrainians initiated and controlled by the Communists of the United States?

Mr. REYVUK. Why, yes, there is a Communist organization in this country, a Communist branch of the Communist Party—that is, a Ukrainian branch. It has a publication—a daily.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A daily newspaper?

Mr. REYVUK. A daily newspaper, in New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the name of the newspaper?

Mr. REYUK. The Ukrainian Visty, the Ukrainian News.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that Communist organization among the Ukrainians opposed to the Hetman and the Odwn?

Mr. REYUK. Well—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Let us say in the past has it been?

Mr. REYUK. In the past; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the past they have been?

Mr. REYUK. I do not know how they stand now.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean prior to this Soviet-Nazi combination.

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They were very much opposed to each other?

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were they bitterly opposed to each other?

Mr. REYUK. They were bitterly opposed to each other and to us, too.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Ukrainians did you say belonged to it, to that branch?

Mr. REYUK. I have no idea. I think now it is very small.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it at one time become fairly large?

Mr. REYUK. It was very big right after the war, when the Ukraine struggle for independence failed and then Russia was coming to Poland and promising to liberate the Ukrainians from Poland. At that time it was strong. But when Russia divided the Ukraine with Poland—

The CHAIRMAN. Russia lost her influence among the Ukrainians in this country?

Mr. REYUK. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Then Hitler began to get that influence?

Mr. REYUK. Gradually; later on.

The CHAIRMAN. And now you think that neither one has it?

Mr. REYUK. Neither one.

Mr. VOORHIS. Have you any indication at all of any attempts to bring together this Communist Ukrainian organization and these other two organizations, since this pact has been signed?

Mr. REYUK. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do not know what has happened?

Mr. REYUK. No. And I do not think there is such a thing.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do not think so?

Mr. REYUK. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Communist Party does consider this Ukrainian group sufficiently important to publish a daily newspaper for it, and the Ukrainians it may reach.

Mr. REYUK. It does.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you suppose that the daily newspaper is self-supporting?

Mr. REYUK. I do not think so.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do not know anything about how it pays its way?

Mr. REYUK. I think it cannot be, to judge by how many people read it, how often I see it among the people. I do not think such a paper can maintain itself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know something about publication costs yourself?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Because you publish a daily newspaper.

Mr. REVYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is your newspaper subsidized by any political group?

Mr. REVYUK. No. It is maintained by subscriptions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By what organization?

Mr. REVYUK. We are publishing the Svoboda as the official organ of the Ukrainian national organization, which is a fraternal benefit order with headquarters at Jersey City, N. J. Each member of that organization pays to the organization 30 cents a month for it. We have a certain arrangement with that organization. That is how we publish the paper.

The CHAIRMAN. It is an insurance association?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything political about it?

Mr. REVYUK. It is a fraternal benefit insurance organization.

The CHAIRMAN. No politics in it?

Mr. REVYUK. No politics in it.

The CHAIRMAN. You never get together before an election and decide whom to vote for, or anything of that sort?

Mr. REVYUK. Well——

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think we should have some very frank testimony from Mr. Revyuk on this point. You say this Svoboda newspaper is supported by an insurance organization?

Mr. REVYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is owned by an insurance organization?

Mr. REVYUK. It was owned, but about a year ago, in 1937, in December, it became independent. A publishing company was organized, the Ukrainian Press & Book Co., which took over the publication of that paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who owns the stock in that book company?

Mr. REVYUK. The Ukrainian Association—the Ukrainian National Association.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Which is the insurance company?

Mr. REVYUK. The insurance company.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that the insurance company owns the newspaper?

Mr. REVYUK. And yet we are an independent organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If the insurance company owns the stock in the company that owns the newspaper, it appears to me that the insurance company owns the newspaper. What is the distinction you are trying to draw?

Mr. REVYUK. I do not know much about the legal side of that, how to explain that. We are an independent company under a contract with the Ukrainian National Association.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean you have an independent charter?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are a corporation?

Mr. REVYUK. A corporation; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this corporation has stock and the stock is owned by the insurance company?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes; most of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A majority of the stock?

Mr. REYYUK. A majority of the stock.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know how much of the stock is owned by the insurance company?

Mr. REYYUK. I do not remember; no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you say that the Svoboda does or does not have a political viewpoint?

Mr. REYYUK. Yes; it has a political viewpoint.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And is that political viewpoint determined by the insurance company or by the editor in chief of the newspaper?

Mr. REYYUK. Before the Ukrainian Press & Book Co. took over the publication, the body that controlled the policy of the paper was the Ukrainian National Association. But nowadays we control the policy, the Ukrainian Press & Book Co.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It not the editor in chief Dr. Myshuha?

Mr. REYYUK. Yes; he is the head, and he is responsible for the policy of the paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are not his political views reflected in the editorials and in the columns of the newspaper?

Mr. REYYUK. They are.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he is associated with this Odwu organization, I believe?

Mr. REYYUK. I do not know if he is a member of the organization. That I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We will come to that later. Now, getting back to these two organizations, the Hetman and the Odwu, both of which you state head up in Germany, from your knowledge of the totalitarian state of Germany today, would you say it is a reasonable conclusion that any organization which heads up in Germany must exist there by permission of the Nazi Government?

Mr. REYYUK. I think it is reasonable.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And if by the permission of the Nazi Government, with the approval of the Nazi Government?

Mr. REYYUK. I think so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that considered to be true among the Ukrainians in this country, that the Nazi Government approves of the objectives of these two organizations, because they head up in Germany?

Mr. REYYUK. I do not know whether all the people realize that. There must be many people who do not realize that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But nevertheless they support the organization.

Mr. REYYUK. They support the organization. Some of them support it without knowing that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, you think some of them are duped into supporting these organizations?

Mr. REYYUK. Well—if you say so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have other individuals come over from Germany to attend the gatherings of the Odwu, to your knowledge?

Mr. REYYUK. Yes; now and then others came. Mr. Hrybivsky was one of them. Colonel Konovaletz was one of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify Mr. Hrybivsky?

Mr. REYYUK. He was here on several occasions. He is also one of the inner circle of the Provid.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he has come from Germany?

Mr. REYYUK. Another man who came here is Sushko, and Dr. Kandyba.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revyuk, here is another copy of the *Nationalist*, the official publication of the Odwu. I show you a photograph of a gathering of the Odwu. Where was this held?

Mr. REYVUK. That was held in New York. It says here "The members of the Second Congress of the Ukrainian Nationalists of America, September 3, 4, 5, 1938, New York, N. Y."

Mr. MATTHEWS. The members of the congress?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes; or participants.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recognize this gentleman [indicating on newspaper]?

The CHAIRMAN. What were they members of?

Mr. REYVUK. The Second Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what?

Mr. REYVUK. Of the Ukrainian Nationalists of America.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recognize this man?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes. This is Baronowsky.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From the Provid?

Mr. REYVUK. From the Provid.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recognize this man [indicating]?

Mr. REYVUK. This is General Kurmanovich.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And who is General Kurmanovich?

Mr. REYVUK. He is also one of the members of the Provid, as I understand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And who is this man [indicating photograph]?

Mr. REYVUK. This is Sushko.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he a member of the Provid?

Mr. REYVUK. He is also a member of the Provid.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And these three men who occupy the front row, middle, are from abroad and are attending this congress as members?

Mr. REYVUK. Apparently from the photograph, that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that this be made an exhibit and a part of the record.

(The newspaper referred to was marked "Revyuk 12.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a Mr. Eugene Skotzko?

Mr. REYVUK. I know him personally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is Mr. Eugene Skotzko?

Mr. REYVUK. Mr. Eugene Skotzko used to be the organizer of the Odwu and he is now the head of the press service of the Ukrainian Bureau in Washington, D. C.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where is Mr. Skotzko, in Washington now?

Mr. REYVUK. He lives in Washington.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who finances the press bureau established here?

Mr. REYVUK. I can say only what I know from my personal knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right.

Mr. REYVUK. The United Ukrainian Organizations gave Mr. Skotzko monthly a check, on the recommendation of the Odwu, to the amount of two to three hundred dollars, for the maintenance of this bureau. That is out of the money that is collected for the liberation of the Ukraine fund.

Mr. VORHIS. You mean that that comes out of this money that you mentioned earlier in your testimony?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Which was solicited by the Odwu but sent to you?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you have had instructions to send a part of that money down here to help finance this press bureau?

Mr. REYVUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long ago was this Ukrainian press bureau established?

Mr. REYVUK. A few months ago, I think.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just a few months ago?

Mr. REYVUK. A few months ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the New York bureau recently established?

Mr. REYVUK. The New York bureau was established for some time, I think 2 years ago or more.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about Mr. Skotzko's visit to Europe?

Mr. REYVUK. Mr. Skotzko went to Europe in 1938, some time in the summer, I think. I am not sure of that, but I think in the summer of 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The press bureau was established prior to his going to Europe—the New York bureau?

Mr. REYVUK. The New York bureau; oh, yes; much prior to that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall the question being raised concerning the establishment of this Ukrainian Press Service at one of the meetings of the United Ukrainian Organizations?

Mr. REYVUK. That question referred to the New York bureau.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was that question?

Mr. REYVUK. We were discussing a year ago at the annual meeting of the officers of the United Ukrainian Organizations the problem of establishing a bureau of information of our own, and somebody asked a question: "Now, you know already there is an information bureau in New York City. Would it be wise for the United Ukrainian Organizations to support that bureau?"

As I did not know anything about the bureau, about the maintenance of that bureau, I asked the people, the officers present, to volunteer some information about that bureau, how it is maintained, and nobody volunteered information.

Mr. MATTHEWS. No one volunteered information?

Mr. REYVUK. No one volunteered information. Only later, outside of the meeting, they said some things.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They said some things to you?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes. They said, "We know about the bureau." I said, "Why didn't you say what you knew?"

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did they say outside of the meeting about the maintenance of the bureau?

Mr. REYVUK. Well, they told me—they gave me to understand—that that bureau was organized by Mr. Hrybivsky during his presence in this country, his visit in this country, and it seems to me that the leaders of Odwu here in this country were very much dissatisfied that that bureau was organized from Europe over their heads.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By Provid?

Mr. REYVUK. By Provid.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And maintained by Provid?

Mr. REYVUK. That was my understanding.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is what they told you outside of the meeting?

Mr. REYVUK. That is what I was made to understand.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was this the New York press bureau?

Mr. REYVUK. The Ukrainian Press Bureau in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was organized by this man who came from Germany?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is right, as a member of the Provid, 2 years ago.

Mr. REYVUK. Yes; about 2 years ago, or more.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And maintained financially by the Provid in Germany?

Mr. REYVUK. That is what my understanding was from the information they gave me.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you examined the releases put out by this bureau to determine if they were mostly Nazi propaganda?

Mr. MATTHEWS. You see these releases regularly, do you not, Mr. Revyuk?

Mr. REYVUK. Well, we were receiving those releases, but I was not reading them. I was not getting them, because they went to the editor in chief.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever read any of them?

Mr. REYVUK. Occasionally some came into my hands.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the releases largely favorable to the Nazi Government, favorable to Hitler?

Mr. REYVUK. Well, whenever they spoke, or had occasion to speak about it, they were favorable to Hitler.

The CHAIRMAN. You never saw any criticism of Hitler?

Mr. REYVUK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Or of the Nazis?

Mr. REYVUK. No criticisms of Hitler.

The CHAIRMAN. Whenever some of these releases had occasion to present some news matter, it was always presented from a favorable light, if it had to do with Hitler?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes. That is why this bureau was generally criticized for that attitude.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that bureau in New York under the direction of Mr. Skotzko?

Mr. REYVUK. I do not think it is now under the direction of Mr. Skotzko, because Mr. Skotzko is now in Washington. My impression is that the man connected with the bureau is Mr. Lapica.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it a branch of the Washington office?

Mr. REYVUK. I do not know whether it is a branch.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember his secretary who resigned recently? You know he had a secretary there in the bureau?

Mr. REYVUK. I do not know anything about it; no.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know about the secretary resigning, and giving as a reason because they were putting out Nazi propaganda?

Mr. REYVUK. In New York?

The CHAIRMAN. Here in Washington.

Mr. REYVUK. No; I do not know anything about that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say Mr. Lapica is in charge of the New York office?

Mr. REYVUK. That is what I understand; I am not sure of it.



Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he does or has worked for Mr. Skotzko?

Mr. REYUK. That I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I understand Mr. Lapica was interviewed by the committee last year and stated for the record that he was in the employ of Mr. Skotzko.

The CHAIRMAN. Have there been any translations of these press-bureau releases that we have to show the type of releases that were being put out?

Mr. MATTHEWS. We read one statement from the Berlin Press Bureau Service in which Hitler was quoted as favoring the cause of the Ukrainians, among others.

The CHAIRMAN. Champion of the oppressed. Have you translated any of the others?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you made available any other translations?

Mr. REYUK. I just saw this release here. I did not pay attention much to them.

The CHAIRMAN. This \$20,000 that went over to this international group, that was to finance the international organization, was it not?

Mr. REYUK. They have it for their free disposal.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revyuk, you have indicated that the Odwu has its headquarters in Berlin, and the Provid, and you have stated that Professor Granovsky is the president of the Odwu in the United States. Do you know whether Professor Granovsky has registered with the State Department as an agent of a foreign principal?

Mr. REYUK. I know only what Professor Granovsky said he did. I do not know whether he really did or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he say anything to you about it?

Mr. REYUK. Yes. At a certain meeting in Jersey City, in the presence of several people, in the office of the Svoboda.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who were some of the other persons present?

Mr. REYUK. Members of the staff of the newspaper and some officers of the Ukrainian National Association.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Mr. Myshuha present?

Mr. REYUK. Mr. Myshuha was present.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did Professor Granovsky tell you on that occasion?

Mr. REYUK. He discussed the problem of registering the Odwu with the State Department, and he said that he went to the Department of State to register, to find out whether he should register or not, and he was given a blank by the Department of State, which he filled out. He was told, after the blank was filled out, that he did not have to register. That is what he said he was told.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On the basis of what he had told the State Department, he was advised that he did not need to register?

Mr. REYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was any comment made by members of the group to whom he made these statements concerning his act of providing the State Department with any information?

Mr. REYUK. Yes. There was a comment made. I think Mr. Myshuha said that it was a silly thing to do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A silly thing to do?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes. "If I were him, I would not have done it. I would not have gone to Washington and put anything in writing, because I may be later on faced with that statement."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that view expressed by others?

Mr. REYVUK. I think that was more or less the general impression.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall anything that Dr. Myshuha said on the subject?

Mr. REYVUK. I think he also agreed with that.

The CHAIRMAN. It seems to me there is a clear case for the Department of State of an agent of a foreign principal who failed to register, and I would suggest that this transcript be made available to the Department of State with a recommendation that they proceed against these people for failure to register.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I have here a memorandum from the State Department dated September 13, 1938, from the Department of Registration of Agents of Foreign Principals, addressed to Mr. Green, which reads as follows:

SEPTEMBER 13, 1938.

Mr. GREEN: Mr. A. A. Granovsky, who gave his address as 2101 Scudder Ave., St. Paul, Minn., and who stated that he was president of the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine, visited the office this afternoon to inquire respecting the application of the act of June 8, 1938, requiring the registration of agents of foreign principals.

He said that the organization of which he is president was entirely self-supporting, that it received no compensation from any foreign principals, and was neither under the direction of nor agent of any foreign principal. He said that the organization was composed of American citizens of Ukraine birth who were engaged in propaganda work in this country designed to assist the Ukrainians in their efforts to establish an independent state.

I informed Mr. Granovsky that it would appear from what he said that the organization in question was not the "agent of a foreign principal" as that term is defined in the act, and that the organization would not, therefore, be required to register under the provisions of the act. I suggested, however, that he submit to the Department a detailed statement concerning the activities of his organization and request a ruling on the question of its obligations under the act. Mr. Granovsky said he would follow this suggestion.

L. H. PRICE.

There is another communication dated October 11, 1938, as follows:

MY DEAR MR. GRANOVSKY: I acknowledge with appreciation the receipt of your letter of October 5, 1938, transmitting to the Department certain information in regard to the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine, of which you are president.

In view of the fact that your registration statement declares that you have no foreign principal, it has not been accepted for filing. If, in fact, you are not under the direction of, and do not receive compensation from, any foreign principal, you would not appear to be subject to the requirement of registration under the act of June 8, 1938, requiring the registration of agents of foreign principals. I am, therefore, returning herewith the registration statement enclosed with your letter.

I may add that the above informal opinion is expressed merely as a courtesy to you. The Department does not rule officially on such matters.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH C. GREEN,  
*Chief, Office of Arms and Munitions Control,  
For the Secretary of State.*

Here is a letter from Alexander A. Granovsky, dated October 5, 1938, addressed to the Department of State, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: While in Washington on September 13, 1938, I inquired about the recent law in regard to registration of persons interested in other countries or people. I had an opportunity to talk with Mr. Price in Room 359½. After explaining to him my interests and contacts, he informed me that since I am not

subsidized by any foreign agency, and since the organization, Central Executive Committee of Odwn, which I represent is likewise not in service of any foreign principal, we do not need to register. However, he recommended to me to fill out the blank so that your office may have pertinent information on file. I am glad to comply with this request.

I shall greatly appreciate it if you will be kind enough to inform me if I personally, or the organization I represent, are required to register and further to comply with the Registration Law in question.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) ALEXANDER A. GRANOVSKY.

For the record, Mr. Chairman, I think it would be well to have the application also.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he swear to the application; is it sworn to?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; it is made under oath.

(The registration statement of Alexander A. Granovsky was marked as an exhibit.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Revyuk, you have testified that members of the group that Professor Granovsky represented in Newark—

Mr. REYUK. In Jersey City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Jersey City were of the opinion he was silly for having put this in writing where it might be used against him at some subsequent date.

Mr. REYUK. That was correct; that was a remark that was made.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The records, so far as you know them from your own first-hand knowledge, indicates the Odwn organization is an agency of the Provid headed by Colonel Melnyk, who probably has his headquarters in Berlin?

Mr. REYUK. That is correct, except as to Berlin; I do not know about that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Germany?

Mr. REYUK. In Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Abroad.

Mr. REYUK. Abroad.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At least it is abroad?

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have received communications from Germany?

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Indicating the Provid has its headquarters there?

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the communication that we read into the record indicates the Odwn is a branch of the Provid under the direction of Colonel Melnyk?

Mr. REYUK. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now you say that you have been supporting to some extent the press bureau. Did you specify the amount of the contributions?

Mr. REYUK. I said between \$200 and \$300.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What?

Mr. REYUK. That is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. But as I understand, that is money that is sent in to his organization, that was solicited by the Odwn and not money that he was contributing; that is sent from his organization.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, through your established organization, you were enabled to transmit the money to the Ukrainians.

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They had confidence that the money would be properly distributed.

Mr. REYVUK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And this money was money raised by Ukrainian Nationalists for this purpose?

Mr. REYVUK. For this purpose.

Mr. VOORHIS. Money collected for the organization to maintain the press service, as I understand it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is right.

Mr. REYVUK. At the recommendation of Odwn in this country we give a monthly check to Mr. Skotzko in charge of the bureau.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You simply transmitted what funds were collected.

Mr. REYVUK. We were given a recommendation to do that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, do you know anything else about the support of the press service bureau other than your own funds which you transmitted and the statement that support has been coming from Provid, in Germany; do you know whether they have any other funds contributed?

Mr. REYVUK. I cannot very well recall what their recommendation was but I just heard——

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know about it?

Mr. REYVUK. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have had experience in matters of publication. Would it be your expert judgment that these press bureaus operate on the funds which you transmitted to them?

Mr. REYVUK. As a matter of fact, there was a discussion of the United Ukraine Organization some time ago, a year or two ago, discussing the operation and expense of publishing information, and at that time we came to the conclusion that—Dr. Myshuha stated, reported that the operation of the bureau would cost yearly between \$20,000 and \$30,000.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is your understanding?

Mr. REYVUK. That was what I understood.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would be the cost of the press bureau? And, you have no other first-hand knowledge about the financing of the bureau than that you transmitted \$200 or \$300 monthly?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you do not know that money comes from any foreign country or foreign agent?

Mr. REYVUK. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I believe he was told outside the meeting in New York that financial support did come.

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From the Provid in Germany?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes; in Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But did not mention the size of the sums that were alleged to have come from Germany.

Mr. REYVUK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Now I want to ask you a question while Mr. Matthews is looking up some other matters. Does this Nationalists organization reach out pretty much among the Ukrainians throughout this country?

Mr. REYVUK. Not much.

The CHAIRMAN. Not much?

Mr. REYVUK. Not much. It is covered by about some 50 organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. About 50 organizations.

Mr. REYVUK. Fifty organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean, in other words, that at the Congress they had delegates from that many?

Mr. REYVUK. From that many.

The CHAIRMAN. At the Odwn?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Local branches.

Mr. REYVUK. Local branches.

The CHAIRMAN. And would those 50 be located in the larger cities?

Mr. REYVUK. In the larger cities.

The CHAIRMAN. Where Ukrainians are?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And they would be pretty well scattered through the Ukrainian population?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes; scattered over the territory between Boston, Chicago, and Washington; in that triangle.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they have local branches of the organizations?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes; they have local branch groups which pay dues to that central organization.

The CHAIRMAN. The central organization in New York?

Mr. REYVUK. In New York. They can give you a statement, I think, about the number of members.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they keep the figures of the membership secret; is it a secret organization?

Mr. REYVUK. Not about the membership; I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Insofar as the membership is concerned?

Mr. REYVUK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they cooperate with White Russians?

Mr. REYVUK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. They are separate.

Mr. REYVUK. They are very opposed to each other.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know about what troubles they have had with the bund, or whether they cooperate with it?

Mr. REYVUK. No; that I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not?

Mr. REYVUK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other organizations they cooperate with, have joint meetings with?

Mr. REYVUK. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the mobilizers; do they join in meetings?

Mr. REYVUK. No; I do not think so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, as you recall, there is testimony in the record of last year on that.

The CHAIRMAN. I recall last year, but I am trying to get what this man knows about it. Now, is the literature of this organization very much distributed out among the Ukrainian population?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes; they distribute the literature, but I do not think they have more than 2,000 subscribers of the paper.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the paper?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, do they distribute free literature to the Ukrainian population?

Mr. REVYUK. They distribute the literature as far as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. As far as possible to the Ukrainian population?

Mr. REVYUK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not they maintain contacts with the Provid organization.

Mr. REVYUK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. From your own information?

Mr. REVYUK. I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revynuk, how long was Dr. Myshuha in Europe the last visit to that continent?

Mr. REVYUK. It was over 3 months.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what countries did he travel, according to your own personal knowledge?

Mr. REVYUK. He was in France and Germany; in Czechoslovakia and Italy and England.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Holland?

Mr. REVYUK. And in Holland.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was that visit?

Mr. REVYUK. It was in the summer of 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A little over a year ago?

Mr. REVYUK. A year ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you receive communications from him?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes; when he was in Europe.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When he was in Europe.

Mr. REVYUK. Yes; I did receive communications.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who financed Dr. Myshuha's trip?

Mr. REVYUK. The Ukrainian Press Bureau gave him money for the trip.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This was the insurance group?

Mr. REVYUK. No; this was the publishing company.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The publishing company which was owned by the insurance group, financed the trip.

In other words, if there were any financial liabilities involved in Dr. Myshuha's trip to Europe, the liability would rest on the members of the insurance group, would it not?

Mr. REVYUK. It might.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is your understanding of the operations. I show you a cablegram, Mr. Revynuk, and ask you if you received that cablegram from Dr. Myshuha? [Handing paper to witness.]

Mr. REVYUK. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you receive it?

Mr. REVYUK. I received a cablegram, but this is not from Dr. Myshuha.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please read the cablegram?

Mr. REVYUK. The cablegram reads:

PARIS, October 7, 1938.

EMIL REVYUK,

*83 Grand Street, Jersey City, N. J.:*

Adres Myszhuhy Hotel Palais Orsay Paris.

That is signed "Bokiw."

The CHAIRMAN. What is the significance of that telegram?

Mr. MATTHEWS. What does the telegram tell you?

Mr. REVYUK. It tells me the address of Dr. Myshuha. We wanted to get Dr. Myshuha's address when he was in Europe, and we sent requests to several addresses in Europe where we supposed that he might be, and this gives the address of Dr. Myshuha; this is one of the replies we received.

The CHAIRMAN. I still do not see the significance of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They were trying to get in touch with Dr. Myshuha; you did not have his address; is that right?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you finally received this notice from Bokiw?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Informing you the address of Dr. Myshuha?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There are other communications, Mr. Chairman, which will bring out the importance of this.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a letter, Mr. Revyuk, and I want to read it: I want you to identify that letter, if you can.

Mr. REVYUK. This was sent to the Ukraine organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are the president of that organization?

Mr. REVYUK. I am president of that organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what is the substance of that letter?

Mr. REVYUK. The letter is written by the Committee for the Defense of Carpathian Ukraine, in the United States and Canada.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. REVYUK. Dated October 14, 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Matthews, suppose you read the letter; let him identify it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not have the complete translation of it.

Mr. REVYUK. On behalf of the organization, of the Committee for the Defense of Carpathian Ukraine, they were going to send two delegates, one of which delegates was George Goboda, of which Goboda has already left at the beginning of this week. And, the second delegate, Rev. Vladimir Kapishinsky is leaving one of these days: to be exact, on Wednesday, October 19, in the morning.

Both these delegates are American citizens of Carpathian Ukraine origin, and both of them are Ukraine patriots, for the purpose that they may properly defend the rights of Ukraine Carpathia, sub-Carpathia.

It is necessary that we should have as many credentials from all liberty Ukraine organizations as possible. Many Ukraine organizations have already given such credentials to these delegates of ours. Therefore we appeal to you, to the united Ukraine organizations of America that they should give such credentials to these delegates, and such credentials to each of them separately, and credentials should state in the English language, in the name—

and here is a place mentioned for the name.

We enclose a copy of such credentials so that you may have a pattern. But you should take care not to give credentials so completely alike.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words you want to change an "A" to "V" to make them look different?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the substance of the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were these two delegates?

Mr. MATTHEWS. They were going to attend a meeting of defense of sub-Carpathia Ukraine.

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Both were American citizens and going over to defend Carpathia Ukraine.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where was Carpathia at that time? In what country was Carpathia situated?

Mr. REYUK. Carpathia Ukraine, in October, was yet in Czechoslovakia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the eastern end.

Mr. REYUK (translating):

In view of the fact the second delegate is leaving this day to Europe we would ask you to see to it that you should send such credentials as soon as possible to the office of the Odwu.

We are expecting your kind reply to this letter by, at the latest, by Tuesday, October 18.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By whom was the letter signed?

Mr. REYUK. The letter is signed by Andrew Kist. He states the purpose of the letter is to get credentials.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is on behalf of the Committee for the Defense of Carpathian Ukraine.

Mr. REYUK. In the United States and Canada.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you issue these credentials?

Mr. REYUK. We did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why did you not issue the credentials?

Mr. REYUK. We could not very well give credentials to people whom we did not know and for use when we did not know what attitude they were going to take in Europe, and we could not give credentials.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were sure their activities were political?

Mr. REYUK. We were sure they would be of a political character, but we did not give people credentials we did not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the political status of Carpathia Ukraine at that time?

Mr. REYUK. Carpathia Ukraine at that time was something like semi-independent, a state loosely united of the Czechoslovaks in Carpathia Ukraine.

The CHAIRMAN. All together?

Mr. REYUK. All together as a loosely united group.

The CHAIRMAN. But none of them getting along very well together?

Mr. REYUK. Yes; don't get along very well.

The CHAIRMAN. Either there or here.

Mr. REYUK. Yes. And they were sending delegates to the Carpathia Ukraine.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a cablegram and ask you if it was sent to you?

Mr. REYUK. It was sent to me from Vienna.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what is the date of it?

Mr. REYUK. November 2, 1938.



Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please read that cablegram, Mr. Revyuk?  
Mr. REYUK (reading):

Raised protest against decision as unjust from Ethnographical Princip our representatives didn't recognize annexation of Uzhorod and Munkacz decision—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a copy of that, Mr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I will read it [reading]:

Raised protest—

The CHAIRMAN. What is the first word?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Raised.

The CHAIRMAN. Raised protest against decision?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. [Continuing.]

Raised protest against decision as unjust from ethnographical princip. Our representatives didn't recognize annexation of Uzhorod and Munkacz decision.

Uzhorod and Munkacz are the principal cities?

Mr. REYUK. In the Carpathian Ukraine.

Mr. MATTHEWS (continuing):

Uzhorod and Munkacz decision past under terrible pressure of our enemies. Immediately help Karpukraine materially.

Is that what it is?

Mr. REYUK. That is what is states.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the cablegram?

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the effect of it; tell us what is the significance of it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did you do on receipt of that cablegram?

Mr. REYUK. We, even before receiving this cablegram, we raised protest in this country against the decision of the Vienna meeting of representatives of Italy and Germany allotting Uzhorod and Munkacz, the two principal cities of the Carpathian Ukraine to Hungary, even before this cablegram.

The CHAIRMAN. Giving those two cities to Hungary?

Mr. REYUK. To Hungary; the citizens were Ukrainian citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you want them to go?

Mr. REYUK. We wanted them to go to Carpathia Ukraine.

The CHAIRMAN. Into Carpathia Ukraine?

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. To be with what country?

Mr. REYUK. Carpathia Ukraine.

The CHAIRMAN. As a separate country?

Mr. REYUK. At that date because we agreed to the settlement that it should be free, three groups, the Slovaks, the Czechs, and the Ukrainians.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was this agreement?

Mr. REYUK. This was in November 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. And you made a protest?

Mr. REYUK. Yes; we made a protest.

The CHAIRMAN. To the whole Ukraine population generally in this country; they were very much opposed to it?

Mr. REYUK. Very much.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did you do on the receipt of that cablegram?

Mr. REYUK. We continued to work, to protest against it and to help that country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever learn from whom that cablegram came, subsequently?

Mr. REYUK. No; I did not know from whom that came; it was either from Dr. Myshuha or a cablegram from representatives of the Carpathia Ukraine, and when the decision was made they no doubt withheld their names in order not to involve the sender with the German Government.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Dr. Myshuha in Vienna at this time, to your knowledge?

Mr. REYUK. I think he was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a cablegram and ask you if you received this cablegram addressed to you? [Handing document to witness.]

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that from Dr. Myshuha?

Mr. REYUK. From Dr. Myshuha, from London.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Via London?

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It may be from London.

Mr. REYUK. It may be from London.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading).

Had conferences with foreign editors Times Guardian Telegraph about conditions in sub-Carpathia. Protested annexation aspirations of Hungary and Poland. Everywhere understanding for self-determination. Guardian already reported our interview. Hungary uses telegram from American Carpathians for propaganda. Colossal enthusiasm among Ukrainian villagers under Poland because of our government. Predominant majority will boycott Polish elections especially women.

MYSHUHA.

Will you give some further brief explanation on that?

Mr. REYUK. Well, the conference that he refers to was evidently with the foreign editors of English newspapers. "Times" must be London Times; "Guardian" is Manchester Guardian; "Telegraph" is a London newspaper. Well, it is clear what he spoke about. These interviews protested annexation by Hungary and Poland of the Carpathian Ukraine. He says that these newspapers understand the principle of self-determination, and the Manchester Guardian has already reported interview.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What does he mean by "our government;" do you know?

Mr. REYUK. By "our government" he means the government of the Carpathian Ukraine. I don't see that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is on the second page——

Colossal enthusiasm among Ukraine villagers under Poland because of our government.

Mr. REYUK. He means that in the Ukrainian villages under Poland there is enthusiasm that in Carpathian Ukraine was organized Ukrainian Government.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When he says "our government"——

Mr. REYUK. He refers to the Carpathian Ukrainian Government.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But Dr. Myshuha is an America citizen, is he not?

Mr. REYUK. He is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revyuk, did you receive this cablegram from Dr. Myshuha [handing to witness]?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read this cablegram:

Made Friday by radio in Vienna address about decision of American Ukrainians to support by any means sub-Carpathian Ukrainians in their endeavors to build their own government. Now going by air to London.

This cablegram is dated "Vienna"; is that correct?

Mr. REYVUK. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And when Dr. Myshuha spoke over the radio in Vienna on the decision concerning the disposition of sub-Carpathian Ukrainians, he was speaking on a radio under the control of the Nazi Government; is that correct?

Mr. REYVUK. There is no other radio in Germany but controlled by the government.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that he must have been speaking with the approval of the Nazi Government when he made that address in Vienna; is that your conclusion?

Mr. REYVUK. Unless he spoke—unless he got to speak otherwise.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, the cablegram speaks for itself. If you speak on the Germany radio, you must say what the German Government approves, and especially a political talk which concerns the disposition of territory. That would be the only way in which he could possibly speak on the German radio.

(The telegram above referred to was marked "Revyuk No. Exhibit, September 28, 1929.")

Mr. MATTHEWS (continuing). Now we have here, Mr. Revyuk, a cablegram addressed to you from Dr. Myshuha, also from Vienna, under date of September 22, 1938, which reads as follows:

Proclaim immediately collection to help trans-Carpathian Ukrainians in their fight for their rights. Do not send money to England. Visum refused.

Do you recall receiving that cablegram?

Mr. REYVUK (after examining). Yes; I did receive this cablegram.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And, in that cablegram, Dr. Myshuha requests you to start raising a collection in this country?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A collection for the support of the—

Mr. REYVUK. Carpathian Ukrainians.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the Carpathian Ukrainians?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What does he mean by saying that you should not send the money to England, because visum has been refused?

Mr. REYVUK. Prior to this he requested some money to be sent to him—additional money to be sent to him in Europe—and he gave his address in London—the address, as far as I remember, of the Ukrainian Bureau in London—and this telegram states that we should not send money to the address in London, because he was refused visa to go to England.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know why Dr. Myshuha was refused visa to enter England?

Mr. REYVUK. As I understand from letter, I think, and from conversation with Dr. Myshuha after his arrival in this country, when he applied for a visa to England, he was questioned for a long time about his political activity in Europe—I think in Paris.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He wrote you a letter about that?

Mr. REYUK. Yes; he wrote me a letter and later he spoke about it when he arrived.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And it was his opinion, as he indicated it to you, that it was on account of political questions?

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That the British Government refused him the right to enter the country?

Mr. REYUK. Yes; that is why, I understood.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was a political agitator in the mind of the British Government?

Mr. REYUK. Well, I don't know that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, as a result of your receiving this cable, did the organization set about to raise funds for the purpose requested in the cable?

Mr. REYUK. Yes; we did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Approximately how much money did you raise?

Mr. REYUK. We raised, altogether, for sub-Carpathian Ukraine, within the last year, between twenty and twenty-five thousand dollars.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, that is the same fund you referred to earlier, when you mentioned about the political funds which were transmitted through your organization? Earlier in your testimony today, you mentioned this matter?

Mr. REYUK. Yes; I think I did mention that.

**(The cablegram above referred to was marked "Revyuk No. Exhibit, September 28, 1939.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, we have another cablegram addressed to you from Dr. Myshuha, dated September 23, 1938, also from Vienna, which reads:

Give every support in the press and mass meetings the first Ukrainian National Counsel in Uzhorod as the only representative of sub-Carpathian Ukrainians and demand the right of the Ukrainian people to decide the fate of this part of Ukraine.

Do you recall receiving that cablegram, Mr. Revyuk?

Mr. REYUK (after examination). Yes; I received this cablegram; I remember that. The Ukrainians in the United States and the United Ukrainian organization also took that stand already long ago, that the Ukrainian national organization in Uzhorod is the real expression of the will of the people to rule themselves. That was our stand already taken.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Having received that cablegram, did this national organization of Ukrainians in the United States actually hold mass meetings?

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And begin agitation for the support of the matter stated in the cable?

Mr. REYUK. Yes; they did.

**(The cablegram above referred to was marked "Revyuk No. Exhibit, September 28, 1939.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have another cablegram addressed to you from Dr. Myshuha, dated Paris, October 8, 1938, which reads:

Send credentials and money in actual currency American Express Paris.

Do you recall having received that cablegram?

Mr. REVYUK (after examining). Yes; I received this cablegram, too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you cable the funds requested to Dr. Myshuha?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes; we cabled some five or six hundred dollars; something between—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you send the credentials which he requested?

Mr. REVYUK. We did.

**(The cablegram above referred to was marked "Revyuk No. Exhibit, September 28, 1939.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a copy of what appears to be credentials in both Ukrainian and English [handing to witness]. Were these the credentials which you sent to Dr. Myshuha?

Mr. REVYUK (after examining). Yes; this is the copy of the credentials that we sent to Dr. Myshuha. There is the Ukrainian text to it and the English.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the English text reads as follows:

*To Whomever It May Concern:*

This is to certify that Dr. Luke Myshuha, the editor in chief of the *Svoboda*, the Ukrainian daily, published in Jersey City, N. J., and the supreme recording secretary of the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States, known as Obyednanye, is hereby authorized to represent all the Americans of Ukrainian descent and all the Ukrainian organizations affiliated with the said Obyednanye in all negotiations regarding Subcarpathian Ukraine, and by his personal participation to support the attitude of the Obyednanye, which had already filed with the world powers a most vigorous protest against the claims of Hungary and Poland to Subcarpathian Ukraine, and at the same time demanded for the Subcarpathian Ukrainians the full right of self-determination and the right to decide freely about their national allocation, directly or indirectly, through their lawful representatives organized into the First Ukrainian Central Council of Uzhorod.

On behalf of the United Ukrainian Organization of the United States.

It is signed by the president and secretary. That is a copy of the credentials which you sent him?

Mr. REVYUK. That is a copy; yes.

**(The paper above referred to was marked "Revyuk No. Exhibit, September 28, 1939.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I want to ask you, Mr. Revyuk, if Dr. Myshuha was authorized by these credentials to represent all Americans of Ukrainian descent and all Ukrainian organizations affiliated with your organization?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes; he was.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, he was speaking for 800,000 Ukrainians in the United States?

Mr. REVYUK. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At least he bore credentials which set forth that statement?

Mr. REVYUK. No. We meant to say that he has the right to represent Americans of Ukrainian descent and Ukrainians in America who are affiliated with United Ukrainians of America. That is what we wanted to state in these credentials.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But did he have an actual right to speak for seven or eight hundred thousand Americans of Ukrainian descent?

Mr. REVYUK. Not according to these credentials.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, according to the credentials, he did. I will ask you if he actually had that right?

The CHAIRMAN. The credentials state he was to speak for the people of Ukrainian descent. That was a mistake, was it not?

Mr. REYVUK. It was. Well, we meant really to connect those affiliated with the Obyednannia; also all the Americans of Ukrainian descent. We perhaps did not state clearly.

The CHAIRMAN. What you meant was this: He was authorized to speak for all Ukrainians who were affiliated with your organization?

Mr. REYVUK. With our organization.

The CHAIRMAN. How many would that be, about?

Mr. REYVUK. Oh, about three or four thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did they put in the credentials he was to speak for all the Ukrainians? To make it look bigger?

Mr. REYVUK. No; that is what we really meant to say, that all Ukrainians, Americans of Ukrainian descent, and all organizations affiliated. We meant really to do it, but we did it in just a poor style, perhaps.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It says two different things; it says to represent all Americans of Ukrainian descent and all Ukrainian organizations affiliated.

Mr. REYVUK. Well, it depends on how you read it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I can only read it one way myself. Perhaps you can read it two ways.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you read it?

Mr. REYVUK. I read it "is hereby authorized to represent all Americans of Ukrainian descent and all Ukrainian organizations affiliated with the Obyednannia" so as to make it that both of them referred to those connected with that Obyedanye.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I see.

Mr. REYVUK. Suppose A and B affiliate with C——

Mr. VOORHIS. Let me see if I can interpret it correctly: All Americans of Ukrainian descent who are affiliated with the organization——

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And all organizations affiliated with that organization?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes. That is what I mean. And instead of saying this twice we said it once.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that what you meant?

Mr. REYVUK. That is what we had in mind.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether Dr. Myshuha did purport to speak for all of the Americans of Ukrainian descent at this gathering in Europe?

Mr. REYVUK. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You don't know?

Mr. REYVUK. No.

(The committee thereupon took a recess until 1:15 p. m.)

#### AFTER RECESS

The committee reconvened pursuant to the taking of the recess, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order, please. All right, Mr. Matthews, let us continue with the witness.

## TESTIMONY OF EMIL REVYUK—Resumed

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revyuk, I read you a cablegram addressed to you by Dr. Myshuha, dated Rome, the 1st of October 1938:

Now only confederation of three independent states of Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians possible practical solution. Defend right of Ukrainian Council in Uzhorod to represent and decide.

That is signed "Myshuha." Will you identify that cablegram as having been received by you?

Mr. REVYUK (after examining). Yes; I received this cablegram from Rome. I received it here, as the stamp shows, October 1, 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And did that cablegram represent to you that Dr. Myshuha was engaged in political activity in Europe?

Mr. REVYUK. Very evident; that is evident.

(The cablegram above referred to was marked "Revyuk No. Exhibit, September 28, 1939.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read you another cablegram which is addressed to your organization, "Obyednannia," dated Geneva, the 30th of October 1938. If you will follow the Ukrainian, I will read the translation and ask you if this is a correct translation:

In accordance with the will of the late Fuehrer, the inner Provid of the Ukrainian Nationalists proclaim that the chief of Provid and the Fuehrer of Nationalist movement is Colonel Andrew Melnyk.

Is that a correct translation of the cablegram?

Mr. REVYUK. That is correct with the correction as I stated before that before the name of Colonel Melnyk, the late fuehrer is given "the glorious memory."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Instead of "late," it should read "of glorious memory"?

Mr. REVYUK. Of glorious memory.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And is that cablegram signed by anyone?

Mr. REVYUK. It is signed by the secretary of the Provid, Jaroslaw Baranowsky for the press. And that means that we should publicize that—publish in the paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this cablegram is almost in identical language with the communications which you received by mail bearing on the same subject?

Mr. REVYUK. Similar—very similar.

(The cablegram above referred to was marked "Revyuk No. Exhibit, September 28, 1939.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read you another cablegram addressed to you and signed by Dr. Myshuha, dated Vienna, November 3, 1938:

Premier Woloshyn and government appeal to our people in America for help and assistance in reconstructing Karpaturkraine just proclaimed capital starting with building of railroads, roads, schools.

Will you identify that cablegram as having been received by you?

Mr. REVYUK (after examining). Yes; this telegram was received by me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And signed by Dr. Myshuha?

Mr. REVYUK. Signed by Dr. Myshuha.

(The cablegram above referred to was marked "Revyuk, No. Exhibit, September 28, 1939.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revyuk, I show you some envelopes. Will you identify those envelopes as having been received by you?

Mr. REVYUK (after examining). Yes; these envelopes have been received by me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where are they post dated?

Mr. REVYUK. They were sent from Berlin: three of them were sent from Berlin and one from Vienna, Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did they contain when you received them?

Mr. REVYUK. The three first ones contained some propaganda and some releases—propaganda releases—for the press, and the third one was a letter from our correspondent of the Svoboda in Vienna by the name of Hryzaj.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were those the press releases which we have already introduced in evidence this morning?

Mr. REVYUK. I don't know that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But they were similar to the press releases which we have introduced?

Mr. REVYUK. Similar.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If not the same ones?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes.

(The envelopes above referred to were marked "Revyuk No. Exhibit, September 28, 1939.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you two cablegrams, Mr. Revyuk, both of them in Ukrainian, and I believe they are dated Vienna, are they not?

Mr. REVYUK (after examining). Yes; both of them are dated Vienna.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what are the dates on those cables?

Mr. REVYUK. It is October 9, 1938, on the one and November 4, 1938, on the second.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, was the first of those cables signed by Chymenecj?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the purport of the telegram as signed by Chymenecj? Is it a request for financial assistance from the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States to help—

Mr. REVYUK. No; it say that—

The declaration of England that their revision of the frontiers of Czechoslovakia is admissible only on the principle of ethnography, does not remove the danger of Hungarian occupation. Chymenecj, head of the delegation of the Karpatukraine appeals to you to appeal to England, France, Germany, Italy, to support the efforts of Karpatukraine for self-determination. Protest vigorously against the Polish and Hungarian plans of common frontier at the expense of Karpatukraine and their occupancy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To whom are these cablegrams addressed?

Mr. REVYUK. That was addressed to the Obyednannia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is your organization?

Mr. REVYUK. Our organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the second one is addressed to whom?

Mr. REVYUK. The second one is addressed to Svoboda.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And by whom is the second one signed?

Mr. REVYUK. The second one is signed by Woloshyn, Premier Minister of the Karpatukraine—

We, the Government of the Karpatukraine, appeal to you, our brethren across the ocean, to manifest your solidarity with us in the present decisive moment. The loss of Ushoroda and Mukatchewa, which is a wounding of live body of



our native country, will not shake our resolute decision to carry out the great historic task. Real support of the Government of Karpatukraine on your part, on the side of our brethren across the ocean—

There is something that is garbled that I cannot really make out. (The telegrams above referred to were marked "Revyuk No. Exhibit, September 28, 1939.")

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, these are telegrams from Carpathian officials who were wiring here to this organization or organizations, asking the organizations to use their influence to protest against the separation of those cities.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Showing the exact condition that existed as between the Carpathian Government and these respective organizations in America. In other words, the government officials were wiring directly to Ukrainian officials in the United States?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir. It was composed of American citizens. Are not most of the members of the organization American citizens?

Mr. REYYUK. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you not know that?

Mr. REYYUK. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a cablegram in Ukrainian from Rome, dated October 1, 1938, addressed to Svoboda. Will you translate that?

Mr. REYYUK. It reads "Myshuha will stay until the third of this month with me."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is it signed by?

Mr. REYYUK. By Onatsky, Paris.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. REYYUK. He is editor of a Ukrainian newspaper in Paris, the Ukraine Teskflovo. The telegram is signed "Onatsky."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you identify Onatsky?

Mr. REYYUK. Mr. Onatsky is the Rome correspondent of the Svoboda.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is also the agent of the Provid in Rome?

Mr. REYYUK. Yes, sir; the Provid.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Provid is in Germany, and he is the agent in Rome?

Mr. REYYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you an exhibit which consists of a letter from the Ukraine Bureau, Southern Building, Washington, which was sent to you under date of May 18, 1939. It contains four sheets. There are two letters signed by Skotzko.

Mr. REYYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you state whether you received this material, and what was the general nature of it?

Mr. REYYUK. I received this letter. They did not come in this envelope. The first letter was in this envelope, and the other two sheets were separate. The letter addressed to me by Mr. Skotzko says:

It would be very interesting to have from you a practical exhaustive opinion in reply to the following question: Why should the United States consider it in their own interest to be interested in and support the Ukrainian question?

The CHAIRMAN. What is that question?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The problem.

Mr. REYYUK. He meant the problem, I suppose.

The CHAIRMAN. The interest of the United States in the problem of the Ukraine?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir. Then it says:

I asked the same question of other gentlemen, since I would like to have a clear opinion about this among ourselves. I thank you and remain, etc.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will ask you if three of these letters did not refer to efforts of the Odwu to arrange for a demonstration to be held in the Hippodrome Hall, in New York, in July 1937? Did the three letters refer to that subject?

Mr. REVYUK. I find difficulty in exactly identifying it. They speak about a common national manifestation, which probably was a manifestation, or, rather, a mass meeting to be held in the Hippodrome.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any other demonstration or manifestation other than the one held in the Hippodrome, in New York?

Mr. REVYUK. I do not think so. I think that must be the one.

The CHAIRMAN. They were arranging from abroad for a demonstration held here in the United States; is that correct? They were arranging for a demonstration to be held in the United States in behalf of Ukrainian independence?

Mr. REVYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It may also be noted that these letters are signed by Mr. Skorsky. The first letter is signed by Eugene Skotzko.

Mr. REVYUK. The second letter is from the central executive committee of the Odwu. This is also signed by Skotzko, the recording secretary, and Mr. Cherwolnik. Mr. Skorsky is the president of the National Press Service.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have a letter in Ukrainian from Danzig, dated August 9, 1938, signed by Dr. Myshuha. Will you identify that letter as having been received by you?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir; that letter was received by me from Dr. Myshuha.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will ask you whether in this letter, among other things, Dr. Myshuha said this to you:

In Berlin I have not as yet seen the chief, but I will try to see him later.

Will you state to the committee whether that statement appears there?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir; it does.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was mailed to you from Danzig?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir; it came from Zoppot, which is in the Free City of Danzig.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you testify to that letter as being in Dr. Myshuha's own handwriting?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are familiar with his handwriting?

Mr. REVYUK. I am; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will show you another communication. This appears to be a communication addressed to your organization.

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In care of Dr. Myshuha.

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it signed by Mr. Skotzko?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir; the recording secretary, and Mr. Czeravatiuk.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is in Ukrainian, and I would like to give you a translation of a portion of the letter and see if you will identify it:

In regard to your opinion about the purposes of this mass meeting and especially as to the attitude of the old country to any such mass meeting, we do not know whom you have in mind when you speak of the "old country." If you had in mind the Ukrainian Nationalist movement and its Provid which you as well as we have always recognized as the carrier of the movement for the liberation of the Ukrainian people and whom you, as well as we, have always given support, then we give you our declaration that it is exactly the wish of the Provid and the Nationalists that such mass meeting should be held in New York.

An order of the Provid and the Ukrainian Nationalists in regard to such mass meeting has already been received by us as the official representative of that Provid in America, and it was our duty to gain cooperation for this purpose of all the Ukrainian factors in this country, including you.

As to the policies of the organization of the Ukrainian nationalists, it seems to us that it is now and it is not different from what it used to be for years in the past, and there is no basis to suppose that such a change of attitude is intended, and as to the price in it we have not made anything on the rumors which have always been circulated.

We also read the last editorials of Svoboda and other articles in it, the contents of which in our opinion coincide with the attitude of the United Ukrainian organization in that matter. We think that the definition of the need of such mass meeting as given by the Svoboda does not run counter to the proper attitude, but in our opinion at the present moment when the inimical propaganda falsely distorts the Ukrainian cause and tries to annul our work abroad, and when we could expect every moment the outbreak of war and various factors, the world would like to have the Ukrainian attitude clarified by the Ukrainians themselves when foreign nations watch unusually carefully the Ukrainian cause, and, as you can say from your own experience, very carefully watched, and ask or inquire how the Ukrainian immigrants proceed and organize themselves, since they consider that Ukrainian immigrations are perhaps the only factor of giving consideration to the Ukrainian national question and manifesting the true feelings and desires of the Ukrainian people today, and at such a moment conditions more than command that such a powerful and all-embracing mass meeting should be held.

Is that an approximately correct translation?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir; except near the end. In the last clause of that sentence you have just finished reading, "since they consider that Ukrainians are perhaps the only factor of giving consideration to the Ukrainian national question," and so forth. That should be "the only fully free factor."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where is the letter from?

Mr. REYUK. That letter was sent from the central executive committee of the Odzu.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To your organization?

Mr. REYUK. To the United Ukrainian Organizations, in care of Dr. Myshuba.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does that letter make it perfectly clear that the Provid in Germany desired that a mass meeting be held on behalf of the Ukrainian cause?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that letter makes it clear that they have received express instructions from the Provid to that end?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is the proper attitude there? What do they mean when they say "the proper attitude"?

The CHAIRMAN. It is the attitude of the Provid. Whatever is the attitude of the Provid would be the proper attitude, would it not? Is not that what they mean?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It reads:

We think that the definition of the need of such mass meeting as given by the Svoboda does not run counter to the proper attitude.

Mr. VOORHIS. What does that mean?

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is it that they were talking about in connection with the proper attitude?

Mr. REYVUK. I cannot be exact about it, but what they meant probably was that Svoboda itself was in favor of such a mass demonstration all over the country in favor of Ukraine independence. This is the general attitude. Now, Odwu arranged for a manifestation, and they would like to have the United Ukrainian Organizations to come forward and cooperate in this particular meeting in New York City; but, as these other letters show, we have not fully cooperated with them. We have stood officially aloof from them. We would not cooperate with them officially.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then a proper attitude, in that connection, meant an attitude favorable to Ukraine independence?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Am I correct in assuming that the Svoboda newspaper is one that you are connected with?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a letter signed by Mr. Skotzko and Mr. Czeravatiuk, under date of June 3, 1938.

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you identify that letter?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir; that was received by the United Ukrainian Organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Without translating the letter, which is lengthy, can you give us the gist of it?

Mr. REYVUK. I will have to read it. The writers say that we should cooperate with them in proclaiming a public mourning for the death of the leader or fuehrer of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement, the late Colonel Konovaletz.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do they specify 14 days of mourning?

Mr. REYVUK. Naturally they want to see if they cannot give it wider publication. They specify methods of glorifying the leader.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is the man who was assassinated at Rotterdam?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was the head of the Provid?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And was succeeded by Colonel Melnyk?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it ever determined who assassinated Colonel Konovaletz?

Mr. REYVUK. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There were many charges and counter charges?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir; they had several factors mentioned as a reason for his death, but there was no proof.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a letter sent to Svoboda from Berlin, which contains propaganda and press material from Germany. Is that letter from Berlin?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does it contain propaganda and press material from Germany?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir; it contains press releases.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does it state that Professor Granowsky, the president of the Odwu in the United States, and Kossar, the leader of the Canadian Nationalists, are in Europe?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Professor Granowsky is the president of the Odwu in the United States and Kossar is the leader of the Canadian Nationalists?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They were in Europe?

Mr. REYUK. In Slovakia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this the Professor Granowsky who stated to the State Department that he had no connection with a foreign principal? Is that correct?

Mr. REYUK. I do not know whether he stated that.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the significance of that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This man named Kossar is the leader of the Ukrainian Nationalists in Canada, and they were traveling together in Europe. They were at Bratislava, according to the press releases from Berlin.

I will show you a letter signed by Dr. Myshuha, sent from Germany, dated September 22, 1938. Is that correct?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To whom is the letter addressed?

Mr. REYUK. It is addressed to me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read a part of the letter, as follows:

The official Voelkischer Beobachter (Hitler's own publication) publishes an article about the demand of Carpatho-Ukraine to become independent. This emanates from the Ukrainian Nationalist circles and was published after I told them about the consultations with the First Ukrainian National Council in Uzhorod. In America we must conduct a campaign in the name of Obyeduanaya in the defense of the Carpatho-Ukraine as a part of the whole Ukrainian scheme. We must immediately (and the word "immediately" is underscored) give financial aid to the First Ukrainian Council for all kinds of schemes which demand action there and abroad, because they must send emissaries from there. Local sources will raise some funds, but we must aid with some ten thousand dollars.

Is that a correct translation of that part of the letter?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the official organ mentioned there, the Voelkischer Beobachter newspaper?

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir; it is the official organ of the National Socialist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the significance of that? Is he quoting an article which appears in Hitler's personal newspaper?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir. Not only that, but he gave information to the official Voelkischer Beobachter, according to this letter. According to this letter, the Voelkischer Beobachter is supporting Ukrainian independence. There is a general tie-up there with what the letter seems to indicate.

Mr. VOORHIS. Dr. Myshuha wrote a letter, as I understand it, quoting an article from the Voelkischer Beobachter, telling about what was happening in connection with the movement for Ukrainian independence?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. And he goes on in his letter to say that they should raise \$10,000 in the United States?

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is no quotation from that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that in the article?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No, sir; that is in the letter. There is no quotation.

The CHAIRMAN. He simply says that he gave the paper certain information.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did he develop this business about raising the \$10,000? Did he say that, too?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He says that in the letter.

Here is an exhibit consisting of two envelopes, containing press releases from Bratislava. Are these press releases of a Nationalist propaganda character? Can you tell that from a glance?

Mr. REYVUK. One of them notifies us of the organization of the Ukrainian press bureau in Bratislava. And another one gives excerpts from the Communist press directed against the Soviet.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were these communications received by the Svoboda newspaper?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dated July 1939?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you say that these press releases were from the Communist press, and directed against the Soviet Union?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir; quoted from various Russian newspapers. No, sir; that is a mistake; that is not a Communist paper. Yes, sir; it is quoted from Communist papers. They quote news dispatches that show that something is wrong with the Soviet.

Mr. VOORHIS. That something is wrong with the Soviet Union?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They get news dispatches on which to base their arguments?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a letter from Dr. Myshuha, from Paris, dated October 8, 1938, addressed to you. Is that letter in Dr. Myshuha's handwriting?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read a translation of the letter, in part, as follows:

Prague, Vienna, Rome, and now Paris is the fourth spot under which I was compelled to wait for a day, sometimes as many as 5 hours a day, to come for my turn in the matter of visa to England. Since the time that they began the evacuation of London they fear air raids of German airplanes (something that can happen in Paris, too). English bureaucrats became insane. In my visa matters there occur still other complications as I see that wherever such a small person as myself applies for a visa they are interested in finding out who I am and whom I represent.

Mr. Makobin, who bought a "palace" in Alassio on the Italian Riviera, states that there were circulated about me silly rumors that I am a candidate to be the successor to Konovaletz, and this complicates matters. In any case, he showed me a letter from Davies, a member of the British Parliament, to the effect that he had intervened in my favor, but here are passing 10 days and I have no answer to my 3 telegrams.

Yesterday I had in the English consulate an hour's conference, with a lady official who appeared to be very intelligent and unusually well oriented in the matter of sub-Carpatho. It went so far that I told her the full truth what I went to London for. That I was already in Uzhorod and that I represent

the opinion of the Ukrainian National Council in Uzhorod and at the same time the American opinion. She asked me whether my activity does not go counter to the policies of the American Government.

I replied that the U. S. A. are for the self-determination of nationalities and justice, and they don't interfere with anybody's efforts in such directions, but quite the contrary, they help. She asked how we intended to liberate Ukraine from under the Soviet. Why are we so much interested in sub-Carpathia? I gave a long reply in that direction, that the break-down of the Soviets is inevitable, that we need sub-Carpathia in order to stop the Soviet advance into Europe (through Czechoslovakia) and that it is not to the interest of England that sub-Carpathia should become a springboard for the expansion to the east for \* \* \* for somebody else except the Ukrainian people who are neighbors and who want the panoply of the Soviet power in the Ukraine.

She asked also about the Magyrs and the Poles. She was "struck" when I told her that I will deposit at once \$1,000 to the person who will prove to me that in Poland 7,000,000 Ukrainians can use in the school books and official relations the name of Ukraine. She has written it down, all this, and sent it by special letter to the home office.

In Rome the situation has changed somewhat. Onatsky was appointed; at least he is of Polish origin. The printing of the Ukrainian-Italian dictionary was stopped at once, although the dictionary had already upward of 200 pages. Efforts are being made that this work should not be placed in peril. It is evident that Italy supports Hungary and the annexation of sub-Carpathia to Hungary. This is to be an obstacle against expansion of Germany of which Italy begins to stand in great fear. We in Rome have discussed the matter with Dr. Enrico Eusabato, and I sent him at his explicit demand a special letter as one who has conferred with the Ukrainian National Council and as a representative of the opinion of the American Ukraine and in general of the Ukrainian National Association and Svoboda as the oldest organizations, and in this letter I proposed to him a confederation of three independent nations, namely, Czechs, Slovaks, and Ukrainians, as the most sensible solution which will give the Ukrainian people in sub-Carpathia the possibility of stopping the advance of the Third International in Europe via Uzhorod, Prague.

I came to an agreement with the Provid (Hrybievsky and Baranowsky) to the effect that Odwu would carry no special general action without an understanding with the United Ukrainian organizations. All the orders for such activities will be sent in the first place to the United Ukrainian organizations for examination, to see whether or not there are any obstacles to it, or opposition.

The resolution about the independence passed at the congress of Odwu has not helped the matter. It was, at any rate, premature, and for this reason could even hurt the cause. That is the same opinion of Onatsky and those who are in Paris. I wrote to Hrybievsky a letter to give by telegram a command to Odwu to carry on no political activities without an understanding with the United Ukrainian organizations. Improper conduct of the matter is killing it, since it reveals us as having connections with the German intrigue.

In the old country the pacification goes on or has been going on for more than a month. Now they conduct bargaining for candidates for seats in the Parliament. Undo going to take part in the elections, other groups not. This at least is the news from Lemberg. The Union of the Ukraine Women perhaps is still alive since the Government wants piety to induce the Ukrainians to take a part in the balloting and elections. That increases the number of their candidates. From Budapest and Vienna go continuous appeals by radio in the matter of sub-Carpathia. The populace of sub-Carpathia are appealed to from Vienna to hold out because the entire Ukrainian race and America are for them.

Is that a portion of the letter?

MR. REYUK. Almost the whole letter, but I think there are some mistakes here.

MR. MATTHEWS. Will you please note any significant errors, if they are more than merely verbal?

MR. REYUK. That passage about Rome is completely garbled. In Rome the situation is somewhat changed.

MR. MATTHEWS. Will you give the correct translation?

MR. REYUK. It says his chief was appointed in the institute, but they appointed an Italian who is of Polish origin. That is why they stopped the printing of the American-Polish dictionary.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who is that letter from?

Mr. REVYUK. It is from Dr. Myshuba to me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Dr. Myshuba's handwriting. In this letter he states, "I came to an agreement with Provid," and in parentheses two men are named, right after Provid, one Hrybiersky and the other Baranowsky, both of whom have already been referred to.

This agreement had to do with the activities of Odwu, the organization in America which is a section of Provid.

Mr. VOORHIS. He says the Odwu must not do anything unless the United Ukrainian Organizations agree. Is that right?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is the point of that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please clarify that, Mr. Revyuk?

Mr. REVYUK. Evidently they refer to incidents in which the United Ukrainian Organizations refused to cooperate with the Odwu.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They were alienated by some tactics of Odwu?

Mr. REVYUK. Odwu would come out and try to start something, a mass meeting, or something, and then they were asked to cooperate and they would refuse to cooperate, and they agreed, as the letter says, that before Odwu comes out with any kind of a scheme of some work they should always make an understanding with the United Ukrainians Organizations beforehand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that in order to guarantee the success of the united front?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes; something of that kind.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He calls attention to the fact that improper conduct of the matter is killing it.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, here are some 50 branches of Odwu in the United States, and they are affiliated with an international organization, and the head of it is the Provid at Berlin, and they are exchanging information between the groups at different times, reporting as to what is going on in other countries of the world, as well as leaders going from United States. All of this has its fountainhead in Berlin, in Germany, where the Provid headquarters are, and, naturally, Germany would be getting any information that would come in through this source.

The 50 branches are pretty well located, like the bund, and it would be a source of information for Germany.

That would be a reasonable inference from the letters and correspondence and the connections.

I do not mean necessarily that these people would be intentionally giving information to Germany, but the effect would be that these 50 branches would be reporting to a central headquarters in Germany, and the close connection between Germany and this central agency is shown by the fact that the official newspaper of the Nazis prints articles for them and sends out news releases to the United States.

Mr. REVYUK. In this letter he refers to a different matter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Here is the point in this letter of greatest importance. Dr. Myshuba is saying that Odwu has pursued wrong tactics with the Ukrainian organization because Odwu has revealed connections with the German authorities. That is the improper tactic that he has suggested.



The CHAIRMAN. That is another way of saying that this whole thing is linked to Nazi Germany. The German Government would not tolerate the existence of this Ukrainian headquarters, wherever it is, unless the Nazi Government wanted to. In other words, they have complete control over the matter, so there is a link there—we do not know how strong—between the Nazi Government and this central organization.

Of course, it may be that most of the members of this Nationalist group are innocent about this thing that has been going on. It may be that they are drawn into this thing, a great many of them working in different factories and industries; most of them are industrial workers.

Mr. REYUK. In the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. In the big cities of the country. Some of them are in airplane factories, in munitions plants, and so on.

Mr. REYUK. They might be.

The CHAIRMAN. The thing I think we overlook is the clever scheme in having all these different, various organizations with branches, all alive because of some ideological dispute, when all of the information eventually finds its way into Germany through some route. It may be in one instance from the Communist Party, or in another instance from the Bund, or from the Ukrainians, or some other movement. But eventually it all gets to Germany, and, of course, there can be used by Hitler for whatever purpose he sees fit.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think there are 150 posts.

Mr. REYUK. I do not know how many there are; I have no idea. I just know that at the last convention of the Odwu held this year there were delegates from 58 lodges.

The CHAIRMAN. The way Germany worked it was to express sympathy for the Ukrainian desire for independence. Germany fostered this thing and encouraged it, and Ukrainians generally were in sympathy with Germany for that reason, were they not?

Mr. REYUK. I do not know how general that was.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean until the recent pact between Stalin and Hitler.

Mr. REYUK. Not generally, no; just a small group, but they are rather active, more, perhaps, than the others. What he refers to here was that during the congress of Odwu, that a resolution was passed during the congress of Odwu in the matter of the Ukraine, which was not the right thing to do, in which somehow there was exposed the relationship between Germany and that movement for the Ukraine.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is not this an important feature of that letter also, that apparently Dr. Myshuha had spoken to the officials of the Provid and explained to them that the Odwu was a sort of militant organization that was perhaps getting a little too far ahead of the parade and becoming too obvious in its method, and that the other organizations, on the other hand, were much more solid, with more membership, and that if any tactics were used, or any activities approved by them that would be less likely to be of a harmful nature than they would be if Odwu did what they wanted to; is that right?

Mr. REYUK. He probably meant the character of such activities. He probably meant if Odwu proceeded to do something in favor of

the Ukraine and followed it in such a way that it might show they are connected with Germany.

Mr. VOORHIS. He did not want that to be shown.

Mr. REYUK. He did not want that to be shown. He knows that if the united Ukraine organization do something, activities of that kind will be simply shown because the united Ukrainian organizations will not allow such things to happen, because we are not connected in any way with them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revyuk, there is a Mr. Makohin referred to in this letter of Dr. Myshuba. Could you briefly identify Mr. Makohin? Do you know him personally?

Mr. REYUK. I met him several times, both in this country and once in Paris, in 1929, I think. He is rather a man of mystery. What he is nobody really knows. There were probably questions made in various Ukrainian papers asking, Who is this man? He supports the Bureau of Information in London, the Ukraine bureau in London, and still people do not know what connection he has, with what government, and so on.

He does not represent anybody in this country but himself, but he has plenty of money to do such widely scattered activities, and therefore the people asked, who is that man?

Mr. VOORHIS. He has been asked by whom to do these things?

Mr. REYUK. By Ukrainian newspapers in this country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They have been asking, Who is this man of mystery who seems to have ample funds to carry on all of this work, and set up a press service?

Mr. REYUK. A press service in London.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Ukrainians have not so far had an answer to that question?

Mr. REYUN. Not yet.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is he in the United States at present?

Mr. REYUK. I understand he is in the places mentioned in that letter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about charges alleged against Mr. Makohin by official bodies in the Government?

Mr. REYUK. I know some time ago, I think 2 years ago, there was a very wide investigation in this country of Mr. Makohin and about his activities, about the source of his finances, and so on, but what was the result of this inquiry—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who made that investigation?

Mr. REYUK. I think it must have been the American Government.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. REYUK. I do not know, but the American Government was doing that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything further about Mr. Makohin, any other governmental investigation?

Mr. REYUK. No. I understand there was an investigation carried on against him in Canada, and there were inquiries made in Paris, too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is his first name, do you know?

Mr. REYUK. I do not remember his first name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is not stated in the letter?

Mr. REYUK. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revyuk, I show you a letter in Ukrainian, which appears to be from Odwu; is that correct [handing letter to witness]?

Mr. REYUK. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Addressed to your organization?

Mr. REYUK. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under date of October 5, 1938.

Mr. REYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it correct that this letter asks your organization to furnish credentials for two delegates who are being sent to Europe for the purpose of influencing the situation in sub-Carpathia?

Mr. REYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the names of these delegates are Nicholas Benyo, of St. Claire, Pa., and George Gaboda, of New York City.

Mr. REYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it correct that the letter is signed by V. Czervatiuk as vice president?

Mr. REYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And V. Riznak as secretary?

Mr. REYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it also correct that these two agents returned to New York City on September 14, 1939, on the *Statendam*?

Mr. REYUK. That I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revyuk, do you know of any other name under which Onatsky goes?

Mr. REYUK. I think his real name is Seryk.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any other alias used by any of these men?

Mr. REYUK. My impression is, I am not sure of it, but my impression is that Schresku is also not his real name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revyuk, we have here a letter sent to Svoboda from Rome, dated September 25, 1938 [handing letter to witness]. Is that letter signed by Onatski?

Mr. REYUK. Yes; it is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Onatski has been identified as an agent of the Provid in Rome?

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And a correspondent of your newspaper, Svoboda?

Mr. REYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In part of this letter it is stated:

With regard to Carpatho-Ukraine, I submitted two letters, one to Il Duce and another one with a copy of the first to Ciano. I am expecting Mr. Myshuha this week and will acquaint him with the text of my letters which I don't feel like forwarding.

Is that correct?

Mr. REYUK. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the letter says that Mr. Onatsky has had a conference with Il Duce?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He presented two letters, one to Il Duce and a copy of the first to Ciano.

The CHAIRMAN. In reference to what matter?

Mr. MATTHEWS. With reference to the Carpatho-Ukraine.

Mr. Revyuk, I show you a letter from Dr. Myshuha, addressed to you [showing letter to witness]. Is that correct?

Mr. REVYUK. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From Carlsbad, Germany.

Mr. REVYUK. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dated September 9, 1938.

Mr. REVYUK. September 9, 1938. That was not Germany then, I think, was it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; that was Czechoslovakia.

Mr. REVYUK. That was before September 25-26.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read a translation of a part of the letter and ask you to follow it, beginning with the words "I learned that," and reading as follows:

I learned that General Kurmanovich went to America. I wasn't informed about it beforehand, but I was only asked as to who would be the right person to send to America. They asked me about it in Berlin at the time when the general was already on his way, but I guessed and have even written I forgot to whom that the general will surely come to America. Now I am going to Prague to deliver a lecture and there I have also many requests especially with regard to the Pan-Ukrainian Congress and the Provid.

Is that a correct translation of the portion which I read?

Mr. REVYUK. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Revyuk, as you recall, these last three communications which we have just gone over, when you received these communications from Dr. Myshuha, and written not so far apart, did they convey to you the understanding, or very clear impression, that Dr. Myshuha was acting as some sort of a liaison agent between the Nationalist movement here in the United States and the Provid in Germany? What conclusions did you draw from these communications?

Mr. REVYUK. As to this question of being a liaison, it seemed that he is a kind of liaison; he goes between Provid and some other organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you another letter [handing letter to witness]. Is this letter from the organization of the Ukraine Nationalists' liaison department?

Mr. REVYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it addressed to your organization?

Mr. REVYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By whom was it signed?

Mr. REVYUK. It is signed by Pryhoda, as the reporter of liaison.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that a fictitious name, or is that a correct name?

Mr. REVYUK. There is not a first name given, so it looks as if it were fictitious, or a pseudonym.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does the name Pryhoda have any meaning in Ukrainian?

Mr. REVYUK. It has some meaning of an adventurer, or something.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So, on the face of it, it would appear that it is a pseudonym?

Mr. REVYUK. It looks like it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read you from this letter dated October 18, 1938, as follows:

By our letter of October 17, 1938, we brought to your notice a communiqué of the Provid of OUN, and the elevation of Mr. Andrew Melnyk to the position of chief of the Provid and the fuhrer of the Nationalist movement, and we advised you to pass on that communiqué to the press, but for certain political and tech-

nical reasons and namely on account of certain complications which might arise through a premature republication of this communique, we request you to regard this communique as confidential and not to publish it before you get word from us.

Is that a correct translation of the letter you hold in your hand?

Mr. REYYUK. You said what happened to Andrew Melnyk?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Elevated.

Mr. REYYUK. He was proclaimed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Otherwise, the translation is correct?

Mr. REYYUK. Otherwise the translation is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, you were asked not to make known this fact, by Pryhoda, because it might have a reaction that might be harmful to the interests of Provid in Germany.

Mr. REYYUK. It seems about that way. I received the first communique from Provid.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that introduced this morning, and was it identified?

Mr. REYYUK. Yes; and then 2 or 3 days later they asked me not to publish it, and then this was a request to publish it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Where did this letter come from?

Mr. REYYUK. It came from Vienna.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did the other one also come from Vienna?

Mr. REYYUK. Yes; that was also from Vienna.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who is that letter signed by? Who signed that, what name was it?

Mr. REYYUK. Pryhoda.

Mr. VOORHIS. I thought there was something after that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This was a letter from the liaison department of the headquarters of the Nationalists.

I show you a letter from Dr. Myshuha [handing letter to witness]. To whom is that letter addressed?

Mr. REYYUK. It must have been addressed to me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is dated October 17, 1938.

Mr. REYYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From Rotterdam, Holland.

Mr. REYYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read you the translation of a part of the letter:

I am transmitting to you a declaration which I made in Vienna over the radio [which is the Nazi-controlled station], and which was heard all over Europe. This station is especially being listened to in the Carpatho-Ukraine and by our people under Poland, and I am a witness to the fact that some 300 people have been listening to it in Chalet, France, where I have given a lecture about our Ukrainian life in America. \* \* \* Now, since the frontiers are closed—

Mr. REYYUK. Just a moment.

Mr. MATTHEWS. "Since the frontiers are closed?"

Mr. REYYUK. Yes.

Mr. Matthews (continuing):

Now, since the frontiers are closed, it is impossible to get to Prague or Uzhorod by rail—

Mr. REYYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS (continuing):

so I will again be obliged to fly by airplane.

That is a correct translation, is it?

Mr. REYVUK. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this, again, establishes the fact that Dr. Myshuha did give his speech over the Nazi-controlled radio station in Vienna; that is correct?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This time the communication is in his own handwriting?

Mr. REYVUK. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it published in Svoboda—the speech?

Mr. REYVUK. The speech was; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The speech that he gave over the radio station was published in Svoboda?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revyuk, I hand you another letter [handing a paper to the witness]. To whom is this letter addressed?

Mr. REYVUK. To me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From Dr. Myshuha?

Mr. REYVUK. From Dr. Myshuha.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From London.

Mr. REYVUK. From London.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dated October 25, 1938?

Mr. REYVUK. The envelope is addressed to me. The letter is addressed to the Ukrainian National Association and to the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Which is your own organization?

Mr. REYVUK. Which is my own organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this letter does Dr. Myshuha state that he called at the Foreign Office of the British Government and left there a memorandum?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that in the course of his conversation at the British Foreign Office he gathered that the British are helpless?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. "That is to say, if Hungary or Poland occupy the Carpatho-Ukraine, the British will not fight"?

Mr. REYVUK. That is what it means—could not fight.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Could not fight?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. "It follows that they are leaving it up to Hitler alone to handle the affairs in eastern Europe"?

Is that the burden of it?

Mr. REYVUK. That is the burden of it; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Another letter, if you please. Mr. Revyuk [handing a paper to the witness]. To whom is this letter addressed?

Mr. REYVUK. Also to me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From Dr. Myshuha?

Mr. REYVUK. From Dr. Myshuha.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From Carlsbad?

Mr. REYVUK. From Carlsbad.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the date is August 26, 1938?

Mr. REYVUK. Right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was when Dr. Myshuha was still in Czechoslovakia. I read the translation:

I am enclosing here two articles of Yasiniczuk, which were sent here to me from Jersey City.

That is Y-a-s-i-n-c-z-u-k?

Mr. REYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS (continuing):

I am enclosing also the envelope so that you may know Mr. Yasiniczuk's handwriting, especially Miss Badnar's, who recognizes it, and should not send them back to me. Finally, I remark that all my letters could be opened since I have no secrets in them.

I received today for the first time in Europe "Svoboda," and I am reading it with great interest as we have never seen it before. I am reading in it about the firm of Avramenko. Is Mr. Skehar the author of these articles? They seem to be his style. At least, it seems so to me. I was here already in the place 5 days and it is very cold and it is raining, which means what is happening most to me. The prices are very high everywhere, especially Germany, and they take the skin of you who happens to come here. The number of people is very small, a few Jews and Poles. Of the Ukrainians there came from Canada Doroshenko—

Mr. REYUK. That is D-o-r-o-s-h-e-n-k-o.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Doroshenko and Lotosky—L-o-t-o-s-k-y?

Mr. REYUK. Right.

Mr. MATTHEWS (continuing):

from Warsaw. There is also a plenipotentiary of Mr. Makahon. It means a varied company. There is also a director of the land bank, and from him I received some good information. Everybody here is "convinced" that I travel through Europe to prepare myself to be the head of the Provid of the Om! Some state that I have been already "appointed," but of the real members of the Provid I know little, since it is not even certain who belongs to it.

I saw in Berlin Yary, but he could not tell me if anybody and who will go to America. It appears, however, that they will try to send there General Kurmanovich.

For general information I may state only this: That no matter with whom I talk here, everybody here all in unison and state that the only creative element in the old country is the nationalist element. It is this element that carries on all the work in the villages. Formerly it used to be different. It was absent from all kinds of workers, and nowadays just the opposite. The radical party has become ridiculous. Stachiv is left. Hromadsky Holos should not irritate the Government with something. They have gathered some property and they shiver over it. I was told about it by people from their own party.

As to the assassination of Colonel Konovaletz there are various surmises, but the mourning in the old country was pan-national all over the villages and cities. Everywhere the people carried mourning bands although they were punished for it severely.

Is that a correct translation of that letter, Mr. Revyuk?

Mr. REYUK. What was said about the radical party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. "The radical party has become ridiculous."

Mr. REYUK. It says here: "Has become opportunistic." It is ridiculous to state it has become opportunistic.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the only correction you have to make in the letter?

Mr. REYUK. That is the only one.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revyuk, can you identify Mr. Piznak?

Mr. REYUK. He is an attorney from New York—in New York. He is also a member of the United Ukrainian Organizations, and an officer of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And is this the Mr. Piznak who is a friend of Mr. Ivan Baran?

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you identify Mr. Baran?

Mr. REYUK. I have known him for some years. He was first a preacher; then he became a real-estate operator—a realtor. I met him in Chicago. Later he came to New York City. I met him in New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are Piznak and Baran closely associated with Dr. Myshuha, according to your knowledge?

Mr. REYVUK. They are associated. I don't know how close they are.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this the same Mr. Baran who testified for the Nazi Government in connection with the settlement of claims centering around the Black Tom explosions?

Mr. REYVUK. I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is Mr. Vosniak?

Mr. REYVUK. I remember reading about the trial in the matter of the Black Tom Island explosion, and remember Vosniak's name was mentioned in the report. It is a Slovak name; it may be Ukrainian, it may be Polish.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know him personally?

Mr. REYVUK. I do not know him personally. I do not know who he is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Mr. Gregory Herman?

Mr. REYVUK. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What are his organization connections in the Ukrainian movement?

Mr. REYVUK. He was until 1938 the president of the Odwu until last year, until the election of Granowsky to that office.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Gregory Herman an officer in the Reserves of the United States Army?

Mr. REYVUK. I think he is; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where Mr. Herman resides?

Mr. REYVUK. He resides at Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a Mr. Smuk?

Mr. REYVUK. Roman Smuk?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he connected with the Odwu?

Mr. REYVUK. Well, as far as I hear.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you see him in the nationalist movement?

Mr. REYVUK. That is how I—from hearsay. I have no personal knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. That last statement may be stricken, where he says it is just from hearsay.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; and also the question may be stricken.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the question too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revyuk, do you know anything about the airplanes which are advertised in the publications of the Odwu and on the calendar which is put out by the organization?

Mr. REYVUK. I have read many reports about it in the press for some years—for some 4 years—about such things being in existence.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This [handing a paper to the witness] is a copy of the Nationalist dated—

Mr. REYVUK. Dated September 20, 1935.

Mr. MATTHEWS. With three photographs of an airplane on which the word "Nationalist" appears to be painted.

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir; and the Ukrainian coat of arms, and it says: "Photographs from the aeronautical festival at Cleveland. Members of the organization of Odwu, Branch No. 8, and airplane Nationalist."



Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Revyuk, I show you another copy of the Nationalist [handing a paper to the witness], dated——

Mr. REYVUK. February 1, 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. February 1, 1938, which has a photograph. Is that photograph of members of the Odwu?

Mr. REYVUK. Well, this is—the caption reads:

From the Nationalist Day in New England: Peabody, Massachusetts, June 28, 1937.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is there anything here that identifies the group in the picture as members of the Odwu?

Mr. REYVUK. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recognize the uniforms?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes, sir; the uniforms.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What uniforms are they? Do you know them by sight?

Mr. REYVUK. They probably are of the Nationalist group.

The CHAIRMAN. They have a distinctive uniform in that organization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; a distinctive uniform as indicated by the photographs. There are several photographs here.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if they have a strong-arm detachment. Does he know anything about that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the strong-arm detachment?

Mr. REYVUK. No; I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of what is this a photograph? [Indicating.]

Mr. REYVUK. This is an airplane school of the Odwu. That is The Nationalist published still in Philadelphia, July 5, 1935.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who the head of the Hetman organization is, Mr. Revyuk?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes; Dr. Siemens, of Chicago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. S-i-e-m-e-n-s?

Mr. REYVUK. S-i-e-m-e-n-s.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he has any position in the United States Army?

Mr. REYVUK. I think he is an officer in the Reserves.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A Reserve officer in the United States Army?

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Revyuk, I want to show you several copies of the publications of Odwu and ask you to identify certain translated portions of these publications. What is the name of this publication? [Handing a paper to the witness.]

Mr. REYVUK. The name of this publication is "Vistnyk of Odwu," which means "the messenger of Odwu."

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what is the date of that issue?

Mr. REYVUK. The date is April-May 1934.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And on page—what is this page? [Indicating.]

Mr. REYVUK. Page 13.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Page 13—will you please translate the underlined portion?

Mr. REYVUK:

It came also beyond—across the sea to America, and it was grafted here by the very same soldiers who in the time of the Ukrainian uprising stood in the most dangerous posts at the front.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that statement made on the authority of Stefan Kuropas?

Mr. REVYUK. That is right. He writes that article.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he states that the Ukrainian Nationalist movement in America was imported from Europe?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was imported from Europe, and was not born here. Now, on page 16 of the same issue, Mr. Revyuk, I will read this. It is in English.

A hearty welcome goes to Mr. Omelan Hrybiwskyj (alias Grybivsky) who arrived on our shores last month. We trust the members of the Y. U. N. (Young Ukrainian Nationalists) will grasp the opportunity of making personal acquaintance with the man who laid the foundations for Odwu 3 years ago. He comes to us from the organization of Ukrainian Nationalists to give a first-hand account of the situation in Ukraine and the work performed there by Ukrainian Nationalists. Mr. Hrybiwskyj will give a series of lectures where branches of Odwu exist. Now is the time to make preparations for his visit to your branch, mobilize your membership, and present a good showing. Where a branch of Y. U. N. has not yet been formed, take the necessary steps for organizing one. The executive committee will give the necessary assistance, but it is up to Ukrainian youth to profit from the inspiration which Mr. Hrybiwsky brings with him.

Now will you please state once more where Mr. Hrybiwsky is from?

Mr. REVYUK. Mr. Hrybiwsky is from Europe.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he is a representative of the Provid?

Mr. REVYUK. Of the Provid.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As has been brought out in previous statements?

Mr. REVYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify that magazine? [Handing a magazine to the witness.]

Mr. REVYUK. This "Vistnyk of the Odwu," "Messenger of the Odwu."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dated what?

Mr. REVYUK. Dated January 1934, No. 16.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you follow the translation of that marked portion on page 1?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

The Ukrainian Nationalists have inoculated the Ukrainians in America with the Ukrainian Nationalist idea, in order to make them accomplish a part of the task in the rebuilding of the Ukrainian State.

Is that a correct translation?

Mr. REVYUK. It is rather free.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does it depart in sense from the original?

Mr. REVYUK.

The Ukrainian Nationalists have grafted, or inoculated, the idea of the Ukrainian Nationalists in America for the purpose that this, our numerous immigration should be revived by this new, live movement, and force it—in order to force it to carry on the part of work in the great revolutionary process of reconstruction of the Ukrainian people and the reconstruction of the Ukrainian Nation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that is signed by the central committee of the Odwu?

Mr. REVYUK. That is signed by the central committee of the Odwu.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you please identify this publication? [Handing a paper to the witness.]

Mr. REYVUK. This is the Nationalist, the official organ of the Odwu, dated Philadelphia, September 20, 1935.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 2, please note a marked portion:

Resolutions adopted by the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists in America:

"1. The congress expresses a behest that the organizational bond of the Nationalist organizations on the American continent with the Provid of the O. U. N. be intensified, and that this bond be effected through the governing bodies of the corresponding nationalist organizations."

Is that a correct translation?

Mr. REYVUK. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS.

"3. The congress takes note of the steps taken by the central committees of Odwu and of the C. H. S."—

Mr. REYVUK. The Red Cross.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Red Cross—

toward the consolidation of their organizations on the territory of the United States of America, steps which have been announced as—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Do they use the word "territory"?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; "the territory of the United States of America."

Steps which have been announced as useful by the communique of the delegate of the Provid of the O. U. N., Mr. Omelian Hrybiwsky, April 25, 1935.

Is that a correct translation?

Mr. REYVUK. That is a correct translation. He uses "terrain" here instead of "territory."

Mr. MATTHEWS. "Terrain" instead of "territory"?

Mr. REYVUK. It is more military.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, that reference to the Red Cross here is not to the American Red Cross, but to a branch of the Odwu, the name of which has now been changed to Gold Cross. Is that correct?

Mr. REYVUK. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, will you please identify this publication? [Handing a paper to the witness.]

Mr. REYVUK. This is Vistnyk of Odwu, dated September 1933. This is the article entitled "Nationalists and Individualism," by E. Onatsky.

Mr. MATTHEWS. E. Onatsky is the Provid representative in Rome, and a few passages from this article give some idea of the ideology of the Odwu movement as set forth by Onatsky. [Reading:]

On the other hand we have an atomistic—

Mr. REYVUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS (continuing):

an atomistic theory of society of the democratic doctrine, with its ideals of general equality, which leads to leveling of human values, and expresses itself by dreadful demagogues of bolshevism and communism.

Mr. REYVUK. Demagogy.

Mr. MATTHEWS (continuing):

demagogy of bolshevism and communism. For democratic individualism the human society is purely a mechanical or atomistic aggregate; every separate individual is an atom equal to every other individual, which weighs on the scales of life and power exactly as much as any other. And that is why in

every democratic-liberal regime they evaluate not the quality of this or other person, not the value of his psychic traits, which ought to be universally cultivated and developed (just remind yourself of Christ's parable about the buried talents), but only the quantity of such persons.

The country of the most merciless individualism (that is of both of liberalism and of the so-called democracy) have of late decades become the United States of America, where the dominant slogan has become the vulgar slogan: "Mind your own business."

The CHAIRMAN. That is from the official publication of this organization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Published here in the United States?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct; published in the United States.

Mr. REYUK. Yes, sir; from Europe, but published in New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. One more quotation from the same article:

Nationalism, which places at the foundation of its activities the welfare of the entire race, remembers that the condition of the whole depends upon the condition of the individuals. And that is why they must cultivate as strongly as possible the development of the individualistic traits and of separate individuals and of separate individualistic groups. And that is why, for instance in Italy, with the obtaining of the control of power by the Italian nationalists (known under the name of Fascism), the Italian nation assumed the name of ethical state, that is, of a nation which is indifferent to the life of the nation and of the individuals composing it, but has toward them its ethical duties, takes care of their education (not only of their enlightenment), of the many-sided development of all their individualistic values.

Is that a correct translation?

Mr. REYUK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is nothing in the world but the Nazi ideology. It is just an expression of the same thing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify this publication? [Handing a paper to the witness.]

Mr. REYUK. This is The Nationalist, New York City, Wednesday, September 14, 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does this headline read: "Resolutions of the Second Congress of the Ukrainian Nationalists of America"?

Mr. REYUK. Right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now will you please follow this translation of resolution No. 8:

The only proper method to construct the political system of the Ukrainian nation is upon the principles of authoritarianism and fuhrership, which rests upon the principle of creativeness, character, will, and responsibility of the individual.

Is that a correct translation?

Mr. REYUK. That is a correct translation.

The CHAIRMAN. Are a lot of these members of this organization aliens? What percent would you say are citizens?

Mr. REYUK. A great many are citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. They belong to an organization that subscribes to these principles?

Mr. REYUK. They do.

The CHAIRMAN. They ought to have their citizenship revoked, and they ought to be sent back to their own country, where they have that idea about democracy and about our country. That is not generally the opinion of Ukrainians in this country, by any means?

Mr. REYYUK. Oh, no; and perhaps these members are not fully informed. I think the members of this Congress were not fully conscious of what was meant.

The CHAIRMAN. But they read these magazines, and the article that he wrote before that, in which they denounced American democracy, and they certainly know what that means.

Mr. REYYUK. It is probable that they know more about that than about that resolution.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And now will you please identify this publication? [Handing a paper to the witness.]

Mr. REYYUK. That is *The Nationalist*, New York City, May 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. May 15, 1938?

Mr. REYYUK. May 15, 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, will you turn to page 3? Is this article a full report of a public lecture by Prof. A. A. Granovsky, delivered in New York under the auspices of Odwu?

Mr. REYYUK. A lecture by Professor Granovsky.

The CHAIRMAN. What is he a professor of?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not know what his subject is.

Mr. REYYUK. He is a professor of the science of bugs.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Entomology?

Mr. REYYUK. Entomology.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the University of Minnesota.

Mr. REYYUK. The State University of Minnesota.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that lecture delivered under the auspices of Odwu?

Mr. REYYUK. Yes, sir; it was delivered under the auspices of the central committee of Odwu, New York City:

Professor of Minnesota University, Dr. Alexander Granovsky, the president of the Central Committee of Odwu, has given a public lecture in the Ukrainian National Hall on the topic of "Ukraine on the Background of the Present Events."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, will you turn to page 3 again? I read you a translation of a portion:

We see with our own eyes how the spirit of the people conquered in Germany. The victors (Allies) artificially create new nations and artificially destroy the natural ones, but all the efforts of the enemies will fail.

Over there (in Ukraine) the people are only waiting for "der Tag."

Mr. REYYUK. The great day.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The day?

Mr. REYYUK. The great day.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And again:

Force must be met by force.

Mr. REYYUK. Yes; here it is.

Mr. MATTHEWS (continuing):

Force must be met by force, and nothing will stop the march of the Nationalist movement.

Mr. REYYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, down here:

We must at every step give aid and confidence to the Provid of Oun and to the Colonel Konovaletz.

Mr. REVYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are these correct translations of the quoted portions of the speech of Professor Granovsky?

Mr. REVYUK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the head of the Odwu in the United States?

Mr. REVYUK. Right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify this, Mr. Revyuk?

Mr. REVYUK. This is the Vistnyk, Odwu, the official publication of the Odwu, dated March 1934.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what is the page to which I am directing your attention, page 14?

Mr. REVYUK. Page 14. That is from the article What Ideas Serve Odwu.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now I will read the translation of a portion of the article:

Alas, now all Ukrainians take this attitude to the Ukrainian nationalism. A great part of it, and especially the old so-called leading stratum of our race, who like to bow before the enemies, to cringe and to plead for amnesty and autonomy and who in their serfdom are incapable of taking a courageous stand, may even to demand openly what is justly ours—this section of our people considers nationalism to be a prank of anarchistic young generation and a most destructive and dangerous phenomenon for Ukrainians. To this opinion the said group adheres with the stubbornness of donkeys, even at the time when in other races the nationalism—as for instance fascism or hitlerism—are crowned with greatest successes.

Is that a correct translation?

Mr. REVYUK. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify this publication [handing publication to witness]?

Mr. REVYUK. That is also the Vistnyk of Odwu, August 1933.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is from page 12

The CHAIRMAN. Before you translate that, do you see anywhere in these publications any quotations from William Dudley Pelley?

Mr. REVYUK. No; I do not see that.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not seen them?

Mr. REVYUK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Or Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. REVYUK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Or George Deatherage, or any of this older bunch?

Mr. REVYUK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. They talk so much alike I thought perhaps they would be exchanging views.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This statement appears on page 12:

America was able to produce Lindbergh, Post, Emily Earhart, Byrd—but those were individuals. It is a great question whether she would ever be able to collect a hundred capable flyers to cross the Atlantic.

Is that an article about Balbo's mass flight across the Atlantic some years ago?

Mr. REVYUK. That is from the article entitled, "The Italian Armada."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Which was Balbo's mass flight across the Atlantic some years ago?

Mr. REVYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify that publication [handing publication to witness]?

Mr. REYUK. This is the Nationalist, New York City, Wednesday, August 17, 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read a portion of this.

The monthly Geopolitik, published in Germany by a former German general and a professor, Dr. K. Haushofer, has said the truth about the Ukrainians in America.

The League for the Rebirth of the Ukraine in America (Odwn) is closely related to the German nazi-ism and Italian fascism.

The CHAIRMAN. It says right in the paper that they are closely related.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that a correct translation? I will read it again:

The monthly Geopolitik, published in Germany by a former German general—

Mr. REYUK. General major.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, major general, "and a professor, Dr. K. Haushofer, has said the truth——"

Mr. REYUK. In the volume for May 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is in the volume of Geopolitik.

Mr. REYUK. It said the truth about Ukrainians in America.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The statement from the Geopolitik by this publication of Odwn was as follows:

The League for the Rebirth of the Ukraine in America (Odwn) is closely related to the German nazi-ism and Italian fascism.

Is that a correct translation?

Mr. REYUK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you identify this publication?

Mr. REYUK. That is the Vistnyk of Odwn, December 1932.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is from page 3.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the necessity of continuing to read quotations from these papers? The quotations thus far read establish very clearly that this is a Fascist organization in sympathy with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. They are linked with it. I am just wondering what more is needed to show that? It is in their own language. They take pride in announcing the fact that they are Nazis.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Shall I read this one which he has already identified, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. You might read one or two more, if you wish.

Mr. REYUK. This is an article by Eugene Lachowitch, national leader.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this a correct translation of the statement there:

We have the organization of Ukrainian nationalists, which strives to win back our nationhood by two methods: Constructive and destructive \* \* \* in destructive method by destroying the occupants by means of revolutionary work, by keeping alive the militant spirit among our wide masses, and calls them to oppose the government and carries out various terroristic acts.

Is that a correct translation?

Mr. REYUK. Yes; correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The remainder of the excerpts, Mr. Chairman, are of the same general character.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the committee have them for any future reference they may want to make of them. If some of these people want to be heard, we may need them. But I see no necessity to go any further into this. From the standpoint of what is the nature of the

organization, it is very clearly a Fascist organization with a direct tie-up with international officers in Germany. The fact that the German Government permits them to use the radio and the fact that they have encouragement from Germany shows the tie-up.

If there is nothing else you have in mind at this time, I would suggest that this entire transcript be turned over to the State Department for prosecution under the Registration Act; that we prepare either a full transcript, or such excerpts as the State Department wants, with the recommendation to investigate this matter fully and proceed against not only this organization, which is an agent of a foreign principal, but also these individuals who are agents of a foreign principal.

The Chair believes also that we have about come to the time when the power of the committee ought to be tested with reference to compelling the Communist Party and the bund and all these Fascist organizations either to submit their membership lists to this committee or be cited in contempt.

Here are organizations that have been shown to be nothing in the world but agencies of foreign powers. That is all they are under their own admission. They provide an elaborate espionage system in this country. It is to the greatest interest of the Nation to find out who are the Communists among the 100,000 Communists in this country and who are the 100,000 members of the bund and the sympathizer groups; who are the members of the Ukrainian Nazi group and the Italian Fascists and the members of these other organizations. If this committee does not have the power to say to them, "Bring your membership lists in here where we can see them, so that we may advise the Department of Justice and the Secret Service, so they may know with whom we are dealing"; if we cannot force these officers to do that, then it seems to me the power of this committee and of the Congress is very weak.

As soon as the committee returns, I am going to submit the recommendation that all of these organizations be subpoenaed forthwith, be served with a subpoena duces tecum, to bring before this committee a complete and accurate membership list, and failing to do so that the committee cite them for contempt; and that every one of them, and their officers, throughout the land, be prosecuted. Because until we find out who they are and where they are working, which ones are in the Government, which ones are in the Army, which ones are in the Navy, which ones are in the trade-union movement; those who are in the aircraft and munition plants and other vital key industries in this country; until we know that, we are dealing in the dark. They have all refused to bring those lists to us heretofore. I think the time has come to make a test case. If they decline to do so, I think we should cite them for contempt. And if, under the existing statutes, Congress cannot compel organizations that are secret, that are agents of foreign powers, who are potential spies, to come here and give us the names of their members and full information concerning their activities, then it is a confession of great weakness on the part of our own democracy.

Before we adjourn, the Chair will announce that the witness for tomorrow will be William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party. The committee will recess until 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, the committee recessed until 10 a. m., Friday, September 29, 1939.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1939

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman), presiding.

Present: Mr. Dies, Mr. Voorhis, and Mr. Dempsey.

Mr. Rhea Whitley and Mr. J. B. Matthews, of committee counsel.

Mr. Joseph Brodsky, counsel for Mr. William Z. Foster.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair resolves himself into a committee of one for the purpose of hearing this testimony, under the terms of the resolution.

## TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand. Do you swear that the testimony that you give to the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FOSTER. I affirm.

Mr. BRODSKY. May I, for the record, state, as I told you a few minutes ago, that between 1932 and 1936 Mr. Foster was completely prostrated as the result of a heart condition, and he is only partially recovered even now. He can stand several hours' examination, and he wants to cooperate to the extent of submitting to a complete examination.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that between 1932 and 1936 he had a serious heart attack and he is still not completely recovered.

Mr. BRODSKY. He was completely prostrated during that period and still suffers from it.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to show him every consideration possible. I suggest Mr. Foster make his answers responsive and complete, because all we are after is to get the facts.

Mr. BRODSKY. He is willing to do that, even if he has to stay longer than today.

The CHAIRMAN. For say about 2 hours at a time?

Mr. BRODSKY. We will try to cooperate and stay as long as possible and if necessary come back tomorrow.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state your full name for the record?

Mr. FOSTER. William Z. Foster.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your home address?

Mr. FOSTER. 1040 Nelson Avenue, The Bronx, New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your business address?

Mr. FOSTER. 35 Twelfth Street, New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your position?

Mr. FOSTER. Chairman of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. National chairman?

Mr. FOSTER. National chairman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you occupied the position of national chairman?

Mr. FOSTER. Several years; I cannot say precisely when.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has it been 5 or 6 years, or more?

Mr. FOSTER. About 5 or 6 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What other positions have you held in the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. I have been a member of the executive committee since 1921. I have been a member of the secretariat of our party over a period of years, when we had a secretariat. I am now a member of the political committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is there still a secretariat?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were a candidate for President on the Communist Party ticket, were you not?

Mr. FOSTER. In 1924, 1928, and 1932.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Three times?

Mr. FOSTER. Three times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been a candidate for any other office on the Communist Party ticket?

Mr. FOSTER. For Governor of New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Once?

Mr. FOSTER. Once.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Any other?

Mr. FOSTER. That is all, I think.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. I am a member of the executive committee of the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. The Communist International has no members.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it not true that all members of Communist parties in the various countries are by virtue of their membership in those parties also members of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. It is not so understood.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your answer?

Mr. FOSTER. That it is not so understood.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you not make it a little more definite?

Mr. FOSTER. All parties are members of the Communist International, but the members—that is the first time I ever heard such a question mentioned, as to a member of the Communist International.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to get that definite. You mean that while the party itself, as an organization, is a member of the Communist International, the members of the party are not members of the international?

Mr. FOSTER. They do not consider themselves as such; I never heard them referred to as such. This is the first time I ever heard that.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the first time you ever heard that?

Mr. FOSTER. So far as I can recollect.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What positions have you held in the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. I am a member of the executive and a member of the presidium of the executive.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you occupied those positions?

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, probably—I cannot say exactly—probably about 10 years or more a member of the executive of the Communist International, and a member of the presidium since 1935.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state for the record as nearly as you can recollect, without notes before you, the occasions on which you made visits to the Soviet Union, beginning with the first.

Mr. FOSTER. All told, I have made a number, some 10 or more. I cannot state them all; I can state a number of them.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the first year?

Mr. FOSTER. The first one was in 1921. The next one, I think, was about 1923 or 1924.

The CHAIRMAN. There was a lapse of 2 or 3 years?

Mr. FOSTER. Two or three years in between. In 1926 I was there. I am not certain about 1925. In 1928, 1929, and 1930, and also, I believe, in 1934 and 1935.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean you were there for the entire year?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were there in 1934, and again in 1935?

Mr. FOSTER. That is it. My stays averaged from 2 weeks to 6 or 8 weeks.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you been there since 1935?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; I was there 2 years ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1937?

Mr. FOSTER. I think it was the beginning of 1938. I do not say this is an accurate list of the trips, but it is as good as I can call, offhand.

The CHAIRMAN. What about 1939?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you been there in 1939?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would it refresh your recollection if I told you the records of the executive committee of the Communist International show that you made a speech in Moscow on March 18, 1925?

Mr. FOSTER. Probably so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You omitted that year.

Mr. FOSTER. No; I think I said I was there in 1925.

The CHAIRMAN. You said you were there in 1923 and then in 1924.

Mr. FOSTER. I did not mean to say that. I think I was there in 1925 and also in 1924.

The CHAIRMAN. You said 1923 or 1924 and then you said 1926.

Mr. FOSTER. I know I was there in 1926, because I wrote a pamphlet about it.

The CHAIRMAN. You were there also in 1925?

Mr. FOSTER. Quite possibly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long were you there in 1925?

Mr. FOSTER. I could not say. My stays usually last, as I said, 2 or 3 weeks.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is another reference to your being in Moscow in December 1925, as well as in March 1925.

Mr. FOSTER. That is right. I think that is one trip I did stay 2 or 3 months; that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long were you in the Soviet Union in 1928?

Mr. FOSTER. Very shortly; a matter of a few weeks, perhaps.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would that have been the month of August?

Mr. FOSTER. I think that was during the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, as I recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In July.

Mr. FOSTER. It was in the summer, as I recollect.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were there for only a few weeks?

Mr. FOSTER. Several weeks.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At that time?

Mr. FOSTER. That is it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state the purpose of your trip to the Soviet Union in 1921?

Mr. FOSTER. I went there to study the situation. I was not a member of the party at the time. I went there to study what was going on.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you join the Communist Party as a result of that visit to the Soviet Union?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next visit was in 1923; is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. Something like that; early in 1923 or early in 1924, I am not certain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the purpose of that visit?

Mr. FOSTER. The purpose of that visit—I went as a delegate.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You went as a delegate that year?

Mr. FOSTER. As a delegate to the Profintern, or the Comintern, I am not certain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As a delegate for the Profintern or the Comintern, or both?

Mr. FOSTER. Possibly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was the first time you were a delegate to the Profintern?

Mr. FOSTER. The first time I was a delegate?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. The first time I was a delegate to the Profintern was in 1921.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not exactly understand that. A moment ago you said you went to Russia in 1921 to study communism?

Mr. FOSTER. That is it.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not a member. How could you have been a delegate to the Profintern if you were not a member in 1921?

Mr. FOSTER. Because the Profintern was not a Communist organization; it was a trade-union organization.

The CHAIRMAN. You went as a delegate to the trade-union organization, but not in the capacity as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. That is it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go as a delegate from the Trade Union Educational League?

Mr. FOSTER. That is it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was your connection with the Trade Union Educational League?

Mr. FOSTER. I was national secretary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you representing the Trade Union Educational League?

Mr. FOSTER. That is it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you editor of its publication, "The Labor Herald"?

Mr. FOSTER. I was one of the editors.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you the only editor listed in the publication?

Mr. FOSTER. It is possible I was the only one.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I know all these things are possible. Could you not make it more definite?

Mr. FOSTER. I cannot recall; I know others worked as editors, but whether their names were on the masthead, I cannot say. I was the responsible editor, but Mr. Browder did the work.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was Mr. Browder's official connection with the Trade Union Educational League?

Mr. FOSTER. He was a member of the executive.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he also the business manager of the Labor Herald?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; he handled that side of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the next occasion of your being a delegate to the Profintern after 1921?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, I could not say offhand. I could say—sometimes—sometimes I went as a delegate to the Communist International Executive and sometimes to the Profintern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Could you tell us how many times altogether you have been a delegate to the Profintern?

Mr. FOSTER. Several times; I could not tell you exactly. I was a delegate to the congress, and I was a delegate, I believe it was to the Fourth Congress and the Fifth Congress and two or three executive meetings in between.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Could you give us the years in which you had connection with the Profintern, from 1921 down to what year?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, after 1932 I had no further connection with the Profintern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the Trade Union Educational League an affiliate of the Profintern?

Mr. FOSTER. It was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What name did the Trade Union Educational League take later on?

Mr. FOSTER. It was reorganized into the Trade Union Unity League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the Trade Union Unity League also an affiliate of the Profintern?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, informally it was, but we never voted for affiliation, so far as I know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But it was all understood, was it not?

Mr. FOSTER. More or less loosely. In fact, I understand, while I was laid up they disaffiliated with the organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. After 1932?

Mr. FOSTER. So I heard, but I did not have anything to do with it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But for a period of 10 or 11 years you were closely connected with the work of the Profintern by virtue of your leadership in the Trade Union Educational League and the Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You knew the workings and program and objectives of the Profintern through those connections?

Mr. FOSTER. Reasonably well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you not as well or better acquainted with that aspect of the work than anyone else in the Communist Party in the United States during that period?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, I would not say that, but I was pretty well posted.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were as well posted as anyone else, were you not?

Mr. FOSTER. Probably.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Mr. Browder ever accompany you to Moscow as a delegate to the Profintern?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the Profintern send Mr. Browder to China in 1927?

Mr. FOSTER. He was in China; I do not know whether he was sent by the Profintern or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have no idea?

Mr. FOSTER. I have no direct idea of it; no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any other group he might have represented in China?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I do not know what his credentials were.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that your best recollection?

Mr. FOSTER. I know he was working in the Profintern work at the time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was working in Profintern work at the time and he did go to China?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you not quite positive he was sent to China by the Profintern?

Mr. FOSTER. I heard as much, but Mr. Browder can answer that definitely. I did not issue his credentials.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not issue his credentials?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were the executive of the Trade Union Educational League, were you, at the time?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would anyone else in that organization have been in a position to issue credentials to Mr. Browder if he had been representing the Trade Union Educational League?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If he did have credentials from the Trade Union Educational League you would have had to issue them?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, the question is, Did you issue them?

Mr. FOSTER. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. If you had done it, you would know now, would you not?

Mr. FOSTER. I think quite possibly.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not a question of possibility; if you had issued the credentials to Earl Browder you would certainly remember that now, would you not?

Mr. FOSTER. I have been working for many years in organizations in sending delegations and commissions here and there, and whether or not I actually wrote out a letter of delegation to Mr. Browder I cannot say.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you do not remember; you could have done it or you could not have done it?

Mr. FOSTER. Possibly that is so. I knew he was in China.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen that book [handing book to witness]?

Mr. FOSTER. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a book entitled "Civil War in Nationalist China," by Earl Browder, published by Labor Unity Publishing Association, Chicago, 1927. On page 9 of this book Mr. Browder says:

The International Workers' delegation was composed of Tom Mann, chairman of the National Minority Movement of England and one of the oldest leaders of the British trade unions; Jacques Doriot, member of the French Parliament, elected by the workers of Paris; myself representing the Trade Union Educational League of America; and Sydor Stoler, who acted as secretary and translator to the delegation.

Does that refresh your recollection, Mr. Foster?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are now quite certain?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; but I did not ever issue any credentials; I understand that was a Profintern delegation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Profintern was the international body with which the Trade Union Educational League was affiliated?

Mr. FOSTER. I think the delegation was organized by it; I do not know; I did not organize it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By the Profintern. When Mr. Browder says he represented your organization, precisely what does that signify?

Mr. FOSTER. That would signify precisely that he was one of the leaders of our organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Whether he had credentials or not?

Mr. FOSTER. Or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that not a matter of consequence?

Mr. FOSTER. Not a formal matter; if he was going in such a delegation, he would be authorized to speak in the name of the organization because he was one of the leaders of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you apprised of the work of Mr. Browder in China, after his return from that country?

Mr. FOSTER. He wrote that pamphlet, and I knew in general what he was working on.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he not report to you formally or informally, as the representative of the Trade Union Educational League, of which you were the head, anything concerning his activities there?

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, perhaps some general report; I do not recall. The main thing I remember was his pamphlet, covering his experiences out there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say perhaps. Are you not sure he must have reported to you something of the work he had done in China?

Mr. FOSTER. Undoubtedly he did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know the circumstances of his departure from China?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He undoubtedly must have reported those circumstances to you; is not that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know his circumstances in leaving China.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he return from China directly, across the Pacific Ocean, or did he return via Siberia and Moscow?

Mr. FOSTER. I could not say.

The CHAIRMAN. He has not answered as to whether or not Browder reported to him as to the reason he left China. Do you recall whether he made any such report to you?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not remember?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not remember any such report.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not natural to suppose he would have done so?

Mr. FOSTER. It does not follow. He reported in a general way what transpired in China.

The CHAIRMAN. If you had a man representing you in certain sections of the world, and then he left that employment, would it not be logical for him to report to you why he left?

Mr. FOSTER. He made a report; I do not remember precisely what his report was. I do not remember what steamer he took.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking you for those little details.

Mr. FOSTER. Or what route he took.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not suggesting that. I am asking you the broad question, whether or not, when he left China as the representative of your organization he ever reported to you as to why he left China?

Mr. FOSTER. He did not report to me; I think he reported to Profintern, who sent him there.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not report to you?

Mr. FOSTER. In a very general way.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the Profintern pay his expenses to China?

Mr. FOSTER. That I could not say.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you pay his expenses to China?

Mr. FOSTER. I think not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Could you be more definite about that?

Mr. FOSTER. I think I am positive about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If you did not pay his expenses as a representative of the Trade Union Educational League, could there have been any other reasonable way in which he received his expenses than from the Profintern?

Mr. FOSTER. I could not say; I do not know. You would have to ask him that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We have asked him that. Under what name did Mr. Browder travel on this mission representing your organization and the Profintern on this trip?

Mr. FOSTER. I have no idea beyond his own name, Mr. Browder.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you sure that he traveled under his own name?



Mr. FOSTER. I am not sure of that one way or the other.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he not say he did not travel under the name of Earl Browder on that trip?

Mr. FOSTER. I am not sure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you not familiar with precisely what the facts of the financing of Mr. Browder's trip to China were, Mr. Foster?

Mr. FOSTER. I am not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that not a matter of discussion in the central committee of the Communist Party, of which you were at that time an active member?

Mr. FOSTER. It may have been; I do not attend all the meetings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If it had been discussed would you not have found out about it if you had not been there?

Mr. FOSTER. Not necessarily. I was on the road for many months and did not know about those things.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If there had been extraordinary circumstances around that discussion you would have been told, would you not, in view of your close connection with this whole proposition?

Mr. FOSTER. Not necessarily. I was not the secretary of the party and many things were done without my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were secretary of the organization which Mr. Browder says he was representing in China?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear about the \$10,000 bill that was associated with Mr. Browder's trip to China?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have never heard anything about that \$10,000 bill?

Mr. FOSTER. Never heard about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not know that Lozorsky sent a \$10,000 American bill to the United States to be transmitted via this country to Browder in China?

Mr. FOSTER. I did not know anything about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never heard directly or indirectly that Mr. Browder had had considerable difficulty in getting that \$10,000 bill exchanged into smaller denominations in the Orient?

Mr. FOSTER. I heard it rumored around that he had difficulty in China; I heard that about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That he had difficulty in getting a \$10,000 bill exchanged into smaller denominations?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know what it was; I heard there was some difficulty.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did you hear rumored about?

Mr. FOSTER. I cannot recollect.

The CHAIRMAN. You said you heard it rumored around; that is, that he had some difficulty in getting the \$10,000 bill changed?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. I said I heard it rumored around that he had some difficulty in China.

The CHAIRMAN. In getting the \$10,000 bill changed?

Mr. FOSTER. The details I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking for details. What you heard was that he had some difficulty in getting the \$10,000 bill changed?

Mr. FOSTER. I had heard that there were some charges made by enemies of our party along these lines. That is all I heard about it.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the rumor you heard?

Mr. FOSTER. That is exactly it.

The CHAIRMAN. What difficulty were you talking about?

Mr. FOSTER. Precisely these charges.

The CHAIRMAN. Difficulty is not connected with charges.

Mr. FOSTER. Sometimes it makes lots of difficulties.

The CHAIRMAN. You just testified you heard it rumored around that he had some difficulty. You say what you meant was charges by enemies of the party?

Mr. FOSTER. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. What difficulty grew out of the charges made by the enemies?

Mr. FOSTER. I did not have any difficulty.

The CHAIRMAN. What difficulty did you have in mind when you referred to difficulty?

Mr. FOSTER. I say these charges can make difficulties for our party and for individuals.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean to say that that was a charge of the enemies of the party.

Mr. FOSTER. That is all it was, just like I have heard lots of charges in this commission.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is not responsive. Did you not hear by rumors or otherwise, that Mr. Browder eventually took a trip to Manila in order to get this \$10,000 changed?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever heard, by rumors or otherwise, that Mr. Browder entered a bank in Manila and tried to get the \$10,000 bill changed; that the bank teller told him he would change it, but that he would have to leave it overnight; that he would receipt for it; and that meanwhile the bank would cable the United States Treasury, giving the serial number, and that upon receiving that advice from the bank teller Mr. Browder grabbed the \$10,000 bill and rushed out of the bank and fled from Manila?

Mr. FOSTER. That is all news to me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know that the Profintern closed up the entire apparatus of the China work because Mr. Browder went into a panic?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know that, not a thing about it. That is the first I ever heard of such a statement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know that there is a record of this in the Treasury Department?

Mr. FOSTER. There are many records in the Treasury Department that are not correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then this cablegram from the bank in Manila was forged?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not put a great deal of trust in banks, as a rule.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you heard rumors?

Mr. FOSTER. That is what I said.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But what were the rumors you heard? What was it the enemies circulated?

Mr. FOSTER. I would have to look up their papers at the time. They criticized Browder very severely. They criticized Browder very severely for his whole China trip.

The CHAIRMAN. What did his enemies say about this \$10,000 bill?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know. They just generally attacked the trip and made all sorts of assertions, and that is as far as I know anything about it.

The CHAIRMAN. But they did say something about the \$10,000 bill?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know whether they actually mentioned the \$10,000 bill or not.

The CHAIRMAN. You were being questioned about a \$10,000 bill, and you said you heard rumors that he had some difficulties, and later on you said that what you meant was that you heard charges by enemies; now, do you mean that those charges did not have anything to do with the \$10,000 bill?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not mean that at all. They made all sorts of charges against Browder.

The CHAIRMAN. Including this charge about the \$10,000 bill?

Mr. FOSTER. That I could not say specifically.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you say it at all, if you cannot say it specifically?

Mr. FOSTER. No. I cannot say that that was included in it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know that Mr. Browder was reprimanded by the Profintern for mistakes made in China?

Mr. FOSTER. Also not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know that?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you not know that he admitted those mistakes, in writing, in an issue of the Communist?

Mr. FOSTER. Possibly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The official organ of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. It is possible. We often admit mistakes. There is hardly a campaign we conduct anywhere but what we criticize ourselves for mistakes made in it. It is quite possible he criticized himself with regard to his work in China.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, it is not very enlightening to have most of the questions answered by saying that it is possible. If the witness knows——

The CHAIRMAN. You can answer whether you know or not. If you do not know, say, "I do not know." If you do know, say, "I know."

Mr. FOSTER. I say it is very distinctly the practice of Communists in speaking about their work in any sphere of activity to criticize themselves and point out the mistakes. This is a fundamental principle of our work, and I dare say if Mr. Browder wrote about his activities in China, he would criticize himself.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the question?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The question is whether Mr. Foster knows, of his own knowledge, firsthand, that Mr. Browder did publish an acknowledgment of the mistakes made in his work in China.

Mr. FOSTER. I say I have no direct knowledge of it. But if he did it, it would be quite in line with that practice.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is if you have knowledge. You do not have any knowledge?

Mr. FOSTER. I have no recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. He says he has no knowledge.

Mr. FOSTER. It may very easily have been.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then you would not know, of course, that the mistake which was acknowledged was the mistake of becoming panicky about the \$10,000 bill?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I would not know that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, I will ask you please to identify some of your publications. Is that a book written by you? [Handing book to witness.]

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Give the title of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The book is entitled, "Mis-Leaders of Labor" by William Z. Foster, published by the Trade Union Educational League in 1927.

The CHAIRMAN. He identifies that as his book.

Mr. FOSTER. I wrote it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. "Towards Soviet America," by William Z. Foster, published by Coward-McCann in 1932. [Handing book to witness.]

Mr. FOSTER. I wrote it.

The CHAIRMAN. He identifies that as his book.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this one? [Handing book to witness.]

Mr. FOSTER. "From Bryan to Stalin." I wrote it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Published by International Publishers in 1937. Is this also one of yours? [Handing to witness.]

Mr. FOSTER. I wrote that also. "Your Questions Answered."

Mr. MATTHEWS. By William Z. Foster, published by the Workers Library Publishers, June 1939.

Mr. Foster, are you acquainted with the connections of the American Communist Party with the Communist International? You are, are you not?

Mr. FOSTER. Fairly well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are acquainted with the program of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are acquainted with the statutes of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. Not so well, the statutes. They are more or less in abeyance.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you mean by more or less in abeyance?

Mr. FOSTER. The statutes I have not read since they were formulated many years ago, so I cannot say that I am very familiar with them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did they go into abeyance?

Mr. FOSTER. So far as I know, they never went into active operation. If I remember correctly, they were adopted in 1935, but if I was to be executed, I could not tell you a single article of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it not correct that they were adopted by the Sixth World Congress in 1928?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the American Communist Party a section or an affiliate of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. It is an affiliate.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Could you explain why the American Communist Party, through its regular publishing channels, has brought out several editions of the statutes of the Communist International if those statutes are in abeyance?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, we publish such material, official material of the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Official material?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; that is, official statutes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They are the official statutes?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In force today?

Mr. FOSTER. I told you they were more or less in abeyance as far as the practice is concerned.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not quite understand myself what would be official statutes that would also be something in abeyance. Are they or are they not the official statutes of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. They were adopted, you just told me, in 1928, so they must be the official statutes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have they ever been rescinded by the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. They were, as I recollect, revised in the Seventh World Congress and have more or less fallen into abeyance from lack of application.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were a delegate to the Sixth World Congress and also to the Seventh World Congress, were you not?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you participate in the deliberations fully?

Mr. FOSTER. But not in that section, not in the formulation of the constitution.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say that the Seventh World Congress in 1935 revised these statutes of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. As I recollect, I am not positive, I think there were certain modifications made.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You would not be sure that there were any modifications?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I would not be sure, because we have paid so little attention to the constitution.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know as a matter of fact that not a single word, or even so much as the punctuation was changed by the Seventh World Congress?

Mr. FOSTER. Quite possible. I was under the impression——

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why did you think they were revised, then?

Mr. FOSTER. Because usually in conventions they do tinker with constitutions. That is quite a regular procedure in my experience.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you hear that they were revised?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I did not hear they were revised. I just assumed possibly they might have been revised; and that is what I said.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But it is also possible that they were not revised?

Mr. FOSTER. Very possible, especially as you say they were not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has the American Communist Party ever taken the position in its publications that the statutes of the Communist International are in force?

Mr. FOSTER. That I would not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the chairman of the party and you would not know such an important matter as that?

Mr. FOSTER. We do not consider that very important, about the statutes of the Comintern.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not consider it important?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are the chairman of the party; and you are not able to tell this committee whether in your official literature you recognize that the statutes of the Comintern are in force.

Mr. FOSTER. Formally they are in force, but in actual practice we never consult the constitution of the Comintern. As I said, I have not even opened the pages of it since it was written, and I could not tell you a single article in it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of a single instance in which the Communist Party has violated any of the statutes of the Comintern?

Mr. FOSTER. And been called to account for it?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any instance at all in which they have violated the statutes?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not recollect that the question was ever raised in the history of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. It never has been raised by the Comintern, has it?

Mr. FOSTER. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. And never has been raised by anyone in the party in the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. That I would not say.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, as far as you know.

Mr. FOSTER. It has never been raised to my knowledge by the Communist International; oh, there may have been somebody here or there that said such a thing was in violation of the constitution of the Comintern, but certainly nobody ever paid any attention to it.

Mr. VOORHIS. If the American Party had ever violated any provision of the constitution of the Comintern, it certainly is true that the Comintern would have spoken up about it, is it not?

Mr. FOSTER. Our relations with the Communist International have been more or less developed on the basis of practice, not constitutions.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Browder testified that if there were any point of disagreement between the American Party and the Comintern, it would be necessary for the American Party either to give up their point of disagreement or else to withdraw from the Comintern.

Mr. FOSTER. If the Communist International would raise a question of fundamental policy, of course, this would be raised; but the Comintern has never raised questions of organization.

The CHAIRMAN. That is because you have never had a disagreement, is it not?

Mr. FOSTER. I would not say that. We do not use the constitution as a guide. How can I tell whether we have had a disagreement, if I have never opened it?

Mr. VOORHIS. The point is, if the Comintern had ever raised such a question, you certainly would have known it, would you not?

Mr. FOSTER. Over questions of the constitution?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; or any other questions of policy.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; it is very likely I should have known it, although I have not attended all the meetings.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would you not inevitably have known about it, if you had attended meetings or not? Would it not be the most important matter that would come before the party in years, if such a thing had happened?

Mr. FOSTER. Not at all. I told you the constitution of the Comintern plays such a little role, I have never even read it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Browder's testimony was to the effect that if there was a divergence of opinion between the American Party and the Comintern, the American Party would either have to recede or withdraw from the Comintern, one of the two.

Mr. FOSTER. I think if you would read the minutes or the records of your commission, you would find that he was speaking about politics and not constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. You make a distinction there between politics and the constitution.

Mr. FOSTER. Of course.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, you stated a moment ago that the statutes of the Communist International were formerly in force.

Mr. FOSTER. Formally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You said they were in force, and that would make the matter all the stronger, if you said formerly.

Mr. FOSTER. I said formally—f-o-r-m-a-l-l-y.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They are formally in force now?

Mr. FOSTER. I assume so. I have never heard of them being formally abolished, so apparently they are still on paper at least. They are honored more in the breach than in the observance, I would suspect.

The CHAIRMAN. They are honored more in the breach than in the observance, is that right?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, in the neglect, at least.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us a single instance in which the statutes of the Comintern have been violated by the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. I could not, because I have not read it for 12 or 14 years; I could not tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the chairman and you do not know of a single instance in which there has been a single violation of the statutes?

Mr. FOSTER. I stated that the role of the constitution of the Comintern plays such a little part, I cannot say whether it was violated or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What about the program of the Communist International which is usually printed under the same covers with the statutes of the Communist International? What binding effect has the program of the Communist International on the constituent parties of the International?

Mr. FOSTER. It is a general statement of Communist principles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it considered highly important?

Mr. FOSTER. Of course, as a general statement of policy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You consider it a guide to general policy?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it not as a guide to general policy sometimes ranked alongside the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It has never been so ranked?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, somebody may have said that, but I do not think that is the general opinion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have never made that statement?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think I have; maybe; one says many things. I think generally, though, it is not so ranked.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you have in your own writings quoted extensively from the program of the Communist International, have you not?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were not concerned lest you leave the impression that they had some binding character, were you?

Mr. FOSTER. As general principles, yes; but not as a controlling document for immediate political situations in the given countries.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you accept the general policy set forth in the program of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you accept the principles set forth in the statutes of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. I would have to read them and then I would let you know. I told you half a dozen times I have not read them since 1928 and I do not know what they are any more, because they played so little part in the life of our party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you are more familiar with the program of the Communist International, and you say you do accept those principles?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with the document known as the Twenty-one Conditions for Admission to the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. Also brought out in the dim remoteness.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel asked you if you were acquainted with them?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; I know the document.

The CHAIRMAN. Make the answer responsive. He says yes, he is acquainted with them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has there ever been a period in the past, if not the present, when the Twenty-one Conditions for Admission to the Communist International were considered of a binding character upon the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There has never been any such time?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir; and it was not used as such.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, I read you some portions of an editorial from the Daily Worker of June 1, 1929, 10 years after the founding of the Communist International—is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you read that, let me ask this question: Do you agree with Mr. Browder that the Daily Worker is an accurate publication insofar as Communist principles and policies are concerned?

Mr. FOSTER. In a general way. The only thing that can stand definitely for Communist policy is stuff signed by the national committee. The rest is more or less up to the editorial staff and very often they make statements that the party has to disown.

The CHAIRMAN. Then in that respect I think you disagree with Mr. Browder, as I remember his testimony. For instance, have you ever disowned any statement of the Daily Worker? Do you know of any instance?



Mr. FOSTER. There have been statements corrected.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any?

Mr. FOSTER. I could not call any offhand.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were they statements of fact, Mr. Foster, or statements of policy?

Mr. FOSTER. Sometimes either way, possibly. They very often have, "Excuse me please," in there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read you from this copy of the Daily Worker of June 1, 1929. The heading is, "Who Is Against the Comintern?" The article follows:

It is clear from the address itself that opposition existed in the party delegation to the Communist International. Comrades Lovestone and Gitlow in their declaration of May 14 refused to accept the address, or to carry it out, and even went to the length of stating they would actively oppose it. They are thus entering upon a course leading toward an attempt to split the party, a course in violation of the Twenty-one Conditions and the Statutes of the Comintern.

From that language it would appear that both the Twenty-one Conditions and the Statutes of the Comintern were considered in force by the Communist Party of the United States, would it not, Mr. Foster?

Mr. FOSTER. That was written some 10 years ago, I understand, in the middle of a very severe internal factional struggle, and any argument that could be brought up to buttress the point was brought up.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Even if it was an incorrect position?

Mr. FOSTER. It would serve as a sort of an argument to say that it was in violation of the constitution. But nobody paid very great attention to it. And so far as the violation of the 21 points is concerned, I do not think there are 2 percent of our members who could name 10 of these points, if they wanted to. I know I could not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you give me a little more definite answer to the question?

Mr. FOSTER. What is the question, please?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The question was, from this statement is it not clear that at this time at least the Twenty-one Conditions and the Statutes of the Comintern were considered of binding character upon the American party?

Mr. FOSTER. The 21 points were not in effect at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, this was a false charge brought against these high functionaries of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. No. The 21 points laid down in the beginning certain general Communist principles of organization; and this is an argument—

The CHAIRMAN. All he is asking is, is this statement in the Daily Worker a correct statement when made, or not.

Mr. FOSTER. That statement is correct in the sense that I explain it.

The CHAIRMAN. In what sense?

Mr. FOSTER. In the sense that the 21 points stated certain general principles of Communist organization. And that this was an argument that the action of these people was contrary to these 21 points. But certainly not in the sense that if you violate No. 1 of these points, you are going to be expelled from the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to rephrase the question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. He said the statement was correct in the sense of a general statement of policy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So I want to ask the question in a different form, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Here were two of the highest functions of the Communist Party of the United States charged categorically with "violation of the Twenty-one Conditions and the Statutes of the Comintern." Was that charge brought against these two high functionaries a correct charge or an incorrect charge?

Mr. FOSTER. In the sense that I said it was a correct charge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was a correct charge?

Mr. FOSTER. With this limitation to it, that these were not considered binding documents, but statements of general principles.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, Gitlow and this other man—what was his name?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Lovestone.

The CHAIRMAN. Gitlow and Lovestone violated general principles of policy of the Communist International.

Mr. FOSTER. That is all. And they did not violate documents in the sense—

The CHAIRMAN. The question is, Is that correct, that Gitlow and Lovestone violated general principles of policy of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. And of the Communist Party in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. And of the Communist Party in the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Continuing with this statement:

In this splitting course they do not in any way represent the true proletariat spirit of the American party, and will find the party membership solidly lined up against them. Comrades Lovestone and Gitlow, on attempts to renew the faction struggle on the basis of opposition to the Communist International, will quickly feel the solid determination of the party, which will tolerate no further faction activities of any kind.

But let there be no mere mechanical acceptance of the Communist International address. Such formal acceptance, without application in life of the line of policy laid down in it, would be barren. The party discussion now opening must take the form of basic self-criticism, of development of inner-party proletarian democracy, which will eliminate all elements of factionalism and mobilize the party for its really basic tasks—internally, to combat all traces of opportunism, to struggle against the right danger; and externally, to mobilize the awakening sections of the working class who are more and more engaging in struggle against capitalist rationalization and against the danger of war. The party discussion must be made into a keen weapon against all remnants of factionalism, as the first steps in a real drive against opportunism, which has been deeply embedded in the American party and which must be burned out in the fires of merciless criticism, and to concentrate the full energies of the party on the practical tasks emphasized in the address.

Therefore, it is necessary for all party units forthwith to begin a full, thorough, honest, self-critical, Bolshevik discussion of the address of the Comintern, and of the tasks of the party in the light of this address. \* \* \*

The Communist Party of United States of America is for the Comintern!

Reject and condemn all opposition whatsoever to the Comintern!

For a complete Bolshevik application of the address, which shall infuse the whole party with the Comintern line, and completely unify its ranks from top to bottom on the revolutionary line of the Communist International!

From the language of that latter part of this statement, it is clear, is it not, Mr. Foster, that the line of the Comintern was considered a

binding force upon the members of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. The line of the Comintern was something that our party was involved in as well, and the substance of the attack against Lovestone and Gitlow was particularly raising within our party ideas and policies that conflicted with the line of our party, which was the line of the Comintern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, the line of the American Communist Party and the line of the Comintern were identical?

Mr. FOSTER. Identical, grown up in the common experience of our parties in the various countries based upon the general principles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Through the medium of the Comintern?

Mr. FOSTER. Through the medium of the life of our party much more so than the Comintern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Parties you said—the plural?

Mr. FOSTER. The American party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The American party?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the American party adopt the line before the Comintern adopted it?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, it sort of grew together.

The CHAIRMAN. They had a birth all at the same time?

Mr. FOSTER. No. We have certain basic communistic books and doctrines and outlooks and you may be certain that a Communist party of China will, if left entirely to itself and isolated, adopt a position almost a hundred percent the same as the American Communist Party around a given question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And then when they shift those policies—

The CHAIRMAN. If I may interrupt, just to get that point clear. For instance, take this recent change, the Soviet-Nazi pact. If the Communist parties all over the world were completely isolated and all of them were following Communist principles as laid down, they would all have come to the same agreement and be in favor of that Soviet-Nazi pact?

Mr. FOSTER. Not always, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. But they would in reference to an important matter like this.

Mr. FOSTER. In general.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you have any literature, Mr. Foster, which forecast the possibility of united action by the Soviet Union and the Nazi Government of Germany; any literature which forecast the united front of communism and fascism in the world, in the future sometime?

Mr. FOSTER. First of all, there is no united front between communism and fascism; and secondly, we had no advance information about any of these developments beyond what appeared in the press.

Mr. VOORHIS. Of course, I realized that you would have difficulty in this situation, but I just wondered, in view of what you have said about all these things being based upon a literature and traditions of the movement, whether there could possibly have been any such literature and traditions with regard to developments like these; and if not, how it turned out that all Communist policy throughout the world, within a comparatively few days at least, became of one mind on this matter, unless there was some definite statement issued from

some central authority to decide what that line was going to be with regard to this matter.

Mr. FOSTER. We know an imperialist war when we see it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is the present war an imperialist war?

Mr. FOSTER. It is.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Russia justified in taking three-fifths of Poland?

Mr. FOSTER. Russia occupied Poland to keep——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You can answer that question yes or no. Was Russia justified in going in and taking three-fifths of Poland?

Mr. FOSTER. One hundred percent, as means of establishing a government over this section of Poland, something they did not have.

The CHAIRMAN. Russia was justified in going in.

Mr. FOSTER. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I am asking.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you consider the Japanese-Chinese war an imperialistic war?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. How do you justify the very close assistance that Russia is giving to Japan in that respect?

Mr. FOSTER. That is not correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Browder stated when he was on the stand that there was no nonaggression pact between Russia and Japan which made it possible for the Soviet Union to unite with Germany, and I pointed out to him at that time there had been newspaper accounts about the probability of a nonaggression pact between Russia and Japan, and it was only a few days after that when that was proven to be true.

Mr. FOSTER. There is no nonaggression pact between Russia and Japan; it is true along the Siberian frontier.

I might say, however, that for many years past the Soviet Union has tried to make nonaggression pacts with Japan and with England and all other countries.

The CHAIRMAN. So it did not hurt the Chinese, the fact that the Russians made the pact?

Mr. FOSTER. The Chinese don't seem to think so.

The CHAIRMAN. It probably helped them?

Mr. FOSTER. They seem to think so.

The CHAIRMAN. It released some Japanese troops.

All right; go ahead, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, have you customarily made reports as chairman of the Communist Party of the United States to the Congresses of the Communist International and the Executive Committee of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever made such reports?

Mr. FOSTER. As chairman; no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever made a report in any capacity?

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, I have participated in the discussions, and when with delegations I have made speeches, if you would call them reports.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You would call them reports?

Mr. FOSTER. If you would call them reports; some people call them speeches.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you served on any executive board of the Profintern?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; I was a member of the Executive Committee; the International Executive Committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. With headquarters in Moscow?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were a member of that Executive Committee for a number of years?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; for quite a number of years; probably a dozen or more.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever written for Russian papers on American conditions?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Frequently?

Mr. FOSTER. No; once in a great while.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Recently?

Mr. FOSTER. Not recently.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have your books been translated into Russian and published in the Soviet Union?

Mr. FOSTER. One of them has; to my knowledge; I don't know that the others have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But one has? Which one?

Mr. FOSTER. Misleaders of Labor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Misleaders of Labor published in 1927?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. It is possible that others have been published but I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you receive royalties on the publication of Misleaders of Labor from the Soviet Union?

Mr. FOSTER. Not a cent.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never received a kopeck?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Why is it they have paid Browder royalties when his articles were published but they would not pay for your book?

Mr. FOSTER. I don't know; that is a long time ago. Maybe they are more flush than when mine was published.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know whether your recent books have been published in the Soviet Union or not?

Mr. FOSTER. No. I heard that one of the last books of mine was going to be published, but I don't know whether that happened or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would they take such material, your personal property, without authorization and go ahead and publish it without letting you know about it until later? Would they appropriate your private property?

Mr. FOSTER. There would probably be no diplomatic difficulties even if they did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They would be at liberty to publish your books without asking your permission?

Mr. FOSTER. They would, probably.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. They might notify me of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Your property right in the publications would be subject to the disposition of the Soviet Government if they wanted to publish them?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; and any other publisher in this country that wanted it; today, the publishers have my permission in this country to do so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Publish some of your books without asking if you wanted them to?

Mr. FOSTER. It would not worry me a second.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You would be glad to have them distributed?

Mr. FOSTER. Exactly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, have you, in your writings and speeches over the long period in which you have been an active member of the Communist Party, referred to the Soviet Union as the fatherland of the working classes?

Mr. FOSTER. It is quite possible.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you not sure that you have? That would not be the only remark—

Mr. FOSTER (interposing). I am not certain, but I should like to write it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You would be the only leader of the Communist Party who had failed to do that, would you?

Mr. FOSTER. No; perhaps some have said that and some have not, but probably in the next article I will refer to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyway it represents your true sentiments?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you likewise written or spoken frequently of the impressive leadership of Stalin in the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If you have not you will also do that in your next piece?

Mr. FOSTER. I have said that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now on the acceptance of decisions of the Communist International; you said a moment ago that the Communist Party line in the United States tended to appear similar with the line of the Comintern: "that they just grew up together." I believe was your phrase.

Is it not true that on some occasions in the history of the Communist Party of the United States that the Comintern has sent to the American Communist Party a line formulated, independent of the adoption of such a line in the United States, with definite instructions for the American Communist Party to pursue this line?

Mr. FOSTER. It is not correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That has not been done?

Mr. FOSTER. Never been done.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the difficulty, technically, with my question that prompts you to say that?

Mr. FOSTER. There is no technical difficulty; it is just wrong, the whole thing, from start to finish. Maybe that is a technical difficulty.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has the Communist International passed resolutions concerning the character of work in the United States which have been formulated in Moscow and sent to the American Party for its guidance?

Mr. FOSTER. Without consultation with the American Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I did not say without consultation.

Mr. FOSTER. Nothing that has ever been said at any Comintern or discussion about the American situation has been said without consultation with the American delegates, and for the most part was written by them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. May I repeat that question? Has not the Communist International, on numerous occasions, formulated resolutions—if you do not like the word “decisions,” I would say “resolutions”—concerning the character of work of the Communist Party in this country and had those resolutions promulgated by the American Communist Party for its guidance? Is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. I answered that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you answer it yes or no?

Mr. FOSTER. I will not answer it “yes” in the narrow sense that you put the question.

The CHAIRMAN. He has not put it in a narrow sense; he said formulated resolutions.

Mr. FOSTER. No; nothing attempted or said that was formulated in Moscow regarding the American situation has the Comintern, without the full and complete discussion with the American Communist Party, which is completely familiar with the facts—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). He hasn't said that—

Mr. FOSTER (continuing). And you cannot get me to say yes to such a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Foster, the American Party is an affiliate of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Communist International consists of all the Communist Parties throughout the world.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It issues certain proclamations does it not?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Your assertion is that all those proclamations, or resolutions that are issued are discussed, are with the advice and consent of the delegates of the American Communist Party who served on the Comintern?

Mr. FOSTER. Insofar as they relate to the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I say; and you have delegates on the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not have any delegates?

Mr. FOSTER. Not always. We have had delegates from time to time.

The CHAIRMAN. Just like the Communist Party of other sections, you regularly send delegates?

Mr. FOSTER. Not regularly. Once in a while.

The CHAIRMAN. Just once in a while you send them?

Mr. FOSTER. Whenever there is something—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). How are you consulted; how are you consulted with reference to the American policies formulated by the Comintern during such times as you do not have delegates?

Mr. FOSTER. They do not take up such questions.

The CHAIRMAN. They never take up any questions or send any resolutions affecting American policies except when you have delegates in Moscow?

Mr. FOSTER. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And in every respect the delegates at the Comintern agree to the resolution?

Mr. FOSTER. Insofar as it deals with America at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I am referring to.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, Mr. Foster, when the pact was signed between Germany and Russia it certainly brought about a complete change in the line of the Communist Party in America insofar as the policy was concerned, did it not? I mean, insofar as the line of the party with regard to what it should do in the United States was concerned, what the general attitude in the United States should be on the foreign conflict; that was changed by that event, was it not?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; I will answer that question.

The policy of the Communist Party regarding the question of war was based upon the slogan. "Keep America out of war by keeping the world out of war."

And we undertook to put that slogan into effect by advocating that the United States join with the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France, and the other democracies to make a united peace front to hold fascism in check.

This policy did not succeed because of the failure of Chamberlain and Daladier to agree to this general line insofar as the Soviet Union was concerned.

That changed the policy of directing it, trying to direct the attack against the Soviet Union, of this whole policy—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I mean, so far as the United States is concerned.

Mr. FOSTER. I will speak about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Insofar as Chamberlain and Daladier is concerned—

Mr. FOSTER (interposing). The United States, of course, did not follow this general line.

It is true that the Roosevelt administration issued certain statements to the general effect that they do favor forming a more firm policy against Japan and Germany, but certainly could not go into such a policy in a collective sense.

Now then, we hold that this policy did not succeed; it broke down, and so the Communist Party now works upon this slogan; we have reduced the slogan from "Keep America out of war by keeping the world out of war" to having it read "Keep America out of war."

Mr. VOORHIS. But the significant fact of the matter is that the Soviet Union cannot be regarded as a firm cooperator with Britain and France; it is now a cooperator with Germany so that it necessarily, basically changes the attitude of the American Communist Party of the United States in what it should do now, and I wanted to know if you were consulted about that matter before the thing was determined upon.



Mr. FOSTER. First of all, as I said, the Soviet Union is not co-operating with the Nazi Government. The Soviet Union has stopped Hitler in the East, and every serious political thinker in the world realizes that fact at the present time.

Mr. VOORHIS. Has stopped Hitler?

Mr. FOSTER. Has stopped Hitler in the east and has smashed the Fascist axis, and even the most conservative political leaders of the United States all realize that fact at the present moment.

The CHAIRMAN. You think Poland has been benefited?

Mr. FOSTER. The Polish people?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. Of course, they have——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). By that invasion?

Mr. FOSTER. Except a few landlords who own hundreds of miles of territory and exploit the people under the feudal system; they do not like it, but the masses do.

The CHAIRMAN. You believe that if Hitler and Stalin should succeed in eastern Europe the people would be benefited?

Mr. FOSTER. The people in eastern Europe, in my opinion, if the matter was left to them, in any case, would free themselves——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You mean, if they take over eastern Europe the people would be benefited?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. The people in eastern Europe would be benefited and Hitler has been stopped, but Hitler has extended the boundaries because of recent advancement in several lines, but your statement is on the assumption that it is a choice of nazi-ism or of the Soviet Government.

Mr. FOSTER. If the policy as made by the Soviet Government had been adopted Hitler would not have extended his boundaries one inch: in fact, there would not have been a Hitler in Germany, but once he started to invade Poland, well, as for my part, I support the proposition of these people being left to a free system of government instead of either the Nazi system or the feudal Polish system.

Mr. VOORHIS. You think as between the present system and nazi-ism, the Nazi system would be preferable?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I did not say that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I know you did not say that; I was asking you. I did not mean to put words into your mouth.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is what I was trying to find out: You said the Polish people were benefited, the masses, by the action of the Soviet Union; that is, by the fact that the Soviet Union now has three-fifths of the territory of Poland; you said the masses were benefited?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. They were independent——

Mr. FOSTER (continuing). That is, for a time.

The CHAIRMAN. That is because Poland was under a feudal system?

Mr. FOSTER. Just like some of the people in this country are under a feudal system.

The CHAIRMAN. They do not have a feudal system in land operation.

Mr. FOSTER. In your part of the country, almost.

The CHAIRMAN. In the South it is a feudal system?

Mr. FOSTER. Semifeudal.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Then it would be true that in any capitalistic country that was occupied by Russia the people would be benefited?

Mr. FOSTER. Not necessarily. First of all, it was not occupied by a capitalistic country.

The CHAIRMAN. They took three-fifths of Poland.

Mr. FOSTER. Incidentally, it so happens that all this country that is now being occupied by the Soviet Union was formerly a part of Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what has that got to do with it?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, it seems to me it had something to do with it, especially if a fragment of the Russian people, the White Russians in the Ukraine wanted in Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that Russia, on account of the fact that part of Poland formerly belonged to Russia is justified for that reason?

Mr. FOSTER. Not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean?

Mr. FOSTER. I say this: That when the British and the French Governments refused to go through with the policy of collectively securing—and the United States Government also—thereby the position—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). That is not responsive to what I am asking.

Mr. FOSTER (continuing). They surrendered Poland to Hitler by such means.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am now asking you is this: You have said that this part of Poland formerly belonged to Russia.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that that made some difference.

Mr. FOSTER. Of course, it makes a difference to these Russian people.

The CHAIRMAN. You said that because of the fact that Poland, that part of Poland now occupied by Russia was formerly a part of Russia, that that made the difference.

Mr. FOSTER. Of course, it makes a difference.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, that justifies Russia in occupying it?

Mr. FOSTER. Not at all. Russia never moved into Poland on any such basis. For years these people have been there and Russia never attempted to move in, but when—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). What was the justification?

Mr. FOSTER. But when England and France—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Forget England.

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to forget it.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that it makes a difference. Now what is the justification of Russia moving into Poland?

Mr. FOSTER. When England and France surrendered Poland to Hitler then Russia went in.

The CHAIRMAN. The point I was asking was this: What was the justification of Russia moving in on Poland?

Mr. FOSTER. I just stated it.

The CHAIRMAN. Because of the attitude of England and France?

Mr. FOSTER. In surrendering Poland to Hitler. It was then that the Soviet extended its protection over the former Russian people.

The CHAIRMAN. You said it was because they were formerly Russian people. You said that, did you not?

Mr. FOSTER. That was one of many factors.

The CHAIRMAN. What other factors?

Mr. FOSTER. That was an element, after the invasion took place by Hitler.

The CHAIRMAN. It was an important element?

Mr. FOSTER. To these Russian people who were there.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. In influencing the Soviet Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. It was a link, was an important factor, as everyone in the world knows they welcomed the Red Army.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the same argument would not Hitler, when he moved into any place where German people formerly lived, be justified? What is the difference between Russia using the argument or raising the fact that the people were formerly a part of Russia and moving in and occupying two-thirds of the land of a helpless people, what is the difference between that and Hitler using the same argument to occupy another section?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, because when the Russian Red Army moved into Poland the Polish Government was already destroyed.

The CHAIRMAN. It was what?

Mr. FOSTER. It was already destroyed.

The CHAIRMAN. It was what?

Mr. FOSTER. It was already destroyed and it was a question of whether these people would surrender to Hitler or be taken over by the Soviet Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not know that before Hitler ever moved, before he ever invaded Poland, that he negotiated an agreement with Stalin, in which both of them agreed on how they would divide up Poland?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Long before he moved in?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not, and you do not either.

Mr. VOORHIS. Here is something that you do know, and no one can deny, that first Hitler did move into Poland immediately after the pact with Russia was signed.

It seems an unavoidable conclusion that the reason he did was because he was assured that he would not be opposed by Russia on the one hand, and perhaps have its cooperation.

It is also true that when that happened that it brought the Army into Poland.

How can you say that Russia was the guardian of these people under those circumstances?

Mr. FOSTER. You just ask those people and see how they received the Red Army and whether they accepted them as a guardian.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, they received 1,800,000, and it would not be a question of whether they wanted them.

Mr. FOSTER. They welcomed them. And you know that as well as I do, and everybody that reads even the New York Times knows this.

The CHAIRMAN. The New York Times—is it as accurate as the Daily Worker?

Mr. FOSTER. Not always; but once in a little while there is something important creeps in.

The CHAIRMAN. But not insofar as the editorial read is concerned?

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, I said it was a correct editorial.

The CHAIRMAN. It was a correct editorial?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Qualified by your statement that it only represents general principles.

Mr. FOSTER. Exactly.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to ask you one more question, and then I will keep quiet. You said a while back that whenever the Communist International developed a line which was supposed to apply to American conditions that in every case the representatives of the American party were consulted about that matter and agreed that it would work under American conditions.

Now, in that connection, a few years ago the Communist International, as I understand it, set forth certain lines or grounds that would not have been good for the American Communist Party, in the opinion of two of the American Communist leaders, and those two leaders were regarded thereafter as traitors to the entire cause and as attempting to split the party.

Now is not that what happens when there is an attempt on the part of anyone in the Community Party to assert any independent judgment to that of the Communist International as a whole?

Mr. FOSTER. These people were expelled by the American Communist Party after they attempted definitely to split our party and seize our papers, to grab our headquarters. What are you going to do with people like that, I would like to know?

The CHAIRMAN. Treat them as Stalin does?

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to interject that coming, Mr. Dies, from your section of the country, I think you should be very cautious about throwing out broad accusations against the Communist Party if you consider the fact that the people throughout your section, the Negro people, that so far as their rights—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I do not see how you can compare them with the millions of people slaughtered in your fatherland, Russia.

Mr. FOSTER. There were no millions of people slaughtered in Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. FOSTER. I believe you asked me a question, Congressman.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; I did. The question was, it seemed to me that Mr. Gitlow and Mr. Lovestone, the real reason they were expelled from the party was because of the attempt or influence to develop a party line which they believed would not be in accord with their views as to what was best under American conditions. Whether that is true or not I do not know, but I do know that in the Daily Worker they were accused of sabotaging the movement because of the fact that in the meetings of the Communist International they disagreed with the general movement—

Mr. FOSTER (interposing). That is not correct. They were expelled for attempting to split our party.

Mr. VOORHIS. The Daily Worker said—

Mr. FOSTER (continuing). I want to say that Mr. Gitlow appeared before your committee and misrepresented himself as national secretary of our party. He was never national secretary of our party.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was he?

Mr. FOSTER. He was one of the members of the Central Committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he a member of the secretariat?

Mr. FOSTER. Possibly he was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he or was he not? You must know.

The CHAIRMAN. You know he was not secretary?

Mr. FOSTER. I will furnish you the information.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, you know, do you not?

Mr. FOSTER. I will furnish you the information. I am answering the question. I will furnish you the information. I do not recall at the moment. But he was never the secretary of the party; Mr. Gitlow was never secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was secretary during the period that Mr. Gitlow referred to?

Mr. FOSTER. We have to admit of having Lovestone, but don't foist both of them on us.

The CHAIRMAN. During the time Gitlow was secretary, or said he was secretary, you say that he was not, but Lovestone was. Is that right?

Mr. FOSTER. First it was——

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that is correct, Mr. Brodsky?

Mr. BRODSKY. I ascertained the facts from my client. I represented Mr. Gitlow when he was convicted and got him out.

The CHAIRMAN. You represented him, but you are not a member of the party?

Mr. BRODSKY. No; I am not.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed, Doctor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, you said that territory of Poland now occupied by the Soviet Union was formerly a territory belonging to Russia. Was it not formerly, long prior to its occupation by the Soviet Union, also a part of Poland?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, if you want to go into the whole history of Europe and everything else, the matter of seizure, the United States is built up with all sorts of seizures.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And so this is a continuation of the seizure?

Mr. FOSTER. No; it is not. You inquired whether this had been a part of Russia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. No. It represents a build-up of Russia, just as all capitalist countries were built up, including the United States.

But this is just a little different case of building that is taking place, and I am sure that all of the capitalist countries in the world understand the little difference.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this is a move on the part of Russia to restore it?

Mr. FOSTER. No; that is not the point. The landlords seized Poland and enslaved its people. The present movement in Poland is to give freedom to these people.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, you believe the United States should join the Soviet Union, do you not?

Mr. FOSTER. I think it would be a very good idea if the United States would enter into a cooperative movement with the Soviet Union so

that between the two of them they would be able to write a decent peace treaty and not leave it to the British Tories to write another Versailles Treaty.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is not responsive to my question. The question can be answered categorically, yes or no, whether you believe the United States should join the Soviet Union.

Mr. FOSTER. Of course not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever so written?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read you from page 272 of your book entitled "Toward Soviet America":

The American Soviet Government will join with the other Soviet Governments in a World Soviet Union.

What do you make of that, Mr. Foster?

Mr. FOSTER. What has that got to do about joining the Soviet Union?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is what you said.

Mr. FOSTER. That was joining up with the Soviet Union or some other aggregation. I am telling you why you—

Mr. MATTHEWS. It would be true, if you joined?

Mr. FOSTER. I am telling you—you don't want to hear my answer, but I am telling you the practical relationship I would urge for the United States and the Soviet Union is to work along for the ultimate real peace of the world. And, furthermore, we are going to do it, whether you like it or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that what you meant when you wrote that?

Mr. FOSTER. No; that was written before Hitler's time.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what did you mean when you wrote this? Did you mean a different thing from what you do now, or not?

Mr. FOSTER. Of course, the situation is changed now very definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean then?

Mr. FOSTER. What I meant then was that eventually the United States, in a socialist period, would link up with the rest of the socialist countries of the world. That is what I meant.

The CHAIRMAN. Link up in what way?

Mr. FOSTER. On a world scale.

The CHAIRMAN. In one big Soviet Union, of which the United States would be part?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, you can call it that, but certainly they would have to take a place amongst them. Even under capitalism we have a League of Nations.

The CHAIRMAN. I know; but we are asking you about your language—if you meant that the United States would become one of the republics of the Soviet Union?

Mr. FOSTER. I say that eventually the United States will become a socialist country and, as such, it will link itself up internationally with other socialist countries.

The CHAIRMAN. And would be part of a soviet union; is that right?

Mr. FOSTER. No; that is not right.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the language again, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just let me ask this first.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is not the Soviet Union now composed of a score, more or less, of so-called autonomous republics?

Mr. FOSTER. Of its own peoples.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, is it, or not?

Mr. FOSTER. Of its own peoples.

The CHAIRMAN. How many different nationalities?

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many autonomous republics are in the Soviet Union today?

Mr. FOSTER. About 20 or more.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many?

Mr. FOSTER. About 20 or more; I cannot say precisely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And do not you envisage the addition, one by one, or half a dozen by half a dozen, of other countries which, of necessity, will become members of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics?

Mr. FOSTER. I have no idea whatever—

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read the language again:

The American Soviet Government will join with the other soviet governments in a world soviet union.

"Soviet Union" is in capital letters.

Mr. FOSTER. So what? In a world socialist federation.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I want to know—So what?

Mr. FOSTER. I have said that half a dozen times, but you don't want to accept what I say, namely, that as a socialist country the United States would naturally link up with other socialist countries. I say that we call it a "Soviet Union;" you may call it a "League of Nations." I don't know what you would call it.

The CHAIRMAN. But it will be one big organic whole, of which the United States will be a part?

Mr. FOSTER. I don't know precisely what it will be; but certainly they will get together.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean by that language?

Mr. FOSTER. I am sure a group of socialist countries of the world would never go through such insanities—

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but what did you mean?

Mr. FOSTER. I am answering the question—such insanities as the world is now experiencing, and in the World War which wiped out 30 million, and now we have another world war. They will figure out something better than that.

The CHAIRMAN. They will figure out what Russia has figured out?

Mr. FOSTER. It might be a good idea.

Mr. VOORHIS. No; they would have to figure out something better than that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to read some other passages from Mr. Foster's book *Toward Soviet America*. Reading from page 133:

All the capitalist democracies, the United States included, are only the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, masked with hypocritical democratic pretenses.

Did you believe that when you wrote it?

Mr. FOSTER. This was written before Hitler.

The CHAIRMAN. What has that got to do with it?

Mr. FOSTER. Because the world situation—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Hitler has now moved over with Stalin.

Mr. FOSTER. Well, we will see about that. The world situation has changed very substantially since Hitler has come into power. When

that was written, the question of the continuation of democracy in the world was not the central issue; but, since Hitler has risen, the question of the extinguishment of democracies throughout the world has actually become a very live question. In this period, although the Communists have always defended the democratic liberties of the people and tried to develop and extend them, nevertheless we carried on a very sharp criticism of capitalist democracy. Now, since Hitler, fascism has appeared and the question of democracy is involved, and we are now taking up more actively the defense of the capitalist democratic system, bad as it is, or imperfect as it is, as being better, of course, by far, than fascism.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, in 1932, when you wrote this book presumably, was it your understanding that the democracy of the United States was a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie?

Mr. FOSTER. Of course, it is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It still is?

Mr. FOSTER. It still is. It is a capitalist country, controlled by the great capitalist interests of the country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it still masked with hypocritical democratic pretenses?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, certainly——

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was in 1932, according to your language, was it not?

Mr. FOSTER. I would say that certainly the principal spokesmen of the real rulers of America, men such as President Hoover and Ford, and people of this character, when they speak—and those were the people in power at that moment—when they speak of “democracy,” it is a hypocritical pretense. And these people, if they have their way——

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is not responsive, Mr. Chairman, in any sense of the word.

Mr. FOSTER. That is 100 percent responsive—and these people, if it is left to them, will lead America right straight into fascism. And that is what this was written against.

The CHAIRMAN. Repeat the question again.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, in 1932, you declared that the democracy of the United States was a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, masked with hypocritical democratic pretenses, and you did not specify Mr. Ford or Mr. Hoover or anyone else in the United States——

Mr. FOSTER. I believe the Hoover government was in power at the moment.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, is that statement true?

Mr. FOSTER. That statement as applied to the Hoover government is certainly correct.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not true now?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is no longer correct?

Mr. FOSTER. Since 1932 undoubtedly there has been a large growth of democracy of one kind in the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But it is still a government which you describe as a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct; it is a capitalist government.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; but no longer masked with hypocritical pretenses; is that your distinction?

Mr. FOSTER. With the reservations that I made, that the real rulers of America, when they speak of “democracy,” it is a hypocritical pre-



tense. And if they have their way, if the workers and farmers and others permit them to have their way, in spite of their mouthings of "democracy," they will lead America straight into fascism.

MR. MATTHEWS. Is it correct to say we still have a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but no longer masked with hypocritical democratic pretenses, as you declared it was in 1932?

MR. FOSTER. I have answered it. Such a question cannot be answered "yes" or "no."

MR. MATTHEWS. Well, you wrote this; I am asking you about your own language.

MR. FOSTER. I have explained it completely.

MR. MATTHEWS. In your book *Toward Soviet America*, in which you envisage this country, when it becomes a socialist country, as you put it, you made it quite clear, did you not, Mr. Foster, that the transition from the present dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to the socialist society would be through a violent overthrow of the existing governmental institutions of this country?

MR. FOSTER. Well, do you want me to answer that question?

MR. MATTHEWS. I think you can answer "yes" or "no."

MR. FOSTER. Oh, you do?

MR. MATTHEWS. Yes; I think so.

MR. FOSTER. Well, I don't.

THE CHAIRMAN. He is just asking you if you made that statement; he is just asking you if you made the statement. Is that correct?

MR. MATTHEWS. Yes.

MR. FOSTER. No; that is not.

THE CHAIRMAN. You can answer whether you made the statement.

MR. FOSTER. You can read my book; I wrote the book.

THE CHAIRMAN. He is asking you if you made that statement.

MR. FOSTER. He is asking me, and I demand the right to answer it.

THE CHAIRMAN. Repeat the question.

MR. MATTHEWS. The question is: In his book, *Toward Soviet America*, he envisages this country ultimately becoming a Socialist country. That is the whole tenor of the book. Now, I ask him if in this book he did not make it quite clear that in the transition from the present dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which he calls this country, to a socialist society, violence would be inevitable?

THE CHAIRMAN. That is a plain question. If you have a different opinion now, you can express it. He is merely asking you if, in that book, you did envisage that situation.

MR. FOSTER. You don't have to ask about the book. I told him I wrote the book.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is not answering the question.

MR. FOSTER. If you want me to elaborate on that, I will be very glad to.

THE CHAIRMAN. No; he is just asking you if in the book you did envisage—what did you ask?

MR. MATTHEWS. The violent overturn of the present order before the socialist society could be achieved.

THE CHAIRMAN. Now, you certainly can answer that question.

MR. FOSTER. Yes; and I request permission to answer it.

THE CHAIRMAN. Well, did you make such a statement?

MR. FOSTER. I request permission of this commission to state fully what I mean by that, not to be compelled to answer "Yes" or "No" on

such fundamental questions. And if the committee resists that, it is because you are——

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you just sit there. We are not going to have any lectures from you. We want to be courteous to you, but you have to be courteous to the committee. Now, what I am asking you is this: Did you make the statement in the book that this transition would be brought about by violent means?

Mr. FOSTER. I said I wrote the book, but it is not——

The CHAIRMAN. That is not an answer to the question. Did you make that statement? The Chair wants to be fair with you.

Mr. FOSTER. If I have an explanation, might I be permitted to make the explanation?

The CHAIRMAN. Sure you are permitted, if you make it pertinent and not too long. We are not going to sit here and listen to a long dissertation.

Mr. FOSTER. I will make it very pertinent.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did you make that statement?

Mr. FOSTER. I made the statement in the book.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that statement represent your ideas now?

Mr. FOSTER. I will state what my ideas are.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read you some excerpts here from his book——

The CHAIRMAN. And then, in justice to him, let him say whether he has changed his views at the present time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster has already stated that he accepts the program of the Communist International; that is correct, is it not?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And in your book you have quoted extensively from the program of the Communist International; that is also correct, is it not?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 214, you give this quotation from the program of the Communist International:

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully "capturing" the ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resort to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and its political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie cannot abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle.

I read you again from page 213:

The capitalists will not give up of their own accord; nor can they be talked, bought, or voted out of power. To believe otherwise would be a deadly fatalism, disarming and paralyzing the workers in their struggle. No ruling class ever surrendered to a rising subject class without a last-ditch open fight. To put an end to the capitalist system will require a consciously revolutionary act by the great toiling masses, led by the Communist Party; that is, the conquest of the state power, the destruction of the state machine created by the ruling class, and the organization of the proletarian dictatorship. The lessons of history allow of no other conclusion.

Again, on page 219:

\* \* \* Capitalism will not grow into socialism. The great masses of toilers must be in a revolutionary mood; they must have the necessary organization and revolutionary program; they must smash capitalism. This all means that they must be under the general leadership of the only revolutionary party, the Communist Party.

And so on.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand, he does not dispute he made the statements, because he acknowledged he wrote the book.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't dispute you made those statements, at the time in question?

Mr. FOSTER. Of course not; but I want to state my position.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you want to explain your position at the present time?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And then?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. FOSTER. These quotations from the Communist International refer—

Mr. MATTHEWS. I beg your pardon, Mr. Foster, only one of them is from the Communist International; the other two are your own.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; I will speak of that. They are not in contradiction. The statements from the Communist International refer to a world in which there are many forms of governments—democratic, autocratic, and so on—and these refer to the revolutionary processes in general.

Now, revolution was not invented by Karl Marx or Lenin; revolutions took place before they were born. They simply analyzed the processes by which they occur. Revolutions cannot be organized by anybody; they occur when situations become ripe for them—particularly exchanges in the economic base of society. We in the United States have experienced two revolutions, in 1776 and 1860, and what I said in that book is definitely based upon the experience of the American people in those two revolutions. And in these two revolutions we see the process, that is, this revolutionary process, working out amongst the democratic people. And how does it work? Take the revolution of 1860, for example. This was a real revolution, insofar or inasmuch as it transferred the political power from one class to another—from the Southern landholders to the Northern industrialists. It was a revolution and with it went a basic change in the Nation's economy.

And how did this revolution take place? First of all, the majority of the people voted for the revolutionary party which, at that time, was the Republican Party—not only voted for it, but put it into office with a majority of the people.

The southern landholders, as I say, there refused to accept the decision of the majority of the people of the United States, and they declared a civil, or there developed a civil, war against the legally constituted revolutionary government of the United States. And that is where the violence comes from.

In a democratic country the masses of the people can vote themselves into power peacefully, and Marx and Engels recognized that almost 100 years ago, and whatever violence occurs comes from the minority that is voted out; that is, if it is really a revolution as we saw in 1776 and as we saw in 1860. And in those statements there is no advocacy of violence, no organization of violence; merely a pointing out that in such situations the class that is displaced will have recourse to violence.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, what you meant when you were writing that was that if the majority voted a given way and the minority refused to accept the decision of the majority, then you think that force would be applicable to compel the minority to follow the decision of the majority?

Mr. FOSTER. I don't have to think about it. You can look at what happened in our Civil War.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you, Is that what you meant?

Mr. FOSTER. I had particularly in mind our experience in the Civil War.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what you meant and that expressed your views then and now?

Mr. FOSTER. I say that the northern government——

The CHAIRMAN. I am not talking now about that; I am talking about what are your views with reference to whether or not force is only justified after the majority have spoken and the minority have refused to obey the majority?

Mr. FOSTER. Of course. The masses never——

The CHAIRMAN. Does that express your view?

Mr. FOSTER. The masses never use force——

The CHAIRMAN. Does that express your view?

Mr. FOSTER. The masses, the majority on either side——

The CHAIRMAN. Does that express your view that force is only applicable if a majority have voted and have reached a decision and the minority refuses to abide by it?

Mr. FOSTER. In general, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. FOSTER. That the government that is elected by the people will defend itself, as it did in 1860.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Foster, you said just a moment ago that in a democratic country the people could vote into power such government as they chose to do; but once that democracy has been destroyed, by whatever type of proletarian government, then their opportunity to do that is gone, is it not?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct; that is the danger of countries like Germany and others.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you have answered it. Let us go ahead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I want to go back to this question of the secretaryship of the party.

Mr. Foster stated he could not recollect whether or not Ben Gitlow was a member of the Secretariat; that he would have to look up the records. Is that what you stated?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Daily Worker of March 16, 1929, has the following announcement by the plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party:

Th plenary session of the Central Executive Committee selected the new secretariat of the party, which consists of Comrades Max Bedacht, William Z. Foster, and Ben Gitlow. These are coequal secretaries and have the following functions assigned to them: Agitation and propaganda, Secretary Bedacht; trade unions, Secretary Foster; executive secretary, Gitlow.

Now, have you any recollection of that?

Mr. FOSTER. If it is in there, it is probably correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Then he was executive secretary of the party?

Mr. FOSTER. But still he was not "The Secretary."

The CHAIRMAN. He was and he was not?

Mr. FOSTER. No. If that is in the period of Lovestone, Lovestone was the secretary. After Lovestone was gone, then we had Browder.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What does the word "coequal" mean to you, Mr. Foster?

Mr. FOSTER. Well; we have a general secretary, also.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Gitlow did not say he was "national secretary" or "general secretary," but "secretary." He is characterized here as "executive secretary."

Mr. FOSTER. I was not present here, and I go on the newspaper reports that Mr. Gitlow appeared as the secretary of the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do not you think it is a bit strange, you having been associated, as one of the three members of the secretariat, with Mr. Gitlow—

Mr. FOSTER. Not a bit. Our secretaries change very much and we have many, and our leading bodies have changed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now; there is no doubt in your mind that Mr. Gitlow was executive secretary in the period specified?

Mr. FOSTER. In that sense, but he was not general secretary of the party.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were there any other secretaries at that time? When they had the three of you there acting as the secretariat, were there any others there then?

Mr. FOSTER. It must have been either Lovestone or Browder.

The CHAIRMAN. You know it was not Browder.

Mr. FOSTER. If I knew the date—what is the date?

Mr. MATTHEWS. 1929.

Mr. BRODSKY. He did not come into it until 1930. Lovestone was secretary of the party from the time it was organized until 1927, or so.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, the distinction that is being made is a distinction between "general secretary" and "executive secretary," as I understand!

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. We have an executive secretary now. Browder is the general secretary and he is the leader of the party.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the executive secretary now?

Mr. FOSTER. Stachel.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to go back to where we left off.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just before the Nazi-Soviet pact, on the question of the resolutions of the Comintern being transmitted to the United States, Mr. Foster, I show you a portion of the Daily Worker of February 12, 1929 [exhibiting]. You recognize that as the typography and lay-out of the Daily Worker, do you not?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This statement is entitled "C. I. Resolution on Negro question in U. S. A." and "C. I." stands for "Communist International"?

Mr. FOSTER. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Reading one paragraph from this resolution of the Communist International—paragraph 4 it is numbered—we find:

It is the duty of the Negro workers to organize through the mobilization of the broad masses of the Negro population the struggle of the agricultural labor-

ers and tenant farmers against all forms of semifeudal oppression. On the other hand, it is the duty of the Communist Party of the United States of America to mobilize and rally the broad masses of the white workers for active participation in this struggle. For that reason the party must consider the beginning of systematic work in the South as one of its main tasks, having regard for the fact that the bringing together of the workers and toiling masses of all nationalities for a joint struggle against the landowners and the bourgeoisie is one of the most important aims of the Communist International, as laid down in the resolutions of the national and colonial question of the Second and Sixth Congresses of the Comintern.

Now, I ask you, Mr. Foster, if this resolution is not one which set forth in some detail a program touching the Negro population of the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To be carried out by the Communist Party in the United States; that is what it is, is it not?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And was not this program here, entitled "A Resolution," a program or resolution of the Communist International, as stated in the title? Apart, now, from the processes by which it was arrived at, it is so titled, is it not?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why could not or did not the American Communist Party think up its own program and promulgate its own program among the Negroes in its own name; why must the name of the Communist International be brought in to give authenticity or authority to this program?

Mr. FOSTER. The fact of the matter is that was all developed by the American delegates and about all there is "Comintern" about it is the name on it. As far as an explanation of the thing, with regard to the reference to the Comintern policy, the Comintern all over the world has a settled policy and in its general line advocates the freeing of oppressed nationalities. And I do not think you will find anywhere in the world a nationality so deeply oppressed as the Negroes in America. They are worse off than the Jews under Hitler.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they worse off than the people of Russia?

Mr. FOSTER. The people of Russia are doing very nicely, thank you—they are doing very nicely, thank you.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you think the Negro population of the United States would like to move to Germany and live under Hitler?

Mr. FOSTER. Whether they would like to live under Hitler, I am not in a position to say; but I certainly know they would like to abolish the Jim Crow system and the other outrages which they are subjected to in the United States, and which is one of the blackest marks on the history of the American people. I know that much.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you think the Negroes in the United States would like to have the same privileges, opportunities, and rights that the Jews living in Germany now have?

Mr. FOSTER. I don't speak about the Jews in Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did speak about the Jews in Germany.

Mr. FOSTER. I say the Negroes in America are worse off than the Jews in Germany, bad off as they are.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, the Negroes in the United States would like to have the same privileges, opportunities, and rights that the Jews now have in Germany?

Mr. FOSTER. You will have to ask the Negroes that. I told you the facts, and you can draw such conclusion as you please from it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, will you please name for the committee as many of the Comintern representatives who have been sent to the United States for work with the American Communist Party as you can recall offhand?

Mr. FOSTER. That is something else I have heard a lot of rumors about without a great deal of fact. The fact is that the Comintern has never followed the policy of sending representatives to the United States, especially to the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please name as many as you can recollect of Comintern representatives who have come to this country?

Mr. FOSTER. I know one—Harry Pollitt. I think he had credentials from the Comintern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He did come as a representative of the Comintern?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. During what period was that?

Mr. FOSTER. I think it was in 1929, upon our invitation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall a man who was known at times, at least, as Charles Johnson?

Mr. FOSTER. Charles Johnson is a very common name. I cannot say that I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not recall in your own work association with a man by the name of Charles Johnson?

Mr. FOSTER. It is possible. The name is familiar. I think I did know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You think you knew him?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What other names did you know him under?

Mr. FOSTER. Johnson, I think, is all I can recollect.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you not know him under the name of Scott, also, quite frankly? Did you know him under that name?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir; I knew Johnson. I do not know whether he was known as Scott.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not recall that alias of Scott?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was your association with Charles Johnson, now that you recall the name?

Mr. FOSTER. I met him in the Comintern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the Comintern?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Moscow?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where was he from?

Mr. FOSTER. I did not know what his nationality was. He was Lithuanian, I believe.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was a Lithuanian. That is correct. Did he not come to the United States as a Comintern representative, and was he not, in that capacity, quite closely associated with you?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did publish articles by him, though, in the Workers Monthly, did you not?

Mr. FOSTER. I cannot be sure, but it is quite possible.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In February 1925 you have such an article by Charles E. Johnson?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There are some other references there to Mr. Johnson. Was he in this country when he wrote that piece for the magazine?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think so. This article, I think, is about the Profintern Congress. He was engaged in Profintern work.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you state that Mr. Johnson was never, to your knowledge, in the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. Never to my knowledge; no, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You state that, from your knowledge, he was never in the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. To the best of my recollection.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know that Johnson was a Lithuanian delegate to the Comintern?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir; to the Profintern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You said he was a representative to the Comintern.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; but I meant to say the Profintern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know, or did you ever know, a man who at times, at least, used the name of Gussev?

Mr. FOSTER. I have heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never met him?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know him; no, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever know him under the alias of Green?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear rumors that the man Green you knew was also Gussev?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not recall it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a man named Jenks, or M. Jenks?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who has published pamphlets for the Communist Party in the United States? You never heard his name?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not recall it. We publish many pamphlets. It is possible.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know a man named Marcus?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not recall him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not know that Marcus and Jenks were the same man, with different names?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir; that makes it doubly sure that I do not know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Ewart?

Mr. FOSTER. I know Ewart.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you know him?

Mr. FOSTER. In the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know that Mr. Browder, when he was on the stand, testified that Ewart was never in the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. I know nothing of that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what capacity did you know him?

Mr. FOSTER. I understood he was passing through the country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As what?

Mr. FOSTER. As some sort of emigrant from Europe.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Not from the Soviet Union?



Mr. FOSTER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Not an emigrant of the Comintern in the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir; he was a member of the German party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a man named Rust, from England?

Mr. FOSTER. I have seen the name, but I do not know that I know the man.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Dengel, of the German Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. I met him in Moscow.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet him in the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know that he was a Comintern representative here?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever know Reinstein? Boris is the first name.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir; I know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you know him?

Mr. FOSTER. In Moscow.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Not in the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he ever here?

Mr. FOSTER. He was never here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Nolitzek?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never heard the name?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You state here that, with the exception of Harry Pollitt, you never knew of a Comintern delegate or Comintern representative to the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. I think that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. There should be no thinking about it. You should make it positive. Is that a correct statement of it?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir; I think so. There have been men here from time to time from other parties.

The CHAIRMAN. He is talking about the Comintern.

Mr. FOSTER. From other parties, and sometimes they have been loosely referred to as Comintern delegates.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where have they been loosely referred to as Comintern delegates?

Mr. FOSTER. In the press.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the press of the party?

Mr. FOSTER. Sometimes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, members of the Communist Party have referred to them as Comintern delegates, or that is what you have just said?

Mr. FOSTER. I have seen it when it was not justified.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please name some of the men who have been referred to in that manner in the party press, among the ones I have mentioned?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know that was actually in the press, but in party circles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In party circles it was known that they were Comintern delegates in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir; it was not known—it was said.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The party members did not know about it, but they just said it?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir; that is it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They did not know that they were Comintern representatives?

Mr. FOSTER. I can give an example, of Mr. Pepper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Pepper?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir. There were many people who said he was a Comintern representative, but it was not true.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the Comintern delegate to the United States at the present moment?

Mr. FOSTER. There is none.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Not sitting in the national committee or any committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. Sitting nowhere.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the Communist International send a delegate to the United States to supervise the work of the party at the very beginning of the party, in 1922, about the time you joined the party?

Mr. FOSTER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you not rather well informed about the party activities at that time.

Mr. FOSTER. Pretty well, I think.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If there had been delegates of the Comintern to the United States to supervise the work of the party, you would have known about it, would you not?

Mr. FOSTER. I think so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you say that there was no such?

Mr. FOSTER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You would have known about it?

The CHAIRMAN. I think we had better recess.

Mr. BRODSKY. Mr. Chairman, do you have any idea how long the session will be this afternoon?

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we start at 2 o'clock and run for 2 more hours.

Mr. BRODSKY. As you know, Mr. Foster came voluntarily and wants to cooperate with the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a recess until 2 o'clock.

(Thereupon the committee took a recess until 2 p. m.)

#### AFTER RECESS

The committee reconvened at 2 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. You may proceed, Mr. Matthews.

#### TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM Z. FOSTER—Resumed

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, in the report of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International—and this congress was held in

November and December 1922—there appears the following statement on page 25:

We were able to send a delegate to America who remained there for some time.

Do you know who that delegate was?

Mr. FOSTER. Before I answer that question, Mr. Chairman, I would like to enter a protest at the unfair way in which Mr. Browder was treated at this morning's session.

The CHAIRMAN. We have been over that this morning. You want to make speeches, and now you complain that we have not been absolutely fair. Let us not have any more of that. You are being asked questions, and you are not here to make protests.

Mr. FOSTER. I am making one nevertheless.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed, Mr. Matthews. Ask him to either answer the question or say he does not know.

Mr. FOSTER. I will answer the questions. You had Mr. Browder, and had the right to ask Mr. Browder about this \$10,000—this mythical \$10,000 bill.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not to volunteer any more statements, but are here to answer the questions responsively.

Mr. FOSTER. I have responded.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read the quotation again:

We were able to send a delegate to America who remained there for some time?

Will you please state who that delegate was?

Mr. FOSTER. I have no idea.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am reading now from this report, which is the official report of the Communist International, that there was a delegate sent here.

Mr. FOSTER. I have no knowledge one way or the other. I do not know whom it refers to, or what the inference is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You stated this morning that if such a delegate had been sent since 1922 you would have known it.

Mr. FOSTER. It is possible. I worked all over the country. I was working at Chicago at that time, and the party headquarters were in New York. I did not know everything that was going on.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You stated this morning that if such a delegate was sent, you would know him.

Mr. FOSTER. I said I probably would know. That is what I said.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who it was?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You stated this morning that you were the editor of Labor Herald.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a bound volume of Labor Herald, one of which contains a photograph. This is from the issue of August 1924. I ask you if you recognize the one on the left?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is that?

Mr. FOSTER. That is Johnson.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You stated this morning that you were willing to state under oath that Johnson had not been in the United States, and that you met him only in Moscow.

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to the subcaption here in this magazine, Charles E. Johnson is listed as a delegate to the Red International Labor Union from America. How could he be a delegate to this meeting from America if he had never been in America?

Mr. FOSTER. I said if he had been, I did not know it. I said I did not meet him. I know that many years before he had been in the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was a delegate to the R. I. L. U. from your organization, according to this magazine.

Mr. FOSTER. That is it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you have never met him here?

Mr. FOSTER. I never met him in America. For many years before I knew he had been in the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not say that this morning, did you?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir; you did not ask me that. I did not meet him here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it not strange that a delegate from your own organization, with only two or three of them, would not be known to you?

Mr. FOSTER. There were several of us. There were a number of us, in fact.

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Mr. FOSTER. The total American delegation probably ran up to—I would have to approximate it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, approximate it.

Mr. FOSTER. Probably about a dozen to twenty.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not remember that man, or you do not remember meeting him in the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir; I did not meet him here. There were other delegations there. I did not meet him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was one of the members of the delegation to the R. I. L. U.?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who were the other members? He was also a member of the executive bureau?

The CHAIRMAN. How many members were there?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The photograph shows eight.

Mr. FOSTER. Whatever it shows is correct. I do not remember, 20 years ago, how many there were in the bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct or not?

Mr. FOSTER. If it says eight, it is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You were with this man, but you say you do not remember meeting him in the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. First, I did not serve with him on anything. He was one person at the Congress.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is listed as a member of the executive bureau.

Mr. FOSTER. The executive bureau, I know, did not meet during the Congress.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It met when this photograph was taken?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It did meet.

The CHAIRMAN. It met just for one photograph?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the usual custom? How often is that done?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think it would be very——

Mr. MATTHEWS (interposing). It was done on that occasion?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir. Usually during the convention the executive boards do not meet.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not have any independent recollection about its meeting at all?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir; I do not have any recollection of it. It may have met. The convention was the thing that we were interested in, and usually during the convention the executive boards do not meet.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they meet at all?

Mr. FOSTER. Between conventions.

The CHAIRMAN. Did this one meet between conventions?

Mr. FOSTER. I never attended that executive board meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Did this particular board ever meet that you recall?

Mr. FOSTER. Not when I was present.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Except when they were photographed.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he in the photograph?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to add to that, if there is any question about attending a meeting, I am not trying to say I did not attend a meeting. Whatever meeting was there, I attended it. I have no recollection of the meeting, or of what transpired. If you have a photograph that was taken——

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are in the photograph?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There are a number of delegations, including delegations from Russia, Czechoslovakia, England, America, Spain, France, and so forth. Two are reported absent, one from Germany and one from Italy. Apparently there were 10 members of the executive bureau of the R. I. L. U.

Did you say this morning that you were acquainted with Pepper?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Alias Pogany?

Mr. FOSTER. I think that was his real name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And alias Schwartz?

Mr. FOSTER. I never knew him by that name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Browder identified him as alias Schwartz.

Mr. FOSTER. He knows, perhaps. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You think his real name was Pogany?

Mr. FOSTER. I think it was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he a Hungarian?

Mr. FOSTER. So I understand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him as a delegate from the Comintern to the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If the Comintern recalled Pepper from the United States, will you please explain what they were recalling him for?

Mr. FOSTER. On the basis of the recommendation of the American party. They more or less recommended that he go away, as he was a delegate from some other party, as I understand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You understand that he was a delegate from some other party?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir; I do not. He came from some other party, but I do not know that he was a delegate.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why was he recalled?

Mr. FOSTER. Upon the request of the American party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was recalled upon the request of the American party?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he recalled on the demand of the Comintern?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was not?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If Stalin said that, Stalin was stating something falsely or incorrectly?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know what Stalin said about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have read Stalin's speeches on the American party?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir; but I do not know what he said about that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you not especially well acquainted with Stalin's speeches on the American party?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know that you are mentioned in those speeches?

Mr. FOSTER. A number of times; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know he said that Lovestone and Gitlow were expelled from the Communist Party for factionalism?

Mr. FOSTER. That is what he said.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Stalin say that you were equally guilty of factionalism?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir. Lovestone and Gitlow were expelled, and later Lovestone and Gitlow, after that speech was made, undertook to split the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did not Stalin state that Foster was equally guilty of factionalism with Lovestone and Gitlow?

Mr. FOSTER. He stated—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Did he state that?

Mr. FOSTER. Just a moment; I refuse to be put in the position of stating something that is not true.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead and state whether Stalin said that or not. He said that Stalin made a certain statement, and the question is, Do you know whether he made such a statement?

Mr. FOSTER. If it is in the book, he made the statement because that is a verbatim report.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I suppose Mr. Foster is familiar with this document, as it involves—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Read the statement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is Stalin speaking:

What did Comrade Foster talk to me about? He complained of the factionalism and unprincipledness of Comrade Lovestone's group. What did I answer him? I admitted these sins on the part of the Lovestone group, but at the same time added that the same sins were characteristic of the Foster group. On the basis

of this Comrade Foster arrives at the singular conclusion that I sympathize with the minority group. Where is the foundation, one asks? On what grounds is Foster pleased to think that I failed to see the defects of the minority group and even sympathized with that group? Is it not obvious that with Comrade Foster the wish is father to the thought?

I want to ask you about Mr. Pepper. You stated categorically that Pepper was not recalled by the Comintern. I read you from page—

Mr. FOSTER (interposing). It was upon the demand of the American party, I said.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read from page 13 of Stalin's speech on the Communist Party of the United States:

Twice the Comintern demanded Comrade Pepper's return to Moscow. The central committee of the American party resisted.

Was that the demand of the American Communist Party for Pepper's return?

Mr. FOSTER. It was we who demanded the return of Pepper repeatedly.

The CHAIRMAN. Then Stalin's statement is not correct?

Mr. FOSTER. It is correct also.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the statement again.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It reads:

Twice the Comintern demanded Comrade Pepper's return to Moscow. The central committee of the American Communist Party resisted.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a fact?

Mr. FOSTER. The sense of that is that the Lovestone group of the American party resisted. We did not resist. We demanded his return, and it was upon the basis of our demand that he was removed.

The CHAIRMAN. Stalin himself said you represented the minority group of the party.

Mr. FOSTER. At certain times we represented a minority group, but I am pretty sure that we were convinced at that time that we represented the majority.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the time he represented the minority group—that was the time that the Comintern demanded the return of Pepper.

Mr. FOSTER. Frequently we were in the minority in the central committee, but practically our position had become one of representing the majority of the party. It was apparent a short time after, with the combination, that we did represent an overwhelming majority of the party.

The CHAIRMAN. Stalin in that same speech said you represented a minority of the party. He said that twice the Comintern demanded the return of Pepper, but that the central committee of the Communist Party, which means the majority, resisted. They represented how many?

Mr. FOSTER. They represented a majority of the party on the central committee.

The CHAIRMAN. And they twice resisted it. Is that true?

Mr. FOSTER. They did not twice resist, but they several times resisted. Our opinion seemed to prevail.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall why the minority group headed by you insisted on Pepper's return in compliance with the demand of the Comintern? Why did you do that?

Mr. FOSTER. I did not catch that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why did you insist on Pepper's return to Moscow in compliance with the demand of the Comintern?

Mr. FOSTER. Because we thought he was a menace to our party, that his whole political line was detrimental to the work of the American Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Stalin credit you with that motive?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know what he credited me with. It is whatever he says there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 14 he says:

The Foster group wants to demonstrate their solidarity with the Comintern by demanding the carrying out of the decision of the Comintern regarding Pepper's recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir. Carrying out the decision of the Comintern was in line with the policy of our party and its best interests, as we understood it.

Mr. VOORHIS. How long after this was it that the change took place in the secretariat of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. I think it was just a few days after that speech was made—probably a week or two—that Lovestone sent directions from Europe to his followers in the United States to split the Communist Party, and thereupon he was expelled.

Mr. VOORHIS. That did not have anything to do with the fact that your group, as was read just a minute ago, was trying to maintain solidarity with the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. I don't get the point of the question, please.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did the fact that only a few days after this the Lovestone group was expelled from the party logically follow from Mr. Stalin's remark in that speech that was just read, to the effect that your group was endeavoring in every possible way to maintain solidarity with the Communist International? Was that the reason the Lovestone group was put out of the party?

Mr. FOSTER. That went along with the general reasons, that the line of Lovestone to split the party would naturally split it with the Comintern. We opposed that.

Mr. VOORHIS. And the fact that they did not go along with the Communist International meant that therefore they had to be purged out of the American Party, and the minority group remain in control?

Mr. FOSTER. That is not correct. The fact of the matter is that when the split came, and the test came as to who represented the majority, the actual Lovestone group represented about 1 percent of the party and we represented the rest.

Mr. VOORHIS. There would probably be disputes about that on both sides.

Mr. FOSTER. It is a matter of statistics, how many were expelled.

The CHAIRMAN. It is Stalin's own word, though, that you represented the minority in the party. What higher authority could you have than his own words?

Mr. FOSTER. I said that we represented formally a minority in the central committee, but actually the membership of our group plus a segment of the Lovestone group represented at least 98 percent of our party.



The CHAIRMAN. But you were in the minority at the time that speech was made?

Mr. FOSTER. In the central committee, formally; that is all. Actually we were in an overwhelming majority, plus the group that was splitting from Lovestone already.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You are very familiar with this speech, are you?

Mr. FOSTER. Reasonably.

Mr. DEMPSEY. In your opinion, are the statements made by Stalin correct in every respect?

Mr. FOSTER. I think so.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You would not differ with him, would you?

Mr. FOSTER. I would not challenge that report. I think it is correct.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Would you challenge anything he might say?

Mr. FOSTER. Of course.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You would? If he said that you were the minority, would he be incorrect or correct?

Mr. FOSTER. I have answered that several times already.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Well, just answer it now.

Mr. FOSTER. I said that formally we were a minority in the central committee.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You are not answering my question. If he said that you were the minority in the party at the time he spoke, was he correct or incorrect?

Mr. FOSTER. He did not say that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I am asking you, if he did say that——

Mr. FOSTER. He did not say it; no.

Mr. DEMPSEY. If he did say it, would he be correct or incorrect?

Mr. FOSTER. He did not say it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. May we have the statement read again?

The CHAIRMAN. Read the statement.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

On what grounds is Foster pleased to think that I fail to see the defects of the minority group, and even sympathize with that group?

Now, Mr. Foster identified the minority group as his group.

Mr. DEMPSEY. At that particular time he says that you are of the minority group?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Is he correct or incorrect?

Mr. FOSTER. The minority of the central committee.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Was he correct or incorrect?

Mr. FOSTER. He was correct, of course.

Mr. DEMPSEY. He could not be incorrect, could he?

Mr. FOSTER. Not when he makes a correct statement.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Well, he could not be anyway, could he?

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, I think so.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I think, if you felt that way, and he knew it, you would still be of the minority party, if you were in it at all.

Mr. FOSTER. Well, that is your opinion.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is my opinion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, getting back to this question of Pepper's recall, is not Stalin saying that you or your group was demanding the carrying out of the decision of the Comintern, and not the other way

around, as you tried to make it appear—that it was the Comintern carrying out the decision of the American Party?

Mr. FOSTER. It was we that secured the decision in the first place.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Stalin was not aware of that? Is that the assumption we are to make?

Mr. FOSTER. I don't know whether he was aware of it or not; but we were the ones that were responsible for it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And do you still say that you do not know what it was precisely that the Comintern demanded Pepper's recall from? Was it from some position in the party that he held in the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. Just from the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just from the party?

Mr. FOSTER. Just from the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you did say that he was a delegate from some other party?

Mr. FOSTER. I did not say that. He came from some other party. I don't know whether he was a delegate. I don't think he was a delegate.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Wouldn't you know whether he was a delegate or not?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; I probably would with regard to Pepper. He was no delegate, so far as I know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, what about the regard with which Communists who remain in the Comintern hold the institution? Has it ever been referred to as "the holy of holies of the working class," for example?

Mr. FOSTER. Possibly. I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Don't you recall that Stalin himself described the Comintern as "the holy of holies of the working class"?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, if he did, I don't recall it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In speaking of you and your group, in this immediate context, he warned both you and the majority group that you were trying to make a stock exchange or a stock market out of the Comintern, and then he says:

But, comrades, the Comintern is not a stock market. The Comintern is the holy of holies of the working class.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Don't you recall that?

Mr. FOSTER. I didn't recall that; no.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

The Comintern, therefore, must not be confused with a stock market.

Did you ever speak of Moscow as "Mecca"?

Mr. FOSTER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never heard Moscow referred to as "Mecca"?

Mr. FOSTER. I have heard it referred to as Mecca.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In party circles?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, mostly from our enemies; sometimes in party circles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Didn't you use it in cablegrams back and forth?

Mr. FOSTER. I don't know. I don't recall it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read you a cablegram which was sent from the political committee of the Communist Party, of which committee you were a member, which reads, to begin with, as follows:

Inform E. C. C. I. (Executive Committee of the Communist International) Polcom (Political Committee) accepted decision following delegation leave instantly Mecca. Ben Jack Bill.

Did not the "Mecca" here refer to Moscow?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know anything about that cablegram.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who Ben, Jack, and Bill were?

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, I know Ben, Jack, and Bill, but I don't know what that cablegram—I don't know whose cablegram it is or where it came from or anything about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was a cablegram sent by the political committee of the Communist Party, of which you were a member.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I would like to know who Ben, Jack, and Bill are.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know the names?

Mr. FOSTER. I know many names of Ben, Jack, and Bill.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You said you knew.

Mr. FOSTER. Sure I do. I know a lot of Bens, Jacks, and Bills, but I am not going to identify any Ben, Jack, or Bill on the basis of a cablegram that I do not know anything about.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is not answering the question. You said you knew who Ben, Jack, and Bill were.

Mr. FOSTER. That is my answer now.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you know them?

Mr. FOSTER. I said I do not know anything about that telegram.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I did not ask you about the telegram. I asked if you know Ben, Jack, and Bill. If you do, who are they?

Mr. FOSTER. That is my answer.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Well, who are they?

Mr. FOSTER. That is my answer.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I insist, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated that you knew who Ben, Jack, and Bill were.

Mr. FOSTER. Please read my response.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the answer.

(The reporter read as follows:)

Oh, I know Ben, Jack, and Bill, but I don't know what that cablegram—I don't know whose cablegram that is, or where it came from, or anything about it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. He says he knows who they are.

Mr. FOSTER. I know Ben, Jack, and Bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are they?

Mr. FOSTER. In our party?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. I am Bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Jack; Jack Stachel?

Mr. FOSTER. I would not say that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you do not know who Jack is?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Perhaps I can refresh his memory, Mr. Chairman. Was it Johnstone?

Mr. FOSTER. I could not say. There are several Jacks, and I refuse to identify anybody as delegates upon the basis of a telegram that I know nothing about.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Nobody asked you about a delegate. Dr. Matthews asked you if you knew Ben, Jack, and Bill, and you said you did.

Mr. FOSTER. Well, I have answered the question.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Then your answer is incorrect; you do not know Ben, Jack, and Bill?

Mr. FOSTER. Not in connection with that telegram.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with anything, do you know Ben, Jack, and Bill in the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. I know several Bens, Jacks, and Bills.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Name them.

Mr. FOSTER. Let's see. Well, I am Bill. Then there is Jack Johnstone, and there is Ben Gold; but I do not say that this telegram refers to them.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I did not ask you anything about that.

Mr. FOSTER. But we are speaking about this telegram.

Mr. DEMPSEY. No; I am speaking about those names.

Mr. FOSTER. But you are dealing with this telegram.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I am speaking about Ben, Jack, and Bill, that the doctor referred to, and that you said you knew.

Mr. FOSTER. My friend, I am not going to let you identify me with a telegram—

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute; no comment. Proceed, Mr. Dempsey.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Your answer is either correct, or it is incorrect. If you know Ben, Jack, and Bill, you should say so; if you do not, you should say so.

Mr. FOSTER. Of course, I do not know who wrote the telegram or who it refers to.

The CHAIRMAN. He is asking you if you know who Ben, Jack, and Bill mentioned in the telegram are.

Mr. FOSTER. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. FOSTER. I said that in the first place.

Mr. DEMPSEY. No; you did not say that in the first place.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask you, Mr. Foster, if you can identify the stamped signature on this document from your past recollection [handing a paper to the witness]. Have you ever seen that signature before?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; I have seen it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You identify that as a correct stamped signature?

Mr. FOSTER. I have seen a signature of that general character. I am not a handwriting expert.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The signature on these minutes of the Political Committee of the Communist Party, dated April 27, 1927, is the signature of Jay Lovestone, acting general secretary, and listed as present at that particular meeting, among others, was Mr. Foster.

Do you have any recollection, Mr. Foster, of that particular occasion when a Comintern cablegram was received which read as follows:

We are of opinion that the plenum of central must be held immediately and before departure of delegation. However, the decisions of central plenum are not to be considered as final without ratification by Executive Committee of the Communist International and shall not be published before such ratification. Our decision about composition of delegation as telegraphed to you remains in force unchanged. Consequently other comrades than those whom Polburo decides upon within the right which was given it in last telegram of Executive Committee of the Communist International shall not come. Copies of this telegram to all members Polburo. Executive Committee of the Communist International, Kusinen.

You know who Kusinen is?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was a member of the secretariat of the E. C. C. I. at that time?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have some recollection of this cablegram, do you not?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I do not recollect that cablegram.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not go to Moscow in 1927, did you, in the summer?

Mr. FOSTER. 1927? I may have gone. I am not certain of dates. I was there a number of times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This morning you said you did not.

Mr. FOSTER. This morning I said I was not sure of dates. I have been there a number of times, but I am not sure of the exact dates.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you been to Moscow more or less every year since your membership in the party?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I have not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you think you might have gone in 1927?

Mr. FOSTER. It is possible, but I am not certain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Don't you think that perhaps this document bears on the face of it its own authenticity, in that one cablegram to Moscow suggests that "Bill," who undoubtedly was yourself, go to Moscow, and the cable was received in reply saying that you should not come to Moscow? Can't you recall the circumstances under which that exchange of cablegrams took place?

Mr. FOSTER. I have no recollection of that particular incident.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever see copies of the minutes of the political committee?

Mr. FOSTER. Once in a while; not always.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were they not mimeographed and distributed to the members?

Mr. FOSTER. In general, yes; but sometimes I was on the road and did not get them. But often, even in New York, I did not see them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is not this the form in which they were usually distributed to members of the political committee [handing a paper to the witness]?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, I have seen them in various forms.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you any copies of them?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I have not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have none in your possession?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where other copies might be?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I could not say.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are chairman of the party; you know where the records are?

Mr. FOSTER. I am, but I have not charge of the archives. You will have to consult Mr. Browder.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is there any reason that you should be kept ignorant of where the archives are?

Mr. FOSTER. The only reason is this: That I was sick for a long period of time and was not engaged in the general work of the party. My work was restricted simply to writing and attending meetings of

the political committee, and on all such questions as this I was not taken into consideration.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This was 5 years before your illness, Mr. Foster.

Mr. FOSTER. But you are asking for archives.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; but I am also asking about the form in which minutes were distributed, and you were not definite as to whether this was the form.

Mr. FOSTER. I could not certainly identify a document by the form.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is several years since you have been back in active work?

Mr. FOSTER. Especially after several years, I could not identify a document by its form.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are they ever sent out in printed form?

Mr. FOSTER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never saw a printed copy?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen a typewritten copy?

Mr. FOSTER. Typed; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And mimeographed copies?

Mr. FOSTER. That I would not say.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know whether you have ever seen mimeographed copies?

Mr. FOSTER. I don't know whether they were mimeographed. Our political committee was very small. They may have been duplicated, that is, several made together, for all I know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They may have been duplicated and sent to other functionaries of the party, so that other functionaries might know what the decisions of the party were; is that what you mean to say—that they were duplicated for that purpose?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I do not know whether they were sent out to other members or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, this particular document has already been introduced in evidence and identified as an authentic copy of the minutes of the political committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. Foster, you are acquainted with the publication, The Communist International, I presume.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that a copy that you have seen? [Handing a pamphlet to the witness.]

Mr. FOSTER. It looks like it; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a copy of the Communist International of September 1936. Is this the organ of the executive committee of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, I don't know how directly it is. It is an organ of the Communist International, but how directly an organ of the executive committee—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). He asked you if it was an organ of the Communist International.

Mr. FOSTER. The answer is, I do not know.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Will the stenographer read the witness' answer in which he said that it was, but how directly he did not know? Now he says he does not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you say at one time that it is an organ of the executive committee of the Communist International, and now you say you do not know?

Mr. FOSTER. Because the question is whether or not the executive committee of the Communist International would go over every article in there and assume responsibility for them, and generally—

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is not the question at all.

Mr. FOSTER. I would consider that an official organ.

The CHAIRMAN. You first say it is, and now you say you don't know.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Let the stenographer read the answer again.

(The stenographer read as follows:)

Well, I don't know how directly it is. It is an organ of the Communist International, but how directly an organ of the executive committee—

Mr. FOSTER. That is what I said.

Mr. DEMPSEY. It is an organ?

Mr. FOSTER. That is exactly what I said.

Mr. DEMPSEY. But later on you said that you did not know.

Mr. FOSTER. I said nothing of the kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. Which is correct? Is it an organ, or is your answer that you do not know?

Mr. FOSTER. What the stenographer read; that is my answer, and that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the answer again.

(The stenographer read as follows:)

Well, I don't know how directly it is. It is an organ of the Communist International, but how directly an organ of the executive committee—

Mr. FOSTER. That is my answer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you frequently seen copies of the publication, Mr. Foster?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You get it regularly?

Mr. FOSTER. Quite regularly; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you write for it from time to time?

Mr. FOSTER. I have written for it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Don't you know that on every issue, on the mast-head, it says, "Communist International, organ of the executive committee of the Communist International?"

Mr. FOSTER. I have not noticed it.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean you have been getting it all this time and you did not notice that?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I did not notice that particularly. I said that it is an organ of the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You said an organ of the executive committee of the Communist International.

Mr. FOSTER. How directly it is controlled by the executive committee I do not know. That is what I said.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it not a primary characteristic of the Comintern and of its constituent bodies that there is such a thing as rigid discipline, which covers all party publications as well as all party members?

Mr. FOSTER. No; there is no rigid discipline in our party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is no rigid discipline in the party?

Mr. FOSTER. No. Our party discipline is subject to discussion and debate, and is arrived at by educational processes. It may be described here and there as a rigid discipline, but essentially it is what I say.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster says there is no such thing as rigid discipline. I would like to read him "Decisions of Workers Party Central Executive Committee," dated October 15, 1924. This is from the Daily Worker of that date. [Reading:]

The Fifth Congress has shown that the Communist International is fast growing to be one world communist party with a vigorous international discipline. The stand of the congress toward the anti-disciplinarian tendencies of Souvarine and Hoeglund and others will draw the ranks of Communism together the world over and will strengthen the Communist International as one Communist Party. The C. E. C. of the W. P. declares that rigid discipline, international and national, is absolutely indispensable for the organized advance guard of the international proletariat.

Did you participate in the promulgation of that particular document? [Handing the paper referred to to the witness.]

Mr. FOSTER. When was it gotten out? I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1924. You were a member of the political committee at the time, were you not?

Mr. FOSTER. I did, if it was gotten out at that time; but any statement as to rigid discipline in the Communist Party is always coupled up with the conception that the decisions arrived at are subject to the widest discussion, and it is only after the decision is taken that the discipline enters in.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, is that true with reference to the Soviet-Nazi pact?

Mr. FOSTER. The Soviet-Nazi pact; I don't know how that was handled in the Russian party. I have no information.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not consulted in advance about that?

Mr. FOSTER. Of course not.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. You know Granville Hicks, do you not?

Mr. FOSTER. I have heard of him. I never met him.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you received information that he has resigned from the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. I saw something in the paper about it. Oh, we have casualties.

The CHAIRMAN. But he was a member for a long time, was he not?

Mr. FOSTER. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. A very prominent member of the party?

Mr. FOSTER. He was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he correct when he said, according to this dispatch:

If they had only admitted their ignorance—

Speaking of the Soviet alinement with Nazi Germany—

If they had only admitted their ignorance, the Communist Party of the United States would still be intact. But instead they insisted that the Soviet-German nonaggression pact was the greatest possible contribution to peace and democracy and offered anything that came into their heads as proof. They rushed into print with apologies completely devoid of clarity and logic. Only one conclusion could be drawn: If the party leaders could not defend the Soviet Union intelligently, they would defend it stupidly.



Was he correct when he said that? And, quoting further from the United Press dispatch of September 29:

Mr. Hicks, writing in the magazine, *The New Republic*, said he had wanted to reserve judgment on the pact, but the party had insisted upon making its defense an integral part of the party line. Party leaders told him, he said, that if, after deliberating with himself, he could not defend the pact, he would have to resign.

Was he told that by party leaders?

Mr. FOSTER. It is possible. I did not tell him, and I did not know he was told. That is the first time I ever heard of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be necessary for him to resign if he disagreed with the Soviet-Nazi pact?

Mr. FOSTER. I will answer the first part of your question, and this secondly. How this pact was arrived at, I have no information whatsoever.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated that.

Mr. FOSTER. All our party did was to undertake to describe its political effects in the world.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. FOSTER. And the analysis that our party made at the time was correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Right.

Mr. FOSTER. And, more than that, it is being pretty generally accepted by even conservative circles.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. If a member of the party refused to accept it, would he have to resign?

Mr. FOSTER. That would depend on who he was.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, take Hicks.

Mr. FOSTER. If he was a worker, and he had differences on this question, he would be educated and discussed with, and generally instructed in the party interpretation of it, and ten chances to one he would get to see—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). But after he had been educated and instructed and conferred with, if he still said, "I am not going to agree with this pact; it is wrong," what would you do?

Mr. FOSTER. The answer to that question is that so far nobody has been expelled from the Communist Party for disagreeing with this pact—nobody.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of them have resigned, have they not?

Mr. FOSTER. They have resigned. You asked me what would be done.

The CHAIRMAN. You said that they resigned because the leaders told them they either had to agree to the pact or resign.

Mr. FOSTER. I would say, with regard to a man of the prominence of Granville Hicks, if he was a member of our party and openly opposed the pact, which necessarily carries with it a general opposition to the line of the party, internationally and on the peace question, that eventually he would be expelled if a process of persuasion could not convince him otherwise.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; you have answered the question.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Then, as I understand, the party is controlled by the Soviet Government, because they did make the pact. It was not the party that made this pact; that is true, is it not?

Mr. FOSTER. No; it is not true.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Was it not the Communist Party that made this pact?

Mr. FOSTER. You said the Communist Party was controlled by the Soviet Government, which is ridiculous.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Who made this pact between Russia and Germany, representing Russia?

Mr. FOSTER. Do I have to answer such a question?

The CHAIRMAN. He is asking you a simple question.

Mr. FOSTER. It is a silly question, his whole line of questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us not have any controversy.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I am asking you who made the pact representing Russia, with Germany?

Mr. FOSTER. If you read the newspapers—

Mr. DEMPSEY. Can you not answer that question?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; I can answer it; what I see in the newspapers is that it was the Soviet Government.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You also say that if an American Communist disagreed with that he would be expelled from his political party.

Mr. FOSTER. I did not say anything of the kind.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You said that if a man of prominence like Granville Hicks did he would be expelled, unless he would see the light.

Mr. FOSTER. That is what I said.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is what I am saying.

Mr. FOSTER. It is a little different. I said we would very patiently explain the line of the party, and the whole pact situation, in connection with the whole question of the international struggle for peace, and any one in our party who would oppose such a fundamental situation as the general international political line, such a prominent person as Mr. Granville Hicks would be thrown out.

The CHAIRMAN. Then his statement is correct, that if a member of the party thought, after deliberation that he could not defend the pact, he would have to resign?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know how they would apply that.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be the method?

Mr. FOSTER. With such a person that would be, that is, such a person as Granville Hicks, but not the worker.

The CHAIRMAN. What would be the difference between Granville Hicks and a worker on the same question?

Mr. FOSTER. Because the workers of the party would show all the patience in the world.

The CHAIRMAN. The party would show patience?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; they would show very great patience, and the party would work indefinitely with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose, after exercising such patience the worker still would say, "No; I want to disapprove of this pact"; then what?

Mr. FOSTER. The answer is that we do a large amount of educational work with all our workers, but so far we have not found it necessary to pass on hypothetical questions.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never had an occasion in which any worker disagreed with the party line?

Mr. FOSTER. In this particular case?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. So far as I know, there have been no cases that have come to our attention.

The CHAIRMAN. But in other matters you have expelled workers who disagreed?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right; after very extensive efforts to reorient them.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you have had instances where workers have disagreed with the international party line, and after you tried to convince them and have failed, then you have expelled them; is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are familiar with the facts about what happened in the German Center Party in Germany and to the German Nationalists under Hitler?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They were liquidated at that time?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a copy of the Communist International, the official organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and I read from the issue of September 1936, at page 1112, as follows:

Every country which concludes a pact with Hitler should remember that its people are threatened with the same fate as that which overtook the Social-Democrats, the Center Party, and the German Nationalists in fear of Germany's home policy.

Do you think that kind of fate is in store for the Soviet Union?

Mr. FOSTER. I think there are pacts and pacts.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is from the publication I referred to, and there was no trouble to distinguish between pacts and pacts in that statement.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; but in real political life you distinguish between pacts and pacts, and a pact that would be made by Czechoslovakia or Poland or Germany is quite a different story than a pact with the Soviet Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This says: "Every country that concludes a pact." I ask you to read it.

Mr. FOSTER. You read it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. "Every country"—

Mr. FOSTER. I heard it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does that include the Soviet Union?

Mr. FOSTER. They are learning that it has to be included now. They did not know that before. They are learning that very brightly, after a couple of weeks.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is considerable discussion here about how various countries have concluded pacts with Germany, and this discussion concludes with these words:

In robber style they share their booty in advance, as did the groups in Germany who supported the war in 1914.

Does that mean that the booty was shared in advance between the Soviet Union and Germany with reference to Poland, Latvia, Esthonia, and other countries in eastern Europe?

Mr. FOSTER. I would say that no country in the world would be pleased about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask you if the Communist International, in its organ, means to say that the pact made with Germany signifies that the booty is to be shared in robber style as a result of that pact?

Mr. FOSTER. That article is evidently dealing with capitalist countries making pacts with Germany against democratic forces.

MR. DEMPSEY. Does not the pact with Russia prove that this organ was correct in this statement? Is not that exactly what happened?

MR. FOSTER. By no means, so far as the Soviet Union is concerned.

MR. DEMPSEY. They did not have everything all arranged, as to a division of Poland?

MR. FOSTER. You do not know that, and I do not know that, either. You are speculating.

MR. MATTHEWS. From the same article I read as follows:

The Hitler government tries to convert all economic treaties with weak countries into military political treaties which take a definite place in his criminal war plans.

Would not that cover the Soviet-Nazi pact?

MR. FOSTER. No. The Soviet Union is living in a capitalist world and has to deal with these capitalist countries, all of which are more or less hostile, and the Soviet Union from the very beginning has striven to make pacts with them, economic pacts and nonaggression pacts, and these pacts were not included in any such definition.

What is referred to there is entirely pacts among the capitalist countries themselves.

MR. MATTHEWS. I will read another extract from this publication which refers to the Soviet Union. It says:

But Hitler fascism is first and foremost pursuing a course aimed at driving a wedge between the capitalist countries at present interested in peace and the Soviet Union.

Has not Hitler successfully driven the wedge?

MR. FOSTER. He has not; the wedge was driven by Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Daladier, and you know that as well as I do.

Mr. Chamberlain made it impossible for the Soviet Union to cooperate with other countries. Mr. Chamberlain had built up Mr. Hitler with a whole series of concessions and surrenders in the hope that he could convince Mr. Hitler to direct his Nazi Germany attack against the Soviet Union, but nothing could convince Mr. Hitler that this was a feasible thing to do, because Mr. Hitler did not believe it should be done.

MR. VOORHIS. I presume you have seen the papers today and you have seen about the result of the visit of Ribbentrop to Moscow. Do you still feel that the Soviet relationship with the Reich is one of attempting to block the progress made by Nazi Germany?

MR. FOSTER. I am sorry; I did not read those.

MR. VOORHIS. Even so, do you still think at this moment that the relationship of the Soviet Government to Germany and other nations of Europe is such as to block the progress and curb the power of Mr. Hitler?

MR. FOSTER. I think every serious political figure in the world thinks the same thing.

MR. VOORHIS. I try to be serious.

MR. FOSTER. I did not mean to cast any aspersions on you.

MR. VOORHIS. You do not need to worry about that.

The next question is this: Is it not true that over a considerable period of time, say up until August of this year, that occasionally some writer in some magazine or newspaper would say he believed the time would come when Germany and Russia would sign a pact?

Is it not also true that every time that was even suggested by anybody that the Communist press attacked that idea very vigorously

and ridiculed it and said such a thing was impossible, and that it would not happen. Is not that true?

The CHAIRMAN. You can say whether or not that is true, if you know.

Mr. FOSTER. This is a major political question that is not to be answered "yes" or "no." As to any questions about party policy, I will answer all such questions "not"; if I am not allowed to explain these questions I will answer them "no."

Mr. VOORHIS. I do not want to ask an unfair question, and I will divide it.

The first question is this: From time to time, prior to August 1939, is it not true that occasionally various people suggested that possibly in the course of time Germany and Russia would sign a pact and come together in some manner. Is not that true?

Mr. FOSTER. There have been such statements made.

Mr. VOORHIS. And the second question is: When those statements were made prior to August 1939, is it not true that the Communist press always replied that such a suggestion was ridiculous and beyond the realm of possibility, and that to suggest it was unfair, or something like that?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct, and the reason was because in every such case that I know of the proposition was presented in the sense that there was an affinity between communism and fascism, and that they were bound to unite; but so far as I know, not a single writer anywhere came forward with a prediction or analysis of such a pact as has been signed by the Soviet Union and the Nazi Government, a nonaggression pact, not a single one of them.

Mr. VOORHIS. The next question is this: Is it not true that when Hitler came to power and since he has been in power, very large numbers of people of affiliated political groups not in agreement with him have either been put in concentration camps, or in jails, or something of that kind has happened to them?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. And among those people were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct also.

Mr. VOORHIS. How can you justify Mr. Stalin and the Soviet Government, from your standpoint, in making an agreement with the German Government without lifting a single finger on behalf of those people who had thought all the time that they were defending the Communist cause in Germany?

Mr. FOSTER. The policy of the Soviet Government, so far as I am able to understand, is not determined by the internal regime in any other country. The Soviet Union has agreements with all kinds of countries, with the United States, with the Fascist governments, and governments of all kinds. It has repeatedly said it was prepared to sign nonaggression pacts with every country, with Japan and any other countries, and it has done that for years.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you think it is justified? He asked you if you thought it was justified.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think that any country in its international relations is going to lay down the law to determine when a form of government is the best for its diplomatic relations.

Mr. VOORHIS. That has nothing to do with it. I agree that no nation in the world should attempt to change the form of government of another nation in the world. Each nation has the right to determine what they want themselves. That is not my question.

What I asked you was, from your own standpoint, whether you could justify the signing of a treaty or a pact, or whatever you want to call it, on the part of Stalin and the Soviet leaders with Germany without having them say anything about the fact that the people who had been in Germany trying to carry on their battle for the leaders of the Soviet Union were dealt with harshly, or anything of that sort. Can you justify that action?

Mr. FOSTER. Neither you nor I know whether something has been said about this, in the first place.

Secondly, I think the other day reports came that Thaelmann was going to be released, and as far as the justification is concerned, I will assure you the Communists in Germany are very happy over this pact.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know, on the other hand, whether the Soviet Government was asked not to release many of its political prisoners by Germany, under the terms of this agreement?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know anything about that.

Mr. WHITLEY. You testified this morning that you attended a session of the enlarged executive committee of the Communist International in Moscow during March and April 1925.

Mr. FOSTER. The date—

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the period you said you were there for some time; I am referring to your testimony this morning.

Mr. FOSTER. All during March and April.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is my understanding.

Mr. FOSTER. If it was identified with some particular plan, it was probably true.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall whether there was a session of the enlarged executive committee in Moscow during the spring of 1925?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct; I remember now. I remember that year.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you also testified that you attended the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow during July 1928.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; if that was the month, I attended that congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. During the summer; they are usually held in July and August, are they not, or during the summer?

Mr. FOSTER. I think so, that is my recollection.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you say to the best of your recollection that was the time?

Mr. FOSTER. I attended that congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the Congress was held in July of 1928.

Mr. FOSTER. Then I was there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Foster, you are a native-born American, are you not?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it the general practice, Mr. Foster, for Communist Party members and officials to travel on illegal passports?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. If that is done, it is not with the knowledge or approval of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any Communist Party functionaries or members who have traveled on illegal passports?

Mr. FOSTER. Of my own personal knowledge, no.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Charles Krumbein traveled on an illegal passport, for which he was prosecuted?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; I know he went to jail for some passport. I do not know whether—

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know whether he committed a crime for which he was convicted?

Mr. FOSTER. I never spoke to him about the matter.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Albert Wagenknecht ever traveled on an illegal passport?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or Jack Stachel?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or Alexander Boris?

Mr. FOSTER. Also no.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any Communists or officials who have traveled on illegal passports, aside from Mr. Browder, who admitted he had?

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to decline to answer that question.

Mr. WHITLEY. On what ground?

Mr. FOSTER. On the ground that it would violate my constitutional rights.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I submit that is a matter that comes within the purview of this committee. I further submit that all the testimony before this committee is privileged, with the exception of its use for the purpose of a perjury prosecution.

Such an objection is not sustainable, and I do not think it should be permitted.

In other words, all the testimony before this committee is privileged and cannot be used for any other purposes except perjury prosecution.

What the witness means he does not want to answer that question for very good reasons.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your objection?

Mr. BRODSKY. My objection is that he is asking about any official of the Communist Party, and that includes the present witness, and I think the witness is properly advised and that he should not answer the question.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will ask the question in this way:

Do you know of any official, with the exception of yourself, who has traveled on an illegal passport?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any C. P. U. or Comintern agent who has obtained United States passports illegally?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. To simplify the question and make it specific, have you ever traveled on an illegal transport?

Mr. FOSTER. I decline to answer that on the same ground.

Mr. WHITLEY. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that that is not a proper ground.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline, on the advice of counsel, to answer that on the ground that it will incriminate you?

Mr. FOSTER. Upon the ground that it will incriminate me and violate my constitutional rights.

Mr. WHITLEY. Let me read the section of the statute that applies.

In other words, the witness would not incriminate himself because it is privileged and cannot be used for any other purpose except for prosecution for perjury.

Mr. Chairman, I will read from title II, section 193, of the United States Code, annotated, as follows:

SEC. 193. Privilege of witnesses. No witness is privileged to refuse to testify to any fact, or to produce any paper, respecting which he be examined by either House of Congress, or by any committee of either House, upon the ground that his testimony to such fact or his production of such paper may tend to disgrace him or otherwise render him infamous.

That is not the section with reference to privilege. But I think that section would apply.

Mr. BRODSKY. This is incriminating, not infamous or disgracing.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us pass that while you are looking up that section.

I want to ask you one or two questions and I want some frank answers to my questions.

To what extent do you owe any allegiance to Russia, if any? Do you feel you have any allegiance whatsoever to Soviet Russia?

Mr. FOSTER. Only in the sense that it is a Socialist country, a country of the workers, that it represents the new stage of society that is going to abolish misery and suffering.

The CHAIRMAN. It represents the kind of country you want?

Mr. FOSTER. And such a country naturally has the beginnings of a new social order, and I endorse that.

The CHAIRMAN. But it represents the kind of country you would like to have in the United States; is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. I am for the establishment of the best possible conditions under the present—

The CHAIRMAN. Does it represent the kind of country you would like to have in the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. That, Mr. Chairman, is not a question that can be answered "yes" or "no."

The CHAIRMAN. You can answer it?

Mr. FOSTER. I can answer it, but not "yes" or "no."

The CHAIRMAN. In the event of war between the United States and Soviet Russia, would your allegiance be to the United States or Soviet Russia?

Why are you conferring with your counsel?

Mr. BRODSKY. He can confer with counsel. I have the right to tell him that it is purely a hypothetical question. I am going to advise him that it is a hypothetical question and not within the purview of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Browder did not hesitate to answer. Did you advise Mr. Browder on that matter?

Mr. BRODSKY. If I did, I would not tell you, or what I advised him. That is privileged.

The CHAIRMAN. You are advising him not to answer?



Mr. BRODSKY. I am not advising him anything on that; I am advising him on the law, and I have a right to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you decline to answer that question?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, I say it is a hypothetical question.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would you not answer it?

Mr. FOSTER. On the ground that it is a hypothetical question.

The CHAIRMAN. If there was war between Russia and the United States, where would your allegiance lie? Do you decline to answer that question?

Mr. FOSTER. I refuse to accept "if" questions as a determining factor. I will say this. I am for the defense of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not ask you that.

Mr. FOSTER. I am answering your question. I cannot be put on a "yes" or "no" answer to such a question.

I am for the defense of the United States and the maintenance of its national independence within a democratic system, and the development of democratic systems in the world, the establishment of socialism in the United States, and so, insofar as it goes, in a war against any country, I will not blindly walk into that war, but will examine what is involved in the war and decide my personal conduct accordingly.

If it is an imperialist war against some other country, I will not support it.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, if the United States entered the present war, you would not support the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. Not an imperialist war.

The CHAIRMAN. I say, in the present war that is existing—you know there is a war?

Mr. FOSTER. I have heard about it.

The CHAIRMAN. If the United States entered the war, would you support the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. If the United States entered this war on an imperialist basis, I would not support it.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, if the United States entered this war as an ally of France and England, you would not support the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. Under the present set-up I would say that is an imperialist war, and the workers have no interest in it, and I would speak against it.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not support the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. Not in such a war.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you regard it as a paramount duty of a Communist to defend the Soviet Union?

Mr. FOSTER. It depends on what you mean by defend.

The CHAIRMAN. Is not that the slogan of the party?

Mr. FOSTER. There are many ways to defend.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard that stated, that the paramount duty is to defend the fatherland, the Soviet Union, have you not?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct, but it depends on what you mean by defend.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean by that when you used it?

Mr. FOSTER. We use the term "defend" for many explanations, explanations of policy.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Dr. Matthews, you may proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, the witness declines to answer any questions as to whether he has used illegal passports in the course of my inquiries of him. [Reading from title 28, sec. 634, United States Code:]

TESTIMONY OF WITNESSES BEFORE CONGRESS

No testimony given by a witness before either House or before any committee of either House of Congress shall be used as evidence in any criminal proceeding against him in any court except in prosecution for perjury committed in giving such testimony.

Now I submit that the objection is not proper because he will not incriminate himself. Any testimony he gives here cannot be used.

Mr. BRODSKY. May I state that I read with considerable interest the statement of the chairman of this committee sent down to the district.

Mr. WHITLEY. I am not talking about that.

Mr. BRODSKY. But I am giving you my answer to show that this very committee, despite what counsel suggests, has urged the Department of Justice to prosecute Mr. Browder on a statement given to the committee, and I do not see how that jibes with what has just been read.

Secondly, I do not think any statute can take away the constitutional right which guarantees to every citizen protection against self-incrimination.

Those are my points and upon that I advised my client that he does not have to commit himself.

Mr. WHITLEY. In regard to that, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Foster has admitted that during March and April of 1925 he was in Moscow attending the enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The records of the Passport Division of the State Department show that during March and April of 1925 Mr. Foster did not have in his possession an American passport, at least, if he had such passport it was not under his own name, which would constitute an illegal passport.

As a matter of fact, during that particular period Foster did not have a passport from March 16, 1922, until October 3, 1925, which would come within the months or periods that he has admitted that he was in Moscow.

I would like to ask Mr. Foster how he got to Moscow as an American citizen without an American passport.

Mr. FOSTER. The same answer.

Mr. WHITLEY. The same answer?

Mr. FOSTER. The same answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us keep the record straight. You declined to answer on the ground that it would incriminate you?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. BRODSKY. On the advice of counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. On advice of counsel?

Mr. BRODSKY. Yes; that is important because it takes away the willfulness.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Brodsky has testified that during July of 1928 he attended the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow.

The records of the Passport Division of the State Department reflect that during that period Mr. Foster did not have an American passport in his possession, or at least, if he did have such passport it was not issued to him under his own name which would mean it was illegal.

I would like to ask how he got to Moscow for the Sixth Congress during July of 1928 without an American passport.

Mr. BRODSKY. The same answer.

Mr. FOSTER. The same answer, on advice of counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness declines to answer on advice of counsel that it would tend to incriminate him.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you do say, Mr. Foster, do you not, that it was the general practice of the Communist Party members to travel on illegal passports?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you won't answer questions about your own activities because you say it might incriminate you?

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, I wish to read to you a statement.

Mr. VOORHIS. I wonder if I could ask my questions now?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Foster, do you feel sure that the conditions of the life of the people in Soviet Russia have been improved as you would like to see them?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; in fact I know they have been improved. I have seen them from visits from time to time.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you feel that there have been most serious and important sacrifices of ordinary human liberty which have been made by all the people of the Soviet Union?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think they have made sacrifices of human liberty.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is your understanding?

Mr. FOSTER. By no means.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do the people under existing conditions have independent political judgment or opinions in the Soviet Union?

Mr. FOSTER. Of course.

Mr. VOORHIS. What would happen if an opposition party were organized against the present regime in Russia?

Mr. FOSTER. An opposition party?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. An opposition party in the Soviet Union could only come up on the basis of a representation of some class.

Mr. VOORHIS. And therefore would not—

Mr. FOSTER (continuing). And would evidently be a party representing the big capitalists or landlords. And as such the workers would not tolerate it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would not tolerate it?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. And would therefore remove it by such means as necessary?

Mr. FOSTER. But political oppositions—there have been very many of them in the existence of the Soviet; many dozens of them.

Mr. VOORHIS. What has been the outcome of their efforts?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, in general—

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). What has happened to the leaders in those efforts?

Mr. FOSTER. The general outcome: The position of these leaders, in these movements, is that for many years, opposition flares up, on almost every question that came up of basic importance in the history of the Soviet.

Mr. VOORHIS. Are you not assuming, Mr. Foster, that everybody except capitalists will necessarily agree exactly with the policy pursued by the Communist Party of Russia?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. It seems to me that is what you said would happen to those who were opposed to them.

Mr. FOSTER. I did not say that. I said opposition parties.

Mr. VOORHIS. Opposition parties?

Mr. FOSTER. I said many opposition movements, dozens of them, have occurred.

Mr. VOORHIS. It seems to me the preservation of human liberty is an important thing, not the only thing, but at least a very important thing, and where it is destroyed something important is gone.

Mr. FOSTER. The Russian people, as I have been able to understand the situation on a number of visits, enjoy incalculably more liberties now than they ever did in their history and even have established fundamental liberties that we haven't got in the United States.

Mr. VOORHIS. Of course, there is considerable difference of opinion.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I wish to read you a dialog, Mr. Foster [reading]:

The CHAIRMAN. Now, if I understand you the workers in this country look upon the Soviet Union as their country; is that right?

Mr. FOSTER. The more advanced workers do.

The CHAIRMAN. Look upon the Soviet Union as their country?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They look upon the Soviet flag as their flag?

Mr. FOSTER. The workers of this country and the workers of every country have only one flag and that is the "red" flag. That is the flag of the proletarian revolution; it was also, incidentally, the flag of the American Revolution in the earlier stages. The red flag has been the flag of revolution for many years before the Russian revolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the workers of this country consider, then, the Soviet Government to be their country. Do they also consider the "red" flag to be their flag?

Mr. FOSTER. I have answered quite clearly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you owe allegiance to the American flag; does the Communist Party owe allegiance to the American flag?

Mr. FOSTER. The workers, the revolutionary workers, in all the capitalist countries are an oppressed class who are held in subjection by their respective capitalist governments and their attitude toward these governments is the abolition of these governments and the establishment of Soviet governments.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they do not claim any allegiance, then, to the American flag in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. That is, you mean the support of capitalism in America: no.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean if they had to choose between the "red" flag and the American flag, I take it from you that you would choose the "red" flag: is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. I have stated my answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Could not you answer a little more definitely and specifically whether they owe any allegiance to the American flag?

Mr. FOSTER. I have stated my answer.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want to force you to answer if it embarrasses you, Mr. Foster.

Mr. FOSTER. It does not embarrass me at all. I stated very clearly the "red" flag is the flag of the revolutionary class, and we are part of the revolutionary class.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood that.

Mr. FOSTER. And all capitalist flags are flags of the capitalist class, and we owe no allegiance to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that answers the question.

Did you give that testimony in response to questions of the chairman of a previous committee of the House of Representatives?

Mr. FOSTER. Of the Fish committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you give the testimony?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, will you please identify this pamphlet [handing pamphlet to witness]. You identify that?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a pamphlet entitled "Acceptance Speeches, William Z. Foster, Candidate for President, and Benjamin Gitlow, Candidate for Vice President, of the Workers (Communist) Party, 1928."

Mr. Chairman, the witness has identified this acceptance speech, and I request that it be incorporated in the record. It is rather too long to read at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

(The pamphlet entitled "Acceptance Speeches, William Z. Foster and Benjamin Gitlow," was marked "Exhibit No. A.")

ACCEPTANCE SPEECHES OF WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, AND BENJAMIN GITLOW, CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT OF THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY

(National Election Campaign Committee Workers (Communist) Party, 1928)

#### FOREWORD

The Acceptance Speeches were delivered at the National Nominating Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America held on May 25-27, 1928, in New York City. 296 regular delegates and 150 fraternal delegates, coming from 39 states and the District of Columbia, attended this important working-class gathering. The convention was a true cross-section of the exploited and oppressed masses of this country. Native-born and foreign-born white workers, representatives of the Negro race, exploited farmers, and working women, veterans of the class struggle, delegates of the youth, and representatives of the colonies and semi-colonies of American imperialism joined in a powerful demonstration against their common enemy—capitalism.

The National Convention nominated Comrade William Z. Foster for President and Comrade Benjamin Gitlow for Vice-President. Our nominees are fighters in the struggle for the liberation of the working class and are not servants of Wall Street as are the nominees of the Republican and Democratic parties. The advocates of capitalism—and foremost among them are the corrupt bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor and the renegade leadership of the Socialist Party—are spokesmen of class collaboration between the working class and the master class.

The National Convention adopted a platform which exposes the whole fraudulence of all the schemes of class collaboration, which serve only one purpose: to perpetuate the rule of capitalism, the wage slavery of the workers, the oppression of the Negro, the exploitation of the working farmers, and the subjugation of the colonial peoples. The keynote of our platform is struggle—re-

lentless, uncompromising, determined class struggle against the capitalist world. The Workers (Communist) Party presents its platform as a rallying base for all the exploited and oppressed, as the organizing and mobilizing instrument for all struggles of the toiling masses.

We call upon all workers, exploited farmers, and Negroes to endorse our platform—"The Platform of the Class Struggle" and our candidates! Vote for and join the Communist Party!

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

By Robert Minor, Chairman

Comrades: Your committee on nominations has reached a unanimous recommendation. The committee is quite conscious of the fact that the nominations of candidates to bear the red flag of working-class revolution, the flag of Communism, in a national campaign, is a very serious one. The purpose of the Communist Party in making nominations is utterly different from the purpose of the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, or the so-called Socialist Party in choosing standard-bearers. We are not choosing men or women for the purpose of administering in a smooth manner the machinery of the capitalist state. In choosing the representatives of our Party to go before the masses we are choosing men or women who will mobilize the working class against the capitalist state, against the ruling class, for the overthrow of the present form of society and for the establishment of a revolutionary state—purposes utterly antagonistic to the purposes for which the American democracy, so-called, was formed.

The men and women who go out as our representatives must go out as fighting men to mobilize the workers to support the strike of the miners, to support the strike of the textile workers, to carry on a vigorous drive against the labor bureaucracy and against the bosses, for the saving and for the building of our trade-union movement in connection with our election campaign.

These who represent us as candidates must go out as organizers of the working class to struggle for all demands of the workers of today and tomorrow, and at the same time to hold before them the aim of our revolutionary working-class movement, the ultimate emancipation of our class.

I recall, comrades, an incident of the time when we were about to found our Workers Party, when our Communist Party was illegalized by the capitalist state, suppressed into secret existence. A little group of us as delegates of our Party to the Communist International at the Third Congress in Moscow, went at midnight after a session of the congress to visit and discuss our plans with Comrade Lenin.

One of the comrades who was still somewhat afflicted with some extreme leftist views asked Comrade Lenin whether or not our Party should put into the field at an election campaign any candidates for executive and administrative offices. (The view of that comrade was that we should only put up candidates for legislative positions.)

Comrade Lenin replied to us that in his opinion the action of Eichorn in the revolutionary crisis in Germany, in taking the post of chief of police of the city of Berlin and utilizing that post to pass out arms to the workers of Berlin was the answer to our problem.

We are putting up candidates to mobilize the workers for the class struggle. In reality it is not individuals, but our Party itself, which is the candidate. At the same time we must choose standard bearers who are tried and true leaders of our class, men and women who symbolize the revolutionary traditions, who are tested and proven leaders of our revolutionary Communist Party, the Party without whose leadership success is impossible for the working class. Those candidates go into the field as marshals, but at the same time under the discipline of the Party and subject to the iron command to carry out the will and the program of our Party.

We of the committee, without any dissenting vote or dissenting thought, without the proposal of any other names, have been able to reach a conclusion, in favor of a candidate for president of the United States and another for vice president.

We recommend for the presidential candidate a man whose name is associated first of all in the minds of the workers with that great struggle of the working class, the steel strike of some years ago. In this man we recommend, are em-

bodied the best traditions of the old days of the Socialist Party when we all—the older ones among us here—were in it; embodies the best traditions of the Industrial Workers of the World when that too was a revolutionary organization. He embodies that great portion which used to be, more than it is now, inside of the American Federation of Labor, but which the bureaucrats are trying to crush out of it—the revolutionary workers within the American Federation of Labor; the candidate we propose is a pioneer of the Communist movement who was himself in the old underground movement of our Communist Party in the days when we were illegalized; a man whom the capitalist class tried to imprison in Michigan, a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International; a man whose name strikes terror and fear and hatred into the hearts of the capitalist class.

For vice president we have to recommend a veteran of the trade-union struggle in the largest city of the most brutal capitalism of the world. We have to recommend a fighter who fought for revolutionary principles in the Socialist Party, in the days when John Reed and Charles E. Ruthenberg and he led the revolutionary fight within that party; a man who represents our traditions; a man who was a founder of the left wing in the Socialist Party, a founder of the Communist Party, a founder of the American section of the Communist International, who has spent long years of prison and suffering in behalf of our class emancipation.

Your committee nominates for president and vice president of the United States, William Z. Foster and Benjamin Gitlow.

[Tremendous Applause.]

#### ACCEPTANCE SPEECH OF WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

Comrades: It is a very great honor offered me, when the Workers (Communist) Party asks me to be one of its standard-bearers in the national presidential elections. In accepting the nomination for president, I do it with full appreciation of this honor. By the fact that it is deemed I can be of service to the Party in such a role, I feel that I am a thousand times repaid for such efforts as I may have put forth in the course of my experience in the struggles of the workers. All I can say is that it will be my best ambition in the coming campaign, and in the years of work before me in the class struggle, to be worthy of this great honor conferred upon me by our Party.

#### A WONDERFUL CONVENTION

Comrades, as we live through this wonderful convention, we must realize the great progress our Party has made. What wonderful enthusiasm, what a splendid fighting spirit! Here we have a fine delegation of militants in the class struggle, from almost all the states, from all the important industries. This shows the grip our Party is getting amongst the very best elements in the American proletariat. This convention marks a new stage in the growth of our Party.

In the recent elections in Germany, in France, and in Poland, the Communist Parties showed greatly increased strength, and I am certain that our Party in the coming elections will also register an important increase in strength over the showing we made in the national elections of 1924. [Applause.]

#### PARTY PLAYS LEADING ROLE

Since 1924 our Party has had much mass experience. We have played a leading role in all the important struggles of the American working class, in the mining, shoe, needle, textile, and other industries. Every effort of the workers in the direction of a labor party has found us in the forefront. We have led the fight against imperialism. During these struggles, we have created around our Party a large body of sympathizers, and in the coming election period one of our principal tasks must be to mobilize these workers politically in favor of our platform, and behind our candidates. It is not enough that these workers follow us in strikes, and general wage movements. We must also teach them to actively accept the leadership of the Workers (Communist) Party in its broad political struggles. We must draw the workers into this general political campaign, and induce them to vote for our candidates. We must draw them into membership in the Workers (Communist) Party. These are among the basic tasks confronting us in the present election campaign.

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY PURPOSE

We are not going into the national election campaign solely for the purpose of getting votes. It is, of course, important that we register the extent of our Party's support in the working class by mobilizing the maximum number to vote for our candidates. It is also important, should the possibility present itself in any of the state or local elections, to elect Communist candidates, so that they can utilize the legislative bodies as a forum wherefrom to acquaint the workers with the iniquities of capitalism and the necessity of the Communist program. But we also have other, bigger objectives in the national election campaign. Our aim must be to arouse the class-consciousness of the masses in a political sense and to mobilize them for struggle on all fronts. Vote getting is only one aspect of this general mobilization of the workers.

Our Party, different from the Socialist Party, creates no illusions amongst the workers that they can vote their way to emancipation, that they can capture the ready-made machinery of the state and utilize it for the emancipation of the working class. On the contrary, we must utilize this campaign to carry on a widespread and energetic propaganda to teach the workers that the capitalist class would never allow the working class peacefully to take control of the state. That is their strong right arm, and they will fight violently to the end to retain it. The working class must shatter the capitalist state. It must build a new state, a new government, a workers' and farmers' government, the Soviet Government of the United States. [Applause.]

No Communist, no matter how many votes he should secure in a national election, could, even if he would, become president of the present government. When a Communist heads a government in the United States—and that day will come just as surely as the sun rises [applause]—that government will not be a capitalist government but a Soviet government, and behind this government will stand the Red Army to enforce the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. [Applause.]

## AS TO IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

Our convention has just adopted an election platform. This platform outlines a whole series of immediate measures, advocated by us to relieve unemployment, low wages, long hours, discrimination against the foreign-born, women, youth, Negroes, etc. I shall not, in the brief time at my disposal, review these demands. What I wish to say about them now is that we must lay great stress on these demands during the campaign. It is not enough that we simply put forward our revolutionary slogans. We must also organize and lead the workers in their everyday struggles against the most acute evils under capitalism. Our platform demands point the way to do this.

But, on the other hand, we must not put forth our immediate demands in the sense that they of themselves make for the emancipation of the working class. In all our agitation around these demands we must emphasize the absolute necessity for the proletarian revolution. Our strategy is to utilize these immediate demands to educate and organize the masses in preparation for the final revolutionary struggle, which will abolish capitalism altogether. Reliance upon immediate demands would lead us merely to reformism. Our Party is a revolutionary Party. It aims not simply to ease conditions a bit under capitalism for the workers but to abolish capitalism altogether. [Applause.]

Permanent improvement in the conditions of the workers under capitalism is impossible. The inevitable crises, born of the contradictions in the capitalist system of production and distribution, deepening and sharpening as world capitalism goes into its period of decline, and marked by chronic unemployment and organized attacks on the workers' living standards by the employers and the state, sweep away like chaff such reforms as may have been secured by the workers during the periods of capitalism's upward swing. The only way the workers can permanently better their conditions is by wiping out capitalism altogether and by laying the basis of a socialist system in which the capitalist principle of the exploitation of the great masses of producers for the benefit of a relatively few owners of the industries shall be unknown and where the workers will receive the full social value of what they produce. All this, and the whys and wherefores of it we must tell the workers in our election campaign.



## REFORMISM FUTILE

The working class of the world has had a vast experience with reformism and it all goes to show the utter futility of such reformism. All the conquests, all the little improvements in wages, hours, and working conditions that were secured by the reformist policies and organizations in Germany, England, France, etc., during the upward period of development of capitalism in these countries, in the pre-war days, were swept away with one great sweep in the breakdown and decline of European capitalism in the post-war period. About all that is left now of that period is a reactionary leadership, which after betraying the workers in the world war and defeating their revolutionary efforts just following the war, remains fastened upon the organizations of the workers and which now stands as one of the principal obstacles in the way of the emancipation of the working class. Although we advocate actively our immediate demands, we must always do it in this sense: that the workers should fight and struggle for these demands in the present period but that they must educate and organize themselves to put into effect eventually the full Communist program—the abolishment of the capitalist system itself and the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

On the other hand—if limiting ourselves simply to a program of immediate demands would lose us in the swamp of reformism, failure to put forward such demands would condemn us to sectarianism. It would cut us off from the masses. It would make it impossible for us to participate in the actual everyday struggles of the workers and thus to educate, organize, and lead them. The Workers (Communist) Party is a Leninist, Marxist Party. It knows how to participate in the daily struggles of the workers, even for the smallest demands, and it knows how to utilize all these struggles to develop class-consciousness, organization and revolutionary leadership among the masses and thus to begin their mobilization for the eventual overthrow of capitalism.

## OUR MANY TASKS

The Workers (Communist) Party does not go into this campaign simply for the purpose of getting votes or merely to propagate our general Communist program. We enter the election campaign to further all our Party tasks, mobilizing the workers for struggle on every front. And in this period of militant American imperialism, of crisis in the labor movement, of widespread depression in industry, we have many and great tasks. History does not ask us whether we are a big party or a little party when it thrusts these tasks upon us. Small though our Party may be at the present time it must go forward bravely and energetically to the accomplishment of these tasks, however great they may be. I shall touch briefly upon some of the more important of these problems.

## THE WAR DANGER

One of our principal tasks in the coming election campaign is to arouse the workers to the danger of a new world war. Never was such a war more imminent. This danger manifests itself from various directions. The developing attack of the great imperialist powers upon the Soviet Union; the growing rivalries between the various imperialistic powers for markets and world domination, especially between the United States and Great Britain; the attacks on the colonial and semicolonial countries, as, for instance, on China and Nicaragua at the present time (from the audience: "and Haiti"), yes; and Haiti too, and many other countries—all these tendencies, all these developments are pregnant with the danger of a fresh world war. A world war may start from any of these, and when it does come, the previous war will seem in comparison a pink-tea affair.

Today we confront unprecedented preparations for war, armaments without parallel. Did you read in the papers, just a day or two ago, about the gas explosion in Hamburg, when a supply of gas was accidentally released, poisonous enough to have wiped out the entire people of Hamburg? Only a fortunate combination of circumstances prevented the gas from going, with frightful effects, into the most densely populated sections of the city. The militarist program that the world imperialists are developing provides for gases, arma-

ments, instruments of war, more deadly and upon a more gigantic scale than ever before in the history of the world. And the whole thing is developing towards a climax in the sharpening antagonisms that I have just briefly indicated.

#### IMPERIALIST ARMAMENTS

All this great massing of armaments, these gigantic preparations for war, are being carried out under a marvelous camouflage of peace. Since the Versailles Treaty was signed we have been treated to an almost constant series of "peace" conferences, "disarmament" conferences, "anti-war" conferences, a whole stream of them. Yet at the end of all these years the armaments are greater than ever before in history and the war danger grows more and more imminent. The latest pseudo-peace maneuver for covering up the preparations for war by the imperialists originates nowhere else than in the United States. What I refer to is the so-called Kellogg proposal to outlaw war.

It is just a few months ago since the Soviet Union came forward with a proposition to abolish armaments all over the world. This created a great sensation. Among the masses of workers of the world the feeling grew that only the Soviet Union was serious in its proposals for world peace. With their militaristic program thus exposed in its nakedness, the capitalists had to do something to counteract the Soviet Union's proposition. The first attempted answer to the Soviet Union was that made by the British delegation at the conference where the disarmament proposal was made. And what did the British delegation say in substance? It was an answer of old-time diplomacy, an answer of the naked iron fist. That Great Britain does not agree with the Soviet Union's proposals for world peace; that she declares world peace to be a chimera, that the proposals for disarmament are impossible, and that she intends to maintain her armies and navies.

#### RACE FOR ARMAMENTS

This was the answer of Great Britain. But the United States, the leading imperialist country in the world, has a much more skillful answer to the Soviet Union than that. What does America say? She says through the mouth of Kellogg, "Let us outlaw war; let us come together and agree that there shall be no more war." And the leading capitalist countries of the world are accepting this hypocritical proposal of America. What does it all mean? It means simply that under the slogan of "outlawing war," the world imperialists will continue their race for building up their armaments and preparations for world war. This deceitful, hypocritical slogan is thrown out to blind the eyes of the masses, to make them think that the capitalists are really trying to stop war. The United States, highly expert in fooling the masses, has put out some clever slogans for covering up its war aims. The Kellogg proposal to "outlaw war," which is being endorsed by reformists all over the world, including the socialist parties, is perhaps the most skillful scheme ever set afloat since the days of Wilson's famous slogan: that the Allies were fighting the world war "to make the world safe for democracy."

To expose the real meaning of Kellogg's proposition, to fight against the vast war plans of the United States, to arouse the American working class against the militaristic program of American imperialism, to mobilize the workers against the war in Nicaragua, against the whole program of imperialist aggression in Latin America, in China, and the militarization of the workers in this country—these are basic tasks of our Workers (Communist) Party, and they must stand in the very forefront of our election campaign.

#### DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION

Especially in this connection must we undertake to mobilize the masses of workers in defense of the Soviet Union. Today the Soviet Union advances with giant strides. It is making tremendous progress in building its industries, in establishing a socialist commonwealth in the face of the most tremendous difficulties. The very existence of the Soviet Union is a menace to the capitalist order the world over. It is an inspiration to the workers of the world, a living proof of the feasibility of the proletarian revolution. The capitalists of every country are determined to destroy the Soviet Union at all costs. They want to wreck its working-class government and seize its great natural resources. And now, under the leadership of Great Britain and with the most active participa-

tion by the United States, slowly, systematically they proceed with their mobilization of forces. They are awaiting the opportune time to strike at the Soviet Union with all their massed power.

Fundamental to the success of their attack on the Soviet Union will be to keep the world's workers demoralized and inactive while the counter-revolutionary struggles are being carried on. The capitalists depend on the social-democratic parties of the world, who identify the workers' interests with those of their respective capitalist classes, to help them cut the Soviet Union to pieces. In the revolutionary upheavals in the years following the world war, it was the socialist parties that beat back the rising tide of proletarian revolt and preserved the capitalist system in Europe. The capitalists believe that the socialists will once more be able to deliver a master betrayal of the revolution, that they can hold back the working masses while the capitalists deliver their carefully prepared attack against the Soviet Union.

#### WAR ON CAPITALISM

But this time the imperialists are reckoning without their host. No longer have the social-democratic parties their former undisputed leadership of the working class. In the last few years, in all the important countries, revolutionary Communist parties have been built up. They have sunk their roots deep among the masses. Under the leadership of the Communist International they are mobilizing their forces. The power of this great movement constantly grows. When the international capitalist class, when the imperialists of the world, assisted by their social-democratic lackeys, deem the time opportune and strike at the Soviet Union the blow they are now preparing, they will wake up to a crushing defeat. When that war begins, the Communist International and the millions of workers throughout Europe and other countries that follow its lead will not simply adopt a defensive policy, they will not merely seek to stop their governments from attacking the Soviet Union. On the contrary, they will put into effect the great Leninist strategy. They will turn the imperialist war against the Soviet Union into a civil war of the workers against capitalism. They will destroy the capitalist order and begin the building of the proletarian society. [Applause.]

#### ECONOMIC DEPRESSION—EMPLOYERS' OFFENSIVE

Comrades, the United States is now in the midst of an industrial depression. American imperialism, embarrassed with the enormous masses of commodities produced by millions of superspeeded workers, is not able to dispose of these products. The workers, paid only a fraction of what they produce, cannot buy them back. The employers cannot sell them abroad. Many industries have been closed down. At least four million workers are unemployed at the present time. American capitalism, with all its power, and with all the boasts of its defenders that it has been found the formula of continuous prosperity, shows that it, too, is possessed of the weaknesses, and contradictions of capitalism in other countries. It also is subject to crisis. Many signs indicate that we are on the eve of a serious industrial depression.

The employers, quick to take advantage of the situation, are making a great drive against the living and working standards and organizations of the workers. They aim at developing a working class, docile, speeded-up, and a tool in their schemes of world imperialism. Wage cuts have been widespread in the industries, especially among the armies of unorganized, unskilled workers. For the moment the organized skilled workers have mostly escaped the wage cuts, but their turn will come later. The employers forge ahead with their open-shop drive. Wherever the workers resist they are confronted with an unprecedented use of the government against them, injunctions, troops, gunmen, etc.

#### LABOR IN FIGHTING MOOD

The workers are becoming increasingly in a fighting mood; especially is this true of the great masses of semi-skilled and unskilled workers in the basic industries who have suffered most from wage cuts, speed-up, and unemployment.

The strike of New Bedford amongst the textile workers, the Haverhill shoe strike of a few months ago, the Oshawa strike among the automobile workers, indicate their growing militancy.

## GENERAL MOTORS STRIKE

Perhaps most of you have not heard of the Oshawa strike of some four thousand workers of the General Motors Corporation in Canada. This strike, although a small one, was very significant and an indicator of conditions prevailing widespread in American industry at the present time. The automobile workers for years were among the best paid workers in the United States. But recently their wages have been repeatedly cut, they have been speeded up enormously; unemployment has borne down upon them; in short, their former relatively favorable conditions have been taken from them to such an extent that a growing spirit of resistance is spreading among them, in Canada as well as in the United States. The strike of the Oshawa workers is a signal of the growing discontent among the great masses of automobile workers. The automobile industry has been held up, not only in this country but all over the world, as a most decisive achievement of American capitalism; as the industry in which American capitalism, with a formula of mass production and high wages, had laid the basis for a contended working class. Yet we see that under the weight of wage cuts, speed-up, unemployment, and general worsened conditions the privileged automobile workers are forced down to such a position that sentiment for organization and struggle is rapidly developing among them.

And what is true of the automobile workers is becoming the case in the various other basic industries. There the workers have been confronting wage cuts and similar conditions. A fighting mood develops among them. Undoubtedly they will wage many important struggles in the near future.

## THE CRISIS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

In this situation the reactionary trade-union leaders have proved themselves absolutely incapable of organizing and leading the masses. They refuse to fight the bosses. Their aim is to become the industrial drivers of the bosses, to speed up the workers. Their aim is to company-unionize the trade unions of the United States, and to become the personnel managers of the employers. Under the leadership of this reactionary bureaucracy the trade-union movement of the United States, built by seventy years of bitter struggles by the workers, is being gradually destroyed.

Now it is not too much to say that under the combined efforts of the employers' offensive and the leaders' treachery, the American trade-union movement is in a death crisis. It is in danger of being either wiped out completely or so deeply degenerated in the direction of company unionism as to be of no value to the workers. Loss of members, loss of militancy, loss of control in strategic industries, restriction of the unions to skilled workers—this is the experience of the American trade-union movement. With its antiquated structure, craft policies and reactionary leaders, the trade-union movement is unable to stand in the face of the great open-shop attack by trustified capital. The craft-union movement, hopelessly antiquated, is slated for destruction.

## REACTIONARY LABOR LEADERS

As the trade-union movement goes more deeply into the crisis we find that the trade-union leaders turn more and more to the right. The latest example of this policy, fatal to the development of organization amongst the workers, fatal to a successful defense of the workers' standards of living, was the surrender of the Street Carmen's Union to the Mitten Plan of Philadelphia. Here was a direct amalgamation of trade unionism and company unionism. Such is the program of the American Federation of Labor and the conservative independent unions. It is the ideal of the misleaders of labor. This is their fondest desire—to bring about an agreement with the capitalists so that the trade-union leaders can turn the trade unions into company unions and use them as instruments for the exploitation of the workers. Then, although the interests of the workers would be sacrificed, the group interests of the labor bureaucracy would be conserved.

## IN THE COAL INDUSTRY

Another example of policy which I may briefly cite to indicate the general tendency of the labor leaders to the right, is what is taking place in the coal industry. John L. Lewis had several points in his program. One was that instead of a militant campaign to organize the unorganized miners in West Vir-

ginia, he demanded the removal of the railroad rate discrimination in favor of the West Virginia mines against the mines in the Pittsburgh district. This, he declared, would win the strike and solve the union's problems. But now this rate discrimination has been abolished and who have been the gainers? The Pittsburgh Coal Company and the other big coal companies in the Pittsburgh district who are fighting the miners. That first point of Lewis' was capitalist in character.

Lewis has a second point in his program, equally capitalistic. This is that the industry shall be monopolized, the "uneconomic" mines closed down and 250,000 surplus miners driven out of the industry. Now we seem to be on the way also to have this point accomplished. The recent announcement by the Rockefeller interests that they will close down many of their "uneconomic" mines and turn loose into the surfeited labor market the surplus miners from the shut-down mines, is the beginning of the acceptance of the second proposal of John L. Lewis. In fact, Rockefeller publicly thanks Lewis for his assistance to the capitalists in monopolizing the industry.

Who will profit by such a procedure? Will the miners gain by it or the coal operators? It does not require much analysis to show which. What will happen in the Rockefeller properties and in the other districts where similar plans may be put into effect? The operation of the "uneconomic" mines, so-called, constitutes a sort of division of work amongst the great body of miners. What work there is, is spread over most of the workers. But now the proposal is to throw large numbers of these miners into unemployment altogether and to give the others relatively steady work. The displaced miners will be thrust into the great army of the unemployed, there to starve. They have that alternative. Or they may try to stay in the industry and compete with the workers who have jobs and in this way serve as an industrial reserve army to break-down the conditions of the miners as a whole.

#### LEWIS IS BOSSES' MAN

Lewis, instead of organizing the unorganized miners and making a fight to establish the 6-hour day, 5-day week, and thus to reabsorb the unemployed miners and to protect their interests during the impending reorganization and trustification of the coal industry, acts as an efficiency expert of the operators by cooperating with them to close down the "uneconomic" mines at the expense of the miners. His policy sacrifices the interests of the workers and protects those of the capitalists. The whole thing is an open-shop proposal. It means more economy in production, elimination of competitors, and hence more profits for the employers. It means starvation for hundreds of thousands of miners, the break-down of wage and working standards, and the ruin of the United Mine Workers of America. It is such policies as this, with the union leaders acting as the agents of the bosses, that are liquidating the unions.

The socialist trade-union leaders are proving themselves as reactionary as the old A. F. of L. leadership. In fact, they are often taking the lead in the movement to the right, of surrender to the employers. The standards of production of Sidney Hillman were among the first signs of real company unionism in the American labor movement. It was the socialist trade-union leaders in the needle trades who intensified the struggle against the left wing in the unions to the extent of splitting the organizations. In the needle trades they are the champions of piece work, of a union management cooperative, and the whole employer program of devitalizing and company-unionizing the trade-unions. The socialists are every bit as incapable of leading the workers in this crisis as the most reactionary fakery of the American labor movement.

#### THE STRUGGLE OF THE COAL MINERS

The debacle now taking place in the United Mine Workers of America is a basic expression of the crisis in the labor movement, a conclusive example of the absolute incapacity of the present leadership of the trade-unions to organize and lead the masses. The U. M. W. A., which just a few years ago controlled 80 percent of production in the bituminous fields, has been reduced by the loss of district after district, to where it now controls not more than 20 percent of the bituminous production. In the present strike the employers are destroying three of the key sections of the U. M. W. A. and thereby destroying the base of the whole union. All the heroic struggles of these miners have not been able to avail themselves against the treachery of their leaders in the face of

this great attack of the employers. The present miners' strike is the most important strike in the history of America. Bound up with this strike is the very life of the old trade-union movement. The break-down of the miners' union in this struggle throws the whole trade-union movement of the country into jeopardy.

It is not my point here today to dwell upon the heroic struggle of these miners, as it has been very much discussed during this convention. The rank and file miners seem to realize the tremendous significance of the strike. They have fought for 14 months against the coal operators, against the government, with a heroism unparalleled. One of the things, comrades, that we must do with all our vigor when we return to our various districts, is to mobilize all our forces to gather every possible dollar of relief for the brave coal miners of the strike districts. This relief money we must not send to the American Federation of Labor or to the U. M. W. A., where it would be used for the shameful purpose of paying the huge salaries of John L. Lewis and his labor grafter friends (which run to \$12,000 a year) while the striking miners starve. Send it to the National Miners' Relief Committee in Pittsburgh, which will use the money for actually feeding the impoverished miners who are out on strike. [Applause.]

The hope and promise of the coal industry is the growing revolt of the rank and file miners. More and more they are learning the futility of Lewis' policies, and realizing that such policies can only lead to the loss of their union conditions and the liquidation of all union organization. The Save-the-Union movement, with its historic slogans of "Lewis Must go" and "Workers, Take Control of Your Union," is the greatest upheaval ever known in the American labor movement. From among the ruins of the U. M. W. A., wrecked by the treachery of the Lewis regime, the rank and file miners are building a new organization, one which, animated by a spirit of class struggle, will organize the great mass of miners and lead them victoriously against the operators. Our Party may well be proud of the role played by it in the present great struggle of the miners. [Applause.]

The present great task of our Party is to organize the millions of unorganized workers and lead them in struggle against the employers and the state. With ever-larger numbers of unskilled and semiskilled workers developing more militant moods, under the pressure of wage cuts, speed-ups, etc., the possibilities for mass organization and mass struggles become brighter. In the strikes of the workers in the coal, textile, needle, shoe, and other industries during the recent period our Party has played a central role. No big strikes take place now in the United States without the Communists taking a decisive part. But in the still bigger struggles not far ahead our Party will have to play an even more decisive role.

The organization of the unorganized, the unification of the great masses of unorganized, exploited workers, is our basic task in the industrial work, and we must further that task with all our forces. Some may ask why it is that during a political campaign we talk about organizing the unorganized. This is because our Party is not merely a party of vote getters. It is a revolutionary party of struggle. It organizes the workers for the fight on every front. It is especially in the election campaign, when we have the ear of many thousands of workers, that we must drive home to them the fundamental necessity of building great mass organizations in the industries.

More than ever it becomes necessary for us to take the lead in the formation of new unions in the industries. The old unions have been wiped out of many industries and have become hopelessly decrepit in many more. The reactionary leaders will not organize the unorganized. This is the task of the left wing. We must not limit ourselves to the old unions. We must be the champions, the leaders in the formation of new unions among the unorganized industries. Here we must place the great emphasis of our efforts to organize the unorganized.

But does this mean that we shall desert the old trade-unions? By no means. The Communists will never surrender the control of 3,000,000 organized workers to the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. [Applause.] We will fight to save, to build up, and to revolutionize all those trade-unions which possess a mass character and real vitality. We will give active support to the T. U. E. L. and to all kinds of left opposition movements in these organizations aiming to revolutionize them.

The present situation teaches us this: The old trade-unionism is going. American imperialism, with its monopolized, highly mechanized industry, mass production, speed-up system, company unionism, open-shop drive, and ruthless use

of State power, is too much for traditional craft unionism. The old unionism is being crushed and liquidated. A new and more revolutionary unionism is being born. It will be industrial in form and founded principally on the semiskilled and unskilled in the trustified industries. It is a basic task of our Party to lead in the foundation of this new unionism.

#### OPPRESSION OF NEGROES

Comrades, one of the planks in our Party platform deals with the question of the oppression of the Negro race. This plank I want to emphasize here. The Workers (Communist) Party appears in the United States as the sole champion, organizer, and defender of the Negro race. Our fight is for full social, political, and industrial rights for Negroes. In all our work we must keep this phase of our party program squarely before our eyes. In the past we have been all too inactive in this respect. But we must make this campaign the beginning of fresh efforts to unite the Negroes in behalf of their race and class interests, so that the world can recognize that the Workers (Communist) Party is really the defender and leader of the oppressed Negroes in this country. [Applause.]

At this time I shall not deal with the whole Negro question. There is only one angle that I want to touch upon now. Our election campaign will take us into the Southern States. [Applause.] We have a plank in our platform on the Negro question that will arouse the most violent opposition in every element in the South that is determined to hold the Negro race in subjection. Nevertheless, we will go into the ultrareactionary South and we will speak for the Negro. We will defend our platform. [Applause.] In the land of lynch law we will denounce lynching. [Applause.] In the home of Jim Crow, we will attack segregationism. [Applause.] The entry of the Workers (Communist) Party into the South, and the bold raising of the issue of the emancipation of the Negroes during the coming election campaign will stand out as one of the historical events in the development of the class struggle in the United States. [Applause.]

#### THE POLITICAL PARTIES

Comrades, let me give you just a brief characterization of the various political parties. The workers have nothing to look for from the Republican and Democratic Parties except a continuation and intensification of the hardships under which the workers suffer. Both are controlled by big capital. A list of the campaign-fund donators to either party reads like a roster of trustified industry. Both represent the interests of big business. Their whole record is one of oppression of the workers for the benefit of the employers. In its policies the Democratic Party is as much the party of big capital, of big bankers, and manufacturers, as the Republican Party itself. Smith is just as loyal a servant of capitalism as Hoover.

Between the two old parties there are no real issues. The issues that once divided them, the tariff, states' rights, etc., money question, etc., no longer play this role. Such differences as exist over farm relief, prohibition, religion, etc., are not differences between the old parties but of groups within each of them. The capitalists have made themselves masters of both big parties, with their miscellaneous following, and use them to further their own class interests.

The reactionary trade-union officials who call upon the masses of workers to vote for the candidates of these two old parties are misleaders of labor. They betray the workers into the hands of their class enemies. They are the political lickspittles of the Republican and Democratic politicians, the agents of the exploiters of labor.

What is true for the workers regarding the two old parties is equally true for the poor farmers. All that the farmers can expect from the Republican and Democratic Parties is support of the railroads, banks, meat packers, elevator combines, and various other capitalistic interests robbing the farmers. Coolidge's recent cold-blooded, sneering, sarcastic veto of the McNary-Haugen bill shows the contempt with which the Republican Party, controlled by the great financiers of the country, looks upon the demands of the farmers for relief in their present crisis.

The Socialist Party is equally a blank so far as the workers and poor farmers are concerned. The Socialist Party, which carried the revolutionary traditions in the United States when the left wing was a section of that party, now has nothing to offer to the toiling masses but sellouts. It is an ally of the corrupt

trade-union bureaucracy. Its policy of betrayal expresses itself on both the political and industrial fields.

On the industrial field the Socialist Party makes no campaign for the organization of the unorganized masses, no struggle for amalgamation of the old trade unions, no fight against the widespread wage cuts and speed-up; on the contrary, it accepts the craft-union, class-collaboration policy of Green, Woll, etc., to company-unionize the trade unions. The socialist trade-union leaders, who are the mainstay of the Socialist Party, are part and parcel of the corrupt dominant union leadership. They make no fight against Green and Woll, but war to the death against the left wing, against every Communist in the labor organizations, against every element trying to build the labor movement and make it a fighting weapon in the interest of the workers. The Socialist Party is hopelessly wedded to the trade-union bureaucracy and its corrupt practices.

On the political field the Socialist Party likewise makes no attack on capitalism. The Socialist Party cultivates amongst the workers every illusion and practice tending to strengthen capitalism. It preaches pacifism, class collaboration, parliamentary opportunism, capitalist efficiency socialism. It makes no effective fight for the workers' interests now; it does nothing to educate and organize them for the eventual revolution. Its impossible programs of trying to reform capitalism amount in reality to a surrender to the present social system. Norman Thomas, the nominee of the Socialist Party for President, is in fact only a camouflaged defender of capitalism—a disguised supporter of the present system of exploiting the workers. The Socialist Party program tends to break up all real militancy amongst the workers. In a more revolutionary period it would express itself by the most flagrant betrayal of the revolution. This is amply proved by experiences in Germany, France, in every country in Europe. Had it not been for the flagrant sellout of the workers' cause by the social-democratic party, capitalism would have been destroyed in Europe in the great revolutionary struggles immediately following the World War.

The Proletarian Party and the Socialist Labor Party are but phrasemongering sects. They play no part in the struggles of the working class.

Only the Workers (Communist) Party offers a program capable of organizing the workers for their everyday struggles and to prepare them for the revolution. I have already given you some broad outlines of this program. I shall not repeat what I have already said. But I must emphasize one more phase of our program. We must advocate energetically and clearly in the present campaign the formation of a Labor Party based on trade unions and other labor organizations. So long as the great masses of workers affiliate themselves to follow the line of the two capitalist parties, so long will they be poisoned by capitalist propaganda and so long will they be a zero politically.

The workers (Communist) Party is the real fighter for the Labor Party. The Socialist Party, the ally of Green, Woll & Co., sabotages on all fronts the fight for the Labor Party. The Workers (Communist) Party makes a militant struggle to establish the Labor Party. But our Party has no illusions that the Labor Party will lead the masses to their emancipation. It will not. That is the task of the Communist Party. Inevitably a mass Labor Party in the United States will be filled with reformist illusions. But in the present period, when we have to break the masses from the old parties, it is a step forward. On this basis the Workers (Communist) Party supports the Labor Party.

#### BUILD THE PARTY

Now, comrades, let me emphasize a matter of basic importance for us in the present campaign. That is the building of the Workers (Communist) Party. Tremendous tasks confront our Party. I have already cited some of the most important of these. Our Party is small. Our Party is weak. But it must be made large and strong. Our Party must be built up vastly in order to carry on the great struggles confronting it. This party-building can be done if we but proceed energetically along the proper lines. Around our Party are thousands, tens of thousands, yes, I can say a couple of hundreds of thousands of workers who sympathize in a general way with our struggle. From this great mass of workers, just awakening to the class struggle, we must draw new elements in large amounts to fill up and build our Party. In this way it can be made strong to carry out the great tasks confronting it.

The presidential election campaign must be utilized definitely for the building of our Party, and its press. The campaign will be a failure if we do not succeed in doubling the membership of the Workers (Communist) Party.



[Applause.] And all that I have said about the necessity of building the Workers (Communist) Party applies with equal force to the building of the Young Workers League. [Applause.] In every struggle in which our Party participates we find that the youth, the young workers, are playing an increasingly important role. In the industries they form a bridge between the native-born workers and foreign workers. In the new unionism that is now beginning slowly to emerge the leaders will not be the old fossils and reactionary figures of the old trade unions, but new elements recruited from the youth of the country. We must build the Young Workers League. [Applause.]

Comrades, just a word in conclusion. Let us go into the election campaign in the sense that I have expressed our tasks. Let us not be discouraged by the magnitude of the problems confronting us, by the strength and arrogance of the enemy, by the weakness of our own forces. Today our Party is small and the parties of the capitalists are large and strong, but the day will surely come when the Communist Party will be the only political party in the United States. [Applause.] On that day it will be the Party of the victorious proletarian revolution. [Applause.]

In this period the American working class is relatively apathetic. But forces are at work, forces bred of the failures and contradictions of the capitalist system itself, forces that drive the workers into deeper oppression, that will one day, sooner perhaps than we realize, awaken them, radicalize them, revolutionize them, and prepare them for a real attack against capitalism. Let us then build our Party in the daily struggles and in preparation for the revolution. Let us make our Party into a worthy brother of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, Germany, France, England, Czechoslovakia, China, and other countries, which under the leadership of the Communist International, are gradually mobilizing the working masses of the world for the overthrow of world imperialism and the establishment of the International Socialist Republic. [Applause.]

#### ACCEPTANCE SPEECH OF BENJAMIN GITLOW, CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT

Comrades: It is a great honor to be one of the standard bearers of the only party of the exploited masses in the United States.

This convention throws out a challenge to the whole bloody capitalist ruling class of the United States.

The campaign which we are now entering is part of the war the exploited masses are waging against those who exploit them.

President Coolidge a couple of days ago declared that he was gratified at the action of the United States Congress when it passed the tax bill giving a fat present to the capitalists of the United States in the form of tax reductions amounting to over \$200,000,000. The particular reason for Coolidge's gratification was the fact that Congress eliminated from the tax bill the provision for publicity on income-tax returns. The bankers, the industrialists, the large stockholders in the United States do not want the workers and poor farmers of this country to know how much they steal and extract from the sweat and toil of the workers and farmers of the country. The Workers (Communist) Party on entering this campaign declares to the strikebreaker Coolidge, to the Ohio Gang that put Harding in power and made Teapot Dome famous, declares to the powers of Wall Street, declares to the pirates of Tammany Hall, and the plunderbund of the G. O. P. that in spite of the fact that the Republicans and Democrats combined in the last Congress to keep out of the press the record of capitalist robbery in the United States, the Communists will do everything to write down, in burning letters that will be understood, the whole bloody, crooked, contemptible and hypocritical record of the capitalist ruling class of the United States.

#### RECORD OF BRUTAL OPPRESSION

The record of the capitalist ruling class in the United States is indeed a record of brutality against the working class. We have present at this convention the wife of one of the workers who was murdered together with others because he championed the cause of the oppressed and the working class. We received only a few days ago the news that a loyal fighter of the working class died in Moscow. William D. Haywood was a memorable figure in the class war. For organizing the workers and fighting to improve their conditions he was persecuted, imprisoned, and driven out of the country. Charles E. Ruthenberg, one of the founders of our Party and a determined fighter against

imperialism and imperialist war, was thrown and kept in prison for many long years by the capitalist ruling class.

We can recall at this time the many memorable struggles that took place in the United States, struggles in which workers were shot down like dogs, struggles in which workers were hounded into bull pens, struggles in which workers were torn from their families and deported. These events cover pages in the history of the American class struggle. At this time when we enter the presidential campaign we must not forget that there are now behind prison bars in capitalist dungeons in America valiant fighters of the working class. Mooney and Billings are still in prison.

#### REMEMBER SACCO AND VANZETTI

We must not forget that in spite of the opposition of the workers of all countries, American capitalism sent Sacco and Vanzetti, two innocent workers, to the electric chair. We must not forget that while we are living in a country of tremendous wealth, in a country which boasts it is the richest in the world, that though billions in wealth are piled up there are millions of men and women who are walking the streets looking for an opportunity to work, looking for a chance to eat, for a chance to live. We must not forget that in this country which boasts of liberty, which boasts of democracy, workers are not allowed to organize, workers are not allowed to strike, the injunction is used with effectiveness against the workers.

#### OPPRESSION OF NEGROES

We must not forget that in this country which claims that all peoples, all races are equal, millions of toilers because their skin is of different color, because they are Negroes, are denied the franchise in the South, are persecuted, are treated worse than dogs, and are lynched under conditions that are indescribable.

We must not forget that while on the one hand we have plenty, a tremendous display of arrogant wealth, on the other, millions of children toil in the mills, in the mines, and in the factories to pile up fortunes for the capitalist ruling class of this country.

In this campaign, we must declare that this capitalism and the ruling class that maintains it, and the government that supports it and defends it with all its might, all this must go! The toilers, the workers and poor farmers, must come into power.

This convention will be reported by the capitalist press as a red convention. We are not ashamed of the term "red." This convention is a red convention. It is made up of men and women with red fighting blood in their veins.

At the present time we can point out that in one country in the world the reds are in power, the red flag flies as the flag of the country. That is the only country in which the workers and farmers have the power. In Russia, exploiters have been overcome. There a system of society is now being built that will give to the toilers all the advantages that their labor and ability can provide.

#### RECOGNITION OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

The United States Government, the government of Wall Street, the government of bankers, trusts, mergers, robbers, pirates, grafters, the government of the oil gang, etc., declared in the name of humanity that it cannot recognize a government where the working class is in power. This campaign is only an incident in the struggles between the workers, the farmers and the exploited masses with the exploiters who are in power. This struggle will have many phases, election campaign, strikes, demonstrations, parades, mass meetings, etc. One of the most important phases of this campaign will be the demand for the recognition of the Soviet Union.

If the United States will persist in its refusal of the recognition of the Soviet government, we know that the time will come when the workers' government in the United States—a Soviet government—will recognize Soviet Russia. [Applause.]

#### U. S. IMPERIALISM

American imperialism, drunk with the enormous profits that it won as a result of the world war is engaged in a very aggressive imperialistic campaign. In South America, in Mexico, in Nicaragua, in Haiti, and in the Philippines,

the masses of toilers there are experiencing the bloody rule of American imperialism. In Asia the Chinese workers and peasants, who are engaged in a bitter struggle against the exploiters, feel the bloody hand of American imperialism.

All over the world the imperialists of the United States are fighting against the competition of imperialists of other countries. The policy of American imperialism is to drive the other imperialist powers out of the markets of the world. The result is a sharpening of the antagonisms between the imperialist powers. This aggressive imperialist policy of the United States is leading into a new world war.

The next world war will be on a more gigantic, on a more costly, and on a more deadly scale than the war we have just experienced. Linked up with the question of the breaking out of a new imperialist war is the formation of a bloc of imperialist nations against the Soviet Union. We enter this campaign fully aware of the great danger of war facing the working class of this country and every other country.

Our Party is an international party, our Party fights imperialist wars, our Party joins hands with the workers and toilers of all countries in defense of the exploited and toiling masses everywhere, and we declare that in the event of a war we will utilize the war to mobilize the workers, to mobilize the farmers, to mobilize the masses to make the war the burial ground for capitalism, not only in this country, but also in every other country in the world. [Applause.]

#### WAR AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

In connection with the subject of war against the Soviet Union, it is interesting to note that relative to the Kellogg proposal the French government declares with the British government that the proposals against wars must be considered as proposals not including the Soviet Union.

What does this mean? It means that the imperialists have in mind a war against the Soviet Union. This war has actually started. Encouraged by the hostile attitude of the imperialists against the Soviet Union, paid for by the imperialists, the counter-revolution has attempted to raise its head inside the Soviet Union.

#### IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY

The affair of the Donetz basin is only one initial step on the part of the imperialists to undermine the economic machine of the Soviet Union, so that the Soviet Union will not be able to supply its workers and farmers with the materials of war in order to withstand the attacks of the imperialists. Already it is to the credit of the Soviet Union that it nipped this conspiracy in the bud, that the counter-revolution is crushed. We, members of the international proletariat, members of the exploited masses of the world, of the Communist Party and the Communist International, declare in the event of an attack, of a war against the Soviet Union, we will defend the Soviet Union, which is our country—the country of the working class of the world. [Applause.] We will do everything in our power to rout the imperialist enemies and bring about the victory of the Red Army.

We of the Workers (Communist) Party, declare to the enemies of the working class and to the capitalist government, that the objective of the revolutionary party of the working class is the overthrow of the capitalist system of society.

#### ROLE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

At the time when the capitalist reaction is growing, at a time when the intensification of exploitation is increasing, what is the role of the Socialist Party in the labor movement?

The role of the Socialist Party in the labor movement is the role it demonstrated it can play so well in Germany, Italy, Poland, etc.

It is the role of the hangman of the revolution.

It is no accident that the day after the New Leader carries an attack against textile workers in New Bedford, against the rank and file committees that are leading the strike, after it carries a vicious attack against the Communists, that Communists and the rank and file of the New Bedford textile strike are arrested and thrown into prison.

Who is the standard-bearer of the Socialist Party? The standard-bearer of the Socialist Party is a sky pilot, a minister, who believes that revolution is too costly for the workers.

Well, how costly to the working class is the rule of capitalism and imperialism?

Where has a revolution taken place on the face of the earth that was so bloody as the imperialist war?

The result of capitalism is wage cuts, unemployment, poverty, misery, frame-ups, white terror, Fascism, and imperialist world war.

These fruits of capitalism Norman Thomas favors, but he does not favor revolution to end all this.

The extent to which the Socialist Party has degenerated, its complete abandonment of the class struggle and the best traditions of Eugene V. Debs is clearly indicated in the article written by Victor Berger in the June issue of *Current History*.

The Honorable Mr. Berger writes as follows:

"If democracy is to survive, if the republic is to endure, we must have a political realignment. \* \* \* And since both old parties are ultra-conservative we must have an opposition party, striving and fighting for progress."

Berger wants a political realignment—a political party of all classes. He does not want a working-class party. Berger has no use for a working-class revolutionary party that stands for the overthrow of capitalism. Berger is opposed also to a Labor Party. Berger only wants a reformist third party that fights for the vague thing "Progress." In other words Berger wants a "Progressive" capitalist party. It is logical for Berger to maintain that the Socialist Party is such a party.

That the capitalists have nothing to fear from the Socialist Party, Congressman Berger is convinced, because he writes: "All classes will be benefited by the change." If the Socialist Party comes into power the capitalists have nothing to worry, says Berger, they will be benefited by the change.

Berger further writes:

"Socialism can never take root in a commonwealth that is venal. A social-democracy can never be established in a nation that is rotten. More than any other citizen the socialist is interested in weeding out graft. More than any other party, the Socialist Party must make it its task to unearth corruption and prevent moral decay."

No appeal here to the workers as a class to overthrow the whole corrupt edifice of capitalism. Socialism can never be established unless the rotten capitalist nation is made "clean and honest." The main task of a Socialist Party according to Berger is to unearth corruption and prevent moral decay. Eugene V. Debs must turn in his grave when he hears Berger state that the main task of the Socialist Party is to make capitalism and its government honest and to prevent its decay. The class struggle doesn't exist for Congressman Berger.

In the article on the Socialist Party and the 1928 election campaign, Victor Berger also makes the following statement: I will read it:

"The prime essential factor, however, is the awakening of the social genius of American people. Without such awakening a real change in our public life is impossible. Without a change in American psychology even a successful revolution will mean only a change of masters."

He continues:

"A similar instance we see in Russia where after all neither political nor economic liberty was achieved."

For whom does Mr. Berger want economic and political liberty?

Have we got it in America?

Have you the right to strike? The right to vote? Do the Negroes have the right to vote? Quite the contrary. Who enjoys the economic and political liberties in the United States—Mr. Worker or Mr. Rockefeller?

The answer is very clear. Not the workers.

The Haymarkets, the Passaic, the coal strikes, the unemployment, the injunctions, the whole antifilior strike-breaking activities of the capitalist government of the United States, its sham hypocritical class democracy, is positive proof of the dominance, rule, and dictatorship of the capitalists over the country.

#### COMPARISON WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

In the Soviet Union it is different. In the Soviet Union the workers and peasants enjoy political and economic freedom.

Soviet Russia established the 7-hour day. Compared to wealthy United States, Soviet Russia is still a very poor country. Nevertheless it could afford to

establish a 7-hour day. It was established without strikes, without pickets, without injunctions. Why, because Soviet Russia was established as the result of a successful revolution which crushed capitalism and set up a working class government, with liberty and freedom, both political and economic, for the workers and not for the shirkers.

I was a member of the Socialist Party over a period of 12 years. I know what is left of the Socialist Party. I know that the revolutionary and militant elements have been driven out of the Socialist Party.

I remember how I was expelled from the Socialist Party. A detective was planted in the central committee. The police encircled the party headquarters so as not to let us in. Now what is left of the Socialist Party? Where are its 100,000 members? What is left? The Norman Thomases, the Victor Bergers, the Hillquits, the Oneals, the doctors, the lawyers, the dentists, the shopkeepers, the prostitute intellectuals, all lickspittles of capitalism. That is what is left in the Socialist Party. [Applause.]

The Communist Party sends a clarion call out of this convention to the West, to the North, to the South, and to the East.

It sends a clarion call into every factory, into every mine, into every mill.

It sends a call to all workers, to all exploited, the farmers as well as the factory workers.

It sends a call to the blacks, to the yellow races, to the whites: United against the powerful enemy, crush capitalism, make the working class the ruling class, the Communist Party the ruling party. [Prolonged Applause.]

#### THE NATIONAL NOMINATING CONVENTION

By Jay Lovestone, Executive Secretary, Workers (Communist) Party

[NOTE.—We print herewith the closing remarks delivered by Jay Lovestone at the conclusion of the National Nominating Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party. It is a summary and estimate of the Convention's deliberations and actions.]

Let me try to sum up the last two eventful days to you delegates and workers, who have had the very good fortune to attend and participate in the deliberations of the greatest Communistic convention ever held in the United States.

I have attended many conventions, Republican and Democratic, as a reporter for The Daily Worker, and Communist Party and Socialist Party conventions as a delegate. I have never yet witnessed so genuine, so stirring, so inspiring a scene as the one in which you comrades demonstrated your loyalty to the cause of the working class, demonstrated when the standard-bearers of Communism in America were chosen by you today.

#### ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CONVENTION

Before the delegates depart, they should have a clear understanding of some of the achievements of this convention and of some of the questions this convention has answered, not only for the state and fraternal delegations, not only for our Party as a whole, but for the workers and the exploited farming masses of this country.

First of all, we have a good Communist platform—the best Communist platform that our Party has ever had, a Communist platform on which we can appear with pride, with confidence, with great determination to go forward towards victory.

Second, this convention serves as a splendid basis, a splendid center, to inspire, to mobilize our Party and the workers in the coming election campaign months.

Third, we have chosen sterling, model revolutionists—sterling, model standard-bearers. What more can we ask from a gathering of our Party?

#### SOME QUESTIONS ANSWERED

This convention has been a tremendous Communist success from every viewpoint. This convention has cleared up certain questions, I believe, for all of us. I believe this convention has answered four main questions.

Can Communism grow in America? We do not have to answer that question for you comrades and delegates here. I think that the way this convention was conducted, the way you delegates participated—the enthusiasm, the spirit, the militancy, the vigor, the determination—this is the proof that Communism can grow and will grow in the United States. [Applause.]

Our Party represents the interests of the whole working class. Our Party has to date attracted to its banner primarily the most exploited section of the working class. This happens to be largely the foreign-born workers. We are not ashamed of the foreign-born workers; we are proud of them, for it is they who have helped to build the railroads, build the ships, build the factories, which we will take back for the whole working class. [Applause.]

This convention disproves one of the lies, one of the slanders, of the bourgeoisie, who say that we are not able to attract native American workers. The native American workers gathered here in our Party convention are as native as there are in the whole country. We are all workers regardless of whether we were born by accident in America or came here by choice.

Our Party is not a party East of Chicago. Our Party is a national party from Maine to Texas, from California to Massachusetts. [Applause.]

#### COMMUNISM A CONSTRUCTIVE FORCE

Communism is shown by this convention as the most constructive force in the working class, despite the calumnies of the Socialist Party and trade-union bureaucracy and other enemies of the working class. Any movement which starts as a movement of social progress, goes forward when it works hand in hand with the Communists. But when it deserts and attacks the Communists, and rejects the Communist leadership, it goes down.

Look at the ex-nationalist movement in China. Fifteen months ago the Chinese national movement swept terror into the hearts of the American, British, Japanese, and other imperialists. Remember when our Chinese Party was the brains and heart of the leadership of the then advancing Nationalist forces. Eighteen months ago, the British imperial lion was shuddering and we did not know whether the tail was wagging the lion or vice-versa. Today the imperialists are able to insult, bully, cajole, and smash at will the front of the betrayer Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese National movement is down and out because it has deserted the Communist leadership and has become the home of the agents of the counter-revolution.<sup>1</sup> Keep in mind the different treatment accorded to the Chinese masses when the Hankow concession was redeemed from the British plunderers and the recent massacre by the Japanese imperialists at Tsinan-Fu.

#### SOCIALIST "VICTORY"

All the reward that the German workers got from the social-democratic leadership was the Dawes plan—the Dawes chain. This is the bitter fruit of the socialist victory in Germany.

In Italy, where the Communists were defeated, we have bloody Fascism.

In the Soviet Union, where the Communists won, and where they kept the leadership and power, we have the only workers' and farmers' government in the world. [Applause.]

We say to the capitalists of this country that this convention proves very definitely that we in this country have made a good start towards a national election campaign, towards pushing forward working-class victory in America. The lessons and experiences learned and lived through by the workers of China, Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union, are bound to hold true for the workers of the United States.

It is not an accident that we have with us here delegations of miners from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio. Where were the miners' delegations at the Socialist Party convention? The only miner at the Republican convention will be John L. Lewis. The only miner at the Democratic convention will be William Green. The miners who are worth while are coming our way. [Applause.]

Let us look at the Negro masses. Where are the Negro masses insofar as the Republican convention is concerned? The paltry few that may be around this Wall street gathering are misleaders of the Negro masses and even these are segregated because of their color. In the Democratic convention, the only welcome the Negro might get is the welcome of a lynching party. The Socialist Party? It had only one, and at that a misled Negro delegate.

<sup>1</sup> The Nationalist Party has since taken Peking, and because of its avowed enmity to and slaughter of the working masses and its complete sell-out to the Imperialist allies, has received their temporary blessing.

The character of our Negro delegation is a tribute to the fact that the Communist Party is the only one that is ready to fight for the Negroes as well as for the other exploited and oppressed sections of the working class. [Applause.] The most significant step in the history of our Party since its inception is the determination to go South, and to begin the difficult and dangerous task of smashing the solid South. Our Party aims not only to stop lynching, but to punish effectively the lynchers and to destroy the whole lynch system. Our Party hails and welcomes the Negroes. We are with them and for them. [Applause.]

The farmers: we have here dirt farmers. Senator Capper, a multi-millionaire newspaper-owner among farmers, is the best farmer the Republican Party convention will have. There probably will be less wealthy farmers at the Democratic convention. The agricultural workers, together with the exploited farming masses, will yet be aroused to a mass struggle against their enemies, who are also the enemies of the workers in the cities.

Nor is it an accident that the Haitians, the Chileans, the Peruvians—the colonial and semicolonial masses—have sent delegates to this convention. We are their party.

#### WORKING-CLASS TRADITIONS

And it is not an accident that our Party is the inheritor of the best traditions of the American working class. Our working class has splendid traditions—the traditions of Haymarket, the traditions of heroic strike struggles, the best of the traditions of every struggle and movement for the enhancement of social progress. We have inherited the best that was in anarchism, the best that was in syndicalism, the best that there was in the whole Socialist Party. The spirit of Ruthenberg and Debs and Haywood, the spirit of the Haymarket martyrs, the spirit of our dead leaders, and the spirit of vigorous youth coming forward, are ours today. Here is the best proof that our Party has inherited all that has been and that is most worthwhile in the American working class.

Last but not least, this convention has answered the question whether our Party will participate successfully in the election campaign. We, in splitting from the old Socialist Party, spurned and spat upon, reacted bitterly against the old parliamentary fakery and cretinism of the Hillquits and Bergers. In this wholesome reaction, we developed certain dangerously wrong syndicalist ideas and attitudes. This convention deals a mortal blow to these misconceptions. You delegates are going back to act as Leninists in this election campaign, without socialist illusions and without syndicalist fears—in the most brutal, the most powerful, capitalist country. [Applause.]

#### ON TO WORK AND FIGHT

You must go back to work. Work, work and fight! We must get on the ballot. To our Party the campaign for getting on the ballot must serve as a means of acquainting with Communism, of inspiring, of educating new thousands of working and farming masses. To Communists, getting on the ballot is an entirely different proposition from what we knew it to be and what it still is in the Socialist Party. The fight to get on the ballot should enable us to spread our ideas more widely, to distribute our literature more effectively, and to win new masses to our ranks.

We must do the small, the little things, the dirty, insignificant, menial work from the very bottom. Nothing is unimportant. Even the most minute matters—this detail here and another detail there—must be properly and promptly handled. You must become leaders in the Party work in the coming campaign.

#### DESTROY LEWIS

Our election campaign is not a separate campaign from our mining campaign. If we want to help save the miners, we must destroy Lewis. If we want to destroy the corrupt Lewis machine, we must work overtime to help the miners. The same principles must guide us in the needle trades and textile campaigns. The election campaign is tied up with the fight against unemployment, against the speed-up system, against company unionism, against the labor fakers, the Socialist Party bureaucracy, the imperialist war in Nicaragua, the fight for recognition of the Soviet Union. The election cam-

paing is a unifying campaign. We count on you to carry it out in that way. We expect you to go back to your territory and to bring back enthusiasm. Nothing is more contagious than revolutionary enthusiasm. Spread the contagion of revolutionary enthusiasm and our Party will move forward with gigantic strides.

The work of the convention speaks for itself. The election campaign affords us a fine opportunity to build the Party. Keep this in mind above all. Our Party is the only party, the only organization of the working class which is growing today. You have a fine start. We want you to keep up the good pace. This convention will help usher in a new and better day for our Party. This convention is a symbol of the fact that our Party is not only a propaganda organization, not only a party of revolutionary agitation, but is the party of revolutionary organization of the American working class. Today our Party is the dynamic force in the American working class.

I will close with these remarks. You have something to be proud of. You have participated in one of the greatest conventions of this Party of ours. To be a Communist is the highest honor, the greatest and noblest mark of distinction that a worker can win—involving the most difficult task, the most arduous work. You are the front-line fighters, the most advanced battalions of the workers. Communists must be worthy of this highest honor. We want you to be proud of your Party. We want you to fight for your Party, to love your Party, to build a bigger and better Communist Party. We know that you can, that you will do it, that you will work, that you will fight, and that we will take many a step to bring us nearer to victory for the cause of the Communist International in the United States—for the cause of the whole American working class and its allies in the decisive revolutionary battle against the Wall Street imperialists. [Applause.]

Mr. MATTHEWS. The witness this morning said he accepted the principles set forth in the program of the Communist International.

I also ask that a portion of the program bearing on the point discussed this morning be incorporated in the record, being pages 34, 35, 36, 37, and down to paragraph 3 on page 39.

(The material referred to follows:)

#### THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

##### 1. THE TRANSITION PERIOD AND THE CONQUEST OF POWER BY THE PROLETARIAT

Between capitalist society and communist society a period of revolutionary transformation intervenes, during which the one changes into the other. Correspondingly, there is also an intervening period of political transition, in which the essential state form is the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. The transition from the world dictatorship of imperialism to the world dictatorship of the proletariat extends over a long period of proletarian struggles with defeats as well as victories; a period of continuous general crisis in capitalist relationships and the maturing of socialist revolutions, i. e., of proletarian civil wars against the bourgeoisie; a period of national wars and colonial rebellions which, although not in themselves revolutionary proletarian socialist movements, are nevertheless, objectively, insofar as they undermine the domination of imperialism, constituent parts of the world proletarian revolution; a period in which capitalist and socialist economic and social systems exist side by side in "peaceful" relationships as well as in armed conflict; a period of formation of a Union of Soviet Republics; a period of wars of imperialist states against Soviet states; a period in which the ties between the Soviet states and colonial peoples become more and more closely established, etc.

Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. This unevenness is still more pronounced and acute in the epoch of imperialism. Hence it follows that the international proletarian revolution cannot be conceived as a single event occurring simultaneously all over the world; at first socialism may be victorious in a few, or even in one single capitalist country. Every such proletarian victory, however, broadens the basis of the world revolution and, consequently, still further intensifies the general crisis of capitalism. Thus the capitalist system as a whole reaches the point of its final collapse; the dictatorship of finance capital perishes and gives place to the dictatorship of the proletariat.



Bourgeois revolutions brought about the political liberation of a system of productive relationships that had already established itself and become economically dominant, and transferred political power from the hands of one class of exploiters to the hands of another. Proletarian revolution, however, signifies the forcible invasion of the proletariat into the domain of property relationships of bourgeois society, the expropriation of the expropriating classes, and the transference of power to a class that aims at the radical reconstruction of the economic foundations of society and the abolition of all exploitation of man by man. The political domination of the feudal barons was broken all over the world as the result of a series of separate bourgeois revolutions that extended over a period of centuries. The international proletarian revolution, however, although it was not be a single simultaneous act, but one extended over a whole epoch, nevertheless—thanks to the closer ties that now exist between the countries of the world—will accomplish its mission in a much shorter period of time. Only after the proletariat has achieved victory and consolidated its power all over the world will a prolonged period of intensive construction of world socialist economy set in.

The conquest of power by the proletariat is a necessary condition precedent to the growth of socialist forms of economy and to the cultural growth of the proletariat, which transforms its own nature, perfects itself for the leadership of society in all spheres of life, draws into this process of transformation all other classes and thus prepares the ground for the abolition of classes altogether.

In the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and later for the transformation of the social system, as against the alliance of capitalists and landlords, an alliance of workers and peasants is formed, under the intellectual and political hegemony of the former, an alliance which serves as the basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The characteristic feature of the transition period as a whole is the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, the organization of socialist construction, the mass training of men and women in the spirit of socialism and the gradual disappearance of classes. Only to the extent that these great historical tasks are fulfilled will society of the transition period become transformed into communist society.

Thus the dictatorship of the world proletariat is an essential and vital condition precedent to the transition of world capitalist economy to socialist economy. This world dictatorship can be established only when the victory of socialism has been achieved in certain countries or groups of countries, when the newly established proletarian republics enter into a federative union with the already existing proletarian republics, when the number of such federations has grown and extended also to the colonies which have emancipated themselves from the yoke of imperialism: when these federations of republics have finally grown into a World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics uniting the whole of mankind under the hegemony of the international proletariat organized as a state.

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully "capturing" the ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resorts to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and its political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie cannot abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle. Hence the violence of the bourgeoisie can be suppressed only by the stern violence of the proletariat. The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus (bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliaments, etc.), and substituting in its place new organs of proletarian power, to serve primarily as instruments for the suppression of the exploiters.

## 2. THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND ITS SOVIET FORM

As has been shown by the experience of the October revolution of 1917 and by the Hungarian revolution, which immeasurably enlarged the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, the most suitable form of the proletarian state is the Soviet state—a new type of State, which differs in principle from the bourgeois state, not only in its class content, but also in its internal structure. This is precisely the type of State which, emerging as it does directly out of the broadest possible mass movement of the toilers, secures the maximum of mass activity and is, consequently, the surest guarantee of final victory.

The Soviet form of state, being the highest form of democracy, namely, proletarian democracy, is the very opposite of bourgeois democracy, which is bourgeois dictatorship in a masked form. The Soviet state is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rule of a single class—the proletariat. Unlike bourgeois democracy, proletarian democracy openly admits its class character and aims avowedly at the suppression of the exploiters in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. It deprives its class enemies of political rights and, under special historical conditions, may grant the proletariat a number of temporary advantages over the diffused petty-bourgeois peasantry in order to strengthen its role of leader. While disarming and suppressing its class enemies, the proletarian state at the same time regards this deprivation of political rights and partial restriction of liberty as temporary measures in the struggle against the attempts on the part of the exploiters to defend or restore their privileges. It inscribes on its banner the motto: the proletariat holds power not for the purpose of perpetuating it, not for the purpose of protecting narrow craft and professional interests, but for the purpose of uniting the backward and scattered rural proletariat, the semi-proletariat, and the toiling peasants still more closely with the most progressive strata of the workers, for the purpose of gradually and systematically overcoming class divisions altogether. Being an all-embracing form of the unity and organization of the masses under the leadership of the proletariat, the Soviets, in actual fact, draw the broad masses of the proletariat, the peasants and all toilers into the struggle for socialism, into the work of building up socialism, and into the practical administration of the state; in the whole of their work they rely upon the working-class organizations and practice the principles of broad democracy among the toilers to a far greater extent and immeasurably closer to the masses than any other form of government. The right of electing and recalling delegates, the combination of the executive with the legislative power, the electoral system based on a production and not on a residential qualification (election by workshops, factories, etc.)—all this secures for the working class and for the broad masses of the toilers who march under its hegemony systematic, continuous, and active participation in all public affairs—economic, social, political, military, and cultural—and marks the sharp difference that exists between the bourgeois-parliamentary republic and the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat.

Bourgeois democracy, with its formal equality of all citizens before the law, is in reality based on a glaring material and economic inequality of classes. By leaving inviolable, defending and strengthening the monopoly of the capitalist and landlord classes in the vital means of production, bourgeois democracy, as far as the exploited classes and especially the proletariat is concerned, converts this formal equality before the law and these democratic rights and liberties, which in practice are systematically curtailed, into a juridical fiction and, consequently, into a means for deceiving and enslaving the masses. Being the expression of the political domination of the bourgeoisie, so-called democracy is therefore capitalist democracy. By depriving the exploiting classes of the means of production, by placing the monopoly of these means of production in the hands of the proletariat as the dominant class in society, the Soviet state first and foremost guarantees to the working class and to the toilers generally the material conditions for the exercise of their rights by providing them with premises, public buildings, printing plants, traveling facilities, etc.

In the domain of general political rights the Soviet state, while depriving the exploiters and the enemies of the people of political rights, completely abolishes for the first time all inequality of citizenship, which under systems of exploitation is based on distinctions of sex, religion, and nationality; in this sphere it establishes an equality that is not to be found in any bourgeois country. In this respect, also, the dictatorship of the proletariat steadily lays down the material basis upon which this equality may be truly exercised by introducing measures for the emancipation of women, the industrialization of former colonies, etc.

SOVIET DEMOCRACY, THEREFORE, IS PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY, DEMOCRACY OF THE TOILING MASSES, DEMOCRACY DIRECTED AGAINST THE EXPLOITERS

The Soviet state completely disarms the bourgeoisie and concentrates all arms in the hands of the proletariat; it is the *armed proletarian state*. The armed forces under the Soviet state are organized on a class basis, which cor-

responds to the general structure of the proletarian dictatorship, and guarantees the role of leadership to the industrial proletariat. This organization, while maintaining revolutionary discipline, ensures to the warriors of the Red Army and Navy close and constant contacts with the masses of the toilers, participation in the administration of the country and in the work of building up socialism.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, If I may, I would like to state that I consider this testimony, before the Fish Committee on this point with respect to this flag situation, as incorrect, and that I no longer subscribe to that point.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not deny you have testified to it?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. But since then you have changed your viewpoint, party-line viewpoint?

Mr. FOSTER. You have present here pamphlets which state my position on the American flag very definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. FOSTER. The pamphlet, Questions and Answers, on this specific point.

The CHAIRMAN. Regarding the question of the American flag you have changed your viewpoint, or is your viewpoint entirely changed?

Mr. FOSTER. This whole question of nationalism changed my point of view.

The CHAIRMAN. What I mean is, to what extent? All of the testimony given before the Fish Committee no longer correctly states your viewpoint?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, I would have to read it.

The CHAIRMAN. The point that he read to you?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; I think that is incorrect.

The CHAIRMAN. It is incorrect?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. My position on this is stated very clearly in the pamphlet, Questions and Answers.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you accept the decisions, theses, resolutions, or whatever they are called of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, which Congress was held in Moscow, 1935?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then I ask, Mr. Chairman, that the resolution of the Communist International on war be incorporated in the record as giving in substance what it is that Mr. Foster accepts.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The first paragraph of that resolution reads as follows:

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in outlining the tasks of the Communist Parties and of the entire working class in the event of war, bases itself upon the thesis advanced by Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg and adopted by the Stuttgart Congress of the Pre-war Second International:

"If nevertheless war breaks out, it is their duty to work for its speedy termination and to strive with all their might to utilize the economic and political crisis produced by the war to rouse the political consciousness of the masses of the people and thereby hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule."

At the present historical juncture, when on one fixed point of the globe the Soviet Union defends socialism and peace for all humanity, the most vital interests of the workers and toilers of all countries demand that in pursuing the policies of the working class, in waging the struggle for peace, the struggle against imperialist war before and after the outbreak of hostilities, the defense of the Soviet Union must be considered paramount.

If the commencement of a counter-revolutionary war forces the Soviet Union to set the workers' and peasants' red army in motion for the defense of Socialism the Communists will call upon all toilers to work, with all means at their disposal and at any price, for the victory of the red army over the armies of the imperialists.

This is one of the resolutions of the Comintern which the witness says he accepts.

The CHAIRMAN. This was some of the principles set out?

Mr. FOSTER. That was written on the basis of the situation in 1935.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You said you accepted it, the thesis of the International.

Mr. FOSTER. The statements of conditions as they were.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is a thesis of a hypothetical condition. You objected to answering a hypothetical question and it was a hypothetical war in 1935. Is it not true that the Comintern, the Communist Party—

Mr. FOSTER. But we are living in 1939 now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You stated that you did not want to go on record with reference to any number of hypothetical situations. Is not your entire position toward the Soviet in America a hypothetical discussion?

Mr. FOSTER. No; it is not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is not?

Mr. FOSTER. By no means; no. The thesis, the general thesis, of this book is correct. There is nothing hypothetical about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, is it true, that the party line has changed so much in recent years that individuals prominent in American public life, in one way or another, who were formerly viciously, scurrilously attacked by the Communist Party but are now held, to some extent, as fulfilling the role which is in line with the purposes of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. With the shifting of the economic policies, with all the different roles being played by political cycles, naturally the attitude of the party toward them has changed accordingly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The answer is yes.

Mr. FOSTER. The answer is not yes; the answer is as I said.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were head of the TUUL, were you?

Mr. FOSTER. I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the National Miners Union one of the constituent elements belonging to the TUUL?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the president of the National Miners Union one Tom Myerscough?

Mr. FOSTER. I don't remember that he was president.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was head of it, was he not?

Mr. FOSTER. No; he wasn't.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he the executive secretary?

Mr. FOSTER. He was one of the officials. He may have been the president at one time but he wasn't the head of it.

Mr. BRODSKY. What year?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was for one of the years during the existence of the National Miners Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You would know him, would you not?

Mr. FOSTER. He was one of the leaders; he is not an outstanding leader.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was one of the leaders?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The National Miners Union was under your supervision and direction as head of the Trade Union League?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And publications by Tom Myerseough would, in the ordinary course of time, have come to your attention—is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. Not necessarily.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen this pamphlet discussing the name, Lewis, John L.?

Mr. FOSTER. I have seen it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are familiar with the contents of that pamphlet?

Mr. FOSTER. I read it at the time. I could not state what is in it now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you much prefer that nothing, that is, not much of the pamphlet be incorporated into this record?

Mr. FOSTER. That is up to you entirely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As you recall this pamphlet, does it not make up one of the most scurrilous and vicious pieces of writing ever done?

Mr. FOSTER. I would have to read it before I could say.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, I will show you one or two passages. Do you recall Mr. Hayes, who was at one time president of the United Mine Workers of America?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you know he was succeeded by John L. Lewis?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall what the pamphlet sets up as facts with regard to the manner in which John L. Lewis succeeded as president of the United Mine Workers of America?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right; I would like for you to read it.

Mr. FOSTER. You read it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I prefer not to read it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it obscene?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; highly so.

The CHAIRMAN. Then do not put it in the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think the witness is fully aware of the character of this pamphlet and of its scurrilousness, its vindictiveness, and that it runs parallel to the writings of the trade unionists literature—is that not correct, Mr. Foster, with regard to this particular pamphlet?

Mr. FOSTER. I beg your pardon.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is not the scurrilousness, the vindictiveness of this pamphlet almost unparalleled in trade-union literature?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know; I would have to read it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I thought you said you had read it?

Mr. FOSTER. I read it years ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But in regard to party lines, you said a moment ago, however, that the situation changed with respect to the objects of this pamphlet. That was your testimony, I believe?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I did not say that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, is Mr. Lewis one of those to whom the party line has changed, radically?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Lewis is not a Communist; he is not a Socialist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I did not ask you if he was a Communist.

Mr. FOSTER. But I am saying that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, I am not interested in that.

Mr. FOSTER. But I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right; say it.

The CHAIRMAN. He is asking you about party lines. No one is intimating that Mr. Lewis is a Communist. He asked you about party lines being changed, or your attitude about Mr. Lewis being changed.

Mr. FOSTER. I am going to answer very precisely that question if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. FOSTER. I said that Mr. Lewis is not a Communist and he is not a Socialist. He is not a radical of any kind. He is a progressive, ardent unionist, who in recent years has realized the fundamental necessity of organizing the workers in the basic industries, and for this, as one, he has the applause of the trade unions of the world, and we applaud, with the others, him for this work. In the past we very severely criticized Mr. Lewis when he followed conservative lines.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say that he now or then followed conservative lines?

Mr. FOSTER. When he did follow conservative lines, we criticized him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was years ago; that is years ago, when you said he was a conservative. Did you not call him corrupt, one of the most, unparalleled in the history of American labor?

Mr. FOSTER. Whatever is in that pamphlet?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In your own book, I am speaking of?

Mr. FOSTER. You can read it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Misleaders of labor. Is that what you referred to as a conservative?

Mr. FOSTER. It may be. We have generally referred to trade-union leaders who have become conservative, who have fallen under the influence of the ideology of the capital imperialists as corrupt.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read you just a paragraph to see if you charged him with being a conservative at the point in your book where you discuss him.

The present head of the workers deserves to rank with John Mitchell as one of the most powerful and reactionary leaders in the history of the miners' union. He hails from Illinois. He came into power by the back-door route. He was a technical worker for the union. His tool, the weak Frank J. Hayes, appointed him vice president to fill the vacancy made by Hayes himself when he took White's place as president. Lewis then framed-up on Hayes.

You say in here that Lewis then framed-up on Hayes? Is that approximately what the story is?

Mr. FOSTER. That is what you say.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. Then, will you tell how he framed-up on him?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know. That is many years ago; that is something that was said at the time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, I will read further.

Lewis kept him drunk and finally involved him in a compromising situation which forced Hayes to resign. Lewis automatically became president. It

was the Bourgeois strategy in Lewis, among his other doubtful connections, is a national figure in the Republican Party.

And, I do not see anything in the discussion of Mr. Lewis where you charged him with being a conservative. I read the entire discussion through.

Mr. FOSTER. I must say that I consider that statement as very unfair to Mr. Lewis, and evidently, I entirely miscalculated him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were the facts true?

Mr. FOSTER. At the time I believed they were.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean he did frame-up on Hayes, and that he did involve him in a compromising situation and forced Hayes to resign, is not only false but very shortly afterward Hayes died?

Mr. FOSTER. I would say this: That these things were presented to me as true, and I believed them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You believed them?

Mr. FOSTER. But in view of Mr. Lewis' later progressive role in the American labor movement I think that this entire section is based on a misapprehension.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You think that the Bourgeois strategems as you call them, should be forgotten?

Mr. FOSTER. I certainly would withdraw them, repudiate them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you repudiate the facts, or the statement about the facts?

Mr. FOSTER. As I said, in view of Mr. Lewis' progressiveness in our time I do not think he would be guilty of such procedure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then or now?

Mr. FOSTER. Then, either then or now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then or now?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; I think it was based on misinformation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, this was a case of the Communist Party smearing a political opponent, was it not?

Mr. FOSTER. This was a case of a struggle against a conservative leadership, and Mr. Lewis smeared us incidentally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; we have that proof.

Mr. FOSTER. And we did not bother to pull our punches.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. But I said I would entirely withdraw this in view of Mr. Lewis' activities.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you recently been to South America, Mr. Foster?

Mr. FOSTER. Not for 35 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long?

Mr. FOSTER. Thirty-five years ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have not been to South America in the last few years?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, Mr. Foster, do I understand that you believe that is not true, that is, what you said here?

Mr. FOSTER. I beg your pardon.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do I understand that you believe the things are not true, what were written there in that book?

Mr. FOSTER. My opinion is they are not true and were not true at the time, but that in the heat of a bitter, factional struggle with Mr. Lewis we were led to say things that were unjust.

Mr. VOORHIS. I can understand that.

Mr. FOSTER. And that we have reached the conclusion that Mr. Lewis—

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). I understand, but in a matter of that kind, whether deliberately or not deliberately, charges of that kind are of so serious a character that it seems to me it carries a controversy pretty far.

Mr. FOSTER. I stated that those matters were presented to me as being true and I believed them because I was aware of the libel law at the time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever checked up to see about them?

Mr. FOSTER. I certainly would not ask Mr. Lewis.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You believed it was true?

Mr. FOSTER. I believed them at the time.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words you did not approve of Mr. Lewis' course of action at the time, but now that you do approve of him you are willing to accept them as untrue?

Mr. FOSTER. No; that is not correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were just asked if you did not think they were true now.

Mr. FOSTER. No; because Mr. Lewis' progressive movement, the part he has played in the labor movement.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean you would not believe them since he has accomplished things; you would not have charged him with that?

Mr. FOSTER. I did not say that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know who Al Hamilton was, Mr. Foster?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know who Al Hamilton was?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you participate in the circulation of stories concerning the connections between Al Hamilton and John L. Lewis?

Mr. FOSTER. I don't know. If it is in that book, I wrote it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. Did not you and those associated with you in the campaign on behalf of Mr. Brophy for the presidency of the United Mine Workers, against John L. Lewis, put widely into circulation the story that Mr. Lewis had accepted checks which were bribes from Al Hamilton, did not you claim there were photostatic copies of those checks scattered all around the country?

Mr. FOSTER. I have no recollection of doing it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have no recollection of the check that Al Hamilton was alleged to have given John L. Lewis to bribe him in the anthracite strike?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was not that the main campaign story used against Lewis on behalf of Brophy?

Mr. FOSTER. No; it was not, by no manner of means. The thing that was involved there was a disagreement on the policies of the union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am not asking you about the thing that was involved; I am asking you about the campaign story. Will you state for the record you did not say that?

The CHAIRMAN. He said the campaign story which was distributed and put out. Anyway, answer the question.

Mr. FOSTER. I answered his question.



Mr. MATTHEWS. That that was not a campaign story?

Mr. FOSTER. You said the main campaign story.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; the main campaign story.

Mr. FOSTER. That campaign was fought on the basis of political issues.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am not talking on the basis of political issues; I am talking about the campaign story.

The CHAIRMAN. He said no, it was not the campaign story; is that right?

Mr. FOSTER. That is what I said.

The CHAIRMAN. He said it was not a campaign story.

Mr. FOSTER. It probably was bandied about.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right, if Mr. Foster denies it, I would like to put in the record—

The CHAIRMAN. You mean put in the story?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The story which he and his associates circulated concerning a bribery check, and it is a story—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, is it signed by Mr. Foster?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is a story in his book and in Mr. Myercough's book, who was his lieutenant in the United Miners' Union fight, as he testified.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Foster, you do not deny, do you, that that story was used? I do not know anything about the story, but I mean do you deny that the story was used in this campaign?

Mr. FOSTER. I don't recollect it playing any role. If it is in my book—the fact is I don't recall it at all, but, if it is in my book, no doubt it played some role.

The CHAIRMAN. But you don't know how important?

Mr. FOSTER. No. I don't think it played any considerable role.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any independent recollection of it? Can you say whether it was used in that campaign or was not?

Mr. FOSTER. It certainly did not play, if it was used at all—

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking that. I say, of your own independent recollection, can you say whether it was used in that campaign or not? If you cannot say so, say you don't remember.

Mr. FOSTER. I don't recollect it being used to any extent, if it was used at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you remember its being used at all?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, that is an answer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then I want to ask this question: Is it not a regular practice of the Communist Party, when it engages in a political struggle with an opponent, to circulate vicious, vituperative, malicious stories, without checking on them, concerning the political opponents?

Mr. FOSTER. I will say there has been more vituperative and malicious stories circulated in this committee against the Communist Party than we have circulated in our entire existence.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, wait a minute. He has asked a question, and you can answer "yes" or "no," if it is or is not true.

Mr. FOSTER. The answer is "no."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, does the Communist Party of the United States have to get permission of the Comintern, the executive committee of the Comintern, to hold a national convention or plenum?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did it ever have to get such permission?

Mr. FOSTER. It may have consulted them about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get it down definite: Do you know whether it did or not?

Mr. FOSTER. So far as I know, not.

The CHAIRMAN. He says "No."

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right; Mr. Foster has already identified this document as one in which he participated in drawing up. This is "Decisions of Workers' Party Central Executive Committee," published in the Daily Worker of October 15, 1924. It reads, on the subject of Party Convention:

The C. E. C. (central executive committee) authorized a request to the Communist International for permission to hold an annual convention of the workers' party sometime during the month of January.

Now, was that true, or wasn't it?

Mr. FOSTER. It was true in this sense, that we proposed——

The CHAIRMAN. "Yes" or "no"?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, Mr. Chairman, these things and what happened in connection with them is not just a sentence on a piece of paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; but did they ask permission, or did not they ask permission of the Comintern to hold such a meeting?

Mr. FOSTER. We proposed to the Comintern in such circumstances, in every instance I ever heard of, we proposed that a convention be held and advised the Communist International of the formulation, we will say. It is more or less a curious way of presenting the proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get that right: Why would you propose to the Comintern in Moscow to hold a convention here in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, as a matter of organizational procedure, you understand, any organization notifies the headquarters about holding a convention.

The CHAIRMAN. You say any organization notifies its headquarters—its central organization?

Mr. FOSTER. We are affiliated with the Comintern, of course——

The CHAIRMAN. And you have either to obey the Comintern or get out of it, don't you?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, that is true of any organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, is it true of the Communist organization?

Mr. FOSTER. It is true of any organization in the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, is it true of the Communist organization?

Mr. FOSTER. If the Comintern said we were violating its instructions, they would put us out.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you a simple question; let us have no evasion about it. Is it true of the Communist Party that you either have to obey the decisions or get out?

Mr. FOSTER. We don't allow a situation——

The CHAIRMAN. Is that true or not?

Mr. FOSTER. I have stated what the character of the Comintern decisions is in regard to America. Those proposals are put forward by the American party; and if the Comintern puts forward any decisions, the American party votes on them. Whether it acts or not——

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose, now, the American party refused to accept the Comintern's decision?

Mr. FOSTER. I don't know what the Comintern would do.

The CHAIRMAN. Do not you know, as a matter of fact, the American party would have to get out of the International if they did not obey the decision of the Comintern?

Mr. FOSTER. I assume in every organization in the world—

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking you about every organization; I am asking you about the Communist International.

Mr. FOSTER. Well, I assume so.

The CHAIRMAN. You assume so?

Mr. FOSTER. Although it has never happened.

The CHAIRMAN. Although you are sure of the fact—

Mr. FOSTER. It has never happened yet.

Mr. VOORHIS. Put it this way: If the American Communist Party refused to go along with a decision of the Communist International, then would it be true, along with all other organizations in the world, that the American Communist Party would have to get out of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. I don't think you can state a thing like that at all. Before the Comintern would ever disassociate itself with the American party, there would be endless discussions over the question—endless discussions and attempts to adjust the thing.

Mr. VOORHIS. Put it this way, Mr. Foster: Could the American Communist Party remain in affiliation with the Comintern if there was any disagreement with the Comintern on an important matter of policy?

Mr. FOSTER. I don't think it would want to remain in affiliation.

The CHAIRMAN. He is not asking you what you would want. Should the American party—

Mr. FOSTER. Any party that could not agree with the central organization—

The CHAIRMAN. We are not asking about any party; we are asking you specifically about the Communist Party. Cannot you answer that?

Mr. FOSTER. That is another one of those hypothetical questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Hypothetical?

Mr. FOSTER. We will cross that bridge when we come to it.

The CHAIRMAN. You never have come to a question of disagreement between the Communist Party and the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, we have had disagreements in the Comintern; yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. But they have always been resolved—

Mr. FOSTER. By the American party; yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. In favor of the decision of the Comintern, however? Never in conflict?

Mr. FOSTER. Which in every instance, I said, has been presented by the American people—in every instance, or the majority—in every instance—

Mr. VOORHIS. But the decision finally in every case has been in accord with the wishes of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. Otherwise we would not be affiliated with it.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is what I am trying to get at.

The CHAIRMAN. You are talking about hypothetical cases; you mean by that that there has never been an instance of a disagreement between the American Communist Party and the Communist Inter-

national in which eventually, ultimately, the American party did not finally resolve the question in favor of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. No; because, as I stated many times, before the Communist International would take any stand on any American question, it would have to be entirely certain that the entire party was in agreement with it.

The CHAIRMAN. As chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, if the United States entered this present war—which you say is an imperialistic war—on the side of France and England, would the Communist Party support the United States Government?

Mr. FOSTER. First of all, the Communist Party would take up the question and discuss it and would take a stand accordingly.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your opinion as chairman of the Communist Party; would it support the United States Government?

Mr. FOSTER. I stated—

The CHAIRMAN. You stated your personal opinion.

Mr. FOSTER. I stated my personal opinion, and I would certainly advocate that in the party.

The CHAIRMAN. And you think that would prevail, don't you?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, we would see.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if it did not prevail, it would be the first time in which the Communist Party did not follow the party line?

Mr. FOSTER. It would not be the first time it did not follow my line.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking you about "your line"; I am talking about the party line.

Mr. FOSTER. It would not be the party line until they adopted it; just because I advocated it would not make it the party line.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that; but I say if they did not follow the party line, it would be the first time they did not do so?

Mr. FOSTER. After they work out the party line, they would follow it, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. That party line has to be worked out by the Comintern, as well as the Communist Party of the United States, don't it?

Mr. FOSTER. No; the American party would settle that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Independent of the Comintern?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; independent of the Comintern.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever settled any question regarding the party line independent of the Comintern?

Mr. FOSTER. Tens of thousands.

The CHAIRMAN. Independent of the Comintern?

Mr. FOSTER. Independent, of course; every day; every day, on every question that comes along, we make settlements.

The CHAIRMAN. Every day—can you cite a single instance where any decision of the Communist Party finally taken has conflicted with the decision of the Comintern?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, no; I cannot—no major decision.

The CHAIRMAN. You know, as a matter of fact, there never has been such a decision, don't you?

Mr. FOSTER. As far as the party getting into conflict generally, you saw on the question of Lovestone's leadership they came into conflict with the Comintern.

The CHAIRMAN. And they were liquidated?

Mr. FOSTER. By the action of the American party. The Comintern said they were politically incorrect.

The CHAIRMAN. The question I asked you is, Can you cite a single instance in which the American Communist Party has ever agreed upon any decision in conflict with the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. I just gave you one—the Lovestone leadership took a decision in opposition to the Communist International.

The CHAIRMAN. But you said a while ago that Lovestone did not represent the Communist Party.

Mr. FOSTER. But he represented a majority of the Central Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. But you said the overwhelming majority of the members were with you?

Mr. FOSTER. Not at the time, perhaps, we took this decision. It was as the fight developed that we saw the correctness of the political decision that we arrived at.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it was a case of a majority—you cited one instance to show independent action—here was the case of a majority headed by Lovestone that did not follow the Communist International, is it not?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. But is it not a fact that Lovestone and his crowd were driven out—expelled from the Communist Party for doing that?

Mr. FOSTER. By 98 percent of the membership.

The CHAIRMAN. But they were expelled?

Mr. FOSTER. That is a matter of history.

The CHAIRMAN. It is the only instance you can cite in which the Communist Party took a contrary position to the Comintern and, as a result of it, those who led the contrary opinion were purged from the party?

Mr. FOSTER. By the American party, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BRODSKY. Mr. Chairman, I think Mr. Foster has about exhausted his physical reserve. My knowledge of him is that 2 hours is about the limit he will go.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you think he can take one more question on this subject, that will wind it up?

Mr. FOSTER. Please.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You just stated Mr. Lovestone was expelled by the American Communist Party. Is it not true he carried an appeal against that expulsion to the Executive Committee of the Communist International and that Executive Committee of the Communist International was the final body, through the International Control Commission, which passed upon the case?

Mr. FOSTER. Not correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the Daily Worker of July 29, 1929, "Decision of the tenth plenum of the E. C. C. I. on the appeal of Lovestone"—

Mr. FOSTER. You asked me if the International Control Commission. That is not the International Control Commission.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have not finished reading it to you, Mr. Foster.

Decision of the tenth plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the appeal of Jay Lovestone, member of the E. C. C. I., against his expulsion from the Communist Party of the United States of America.

At the end of the article it reads: "Notification of International Control Commission," on his expulsion. Now are you satisfied?

Mr. FOSTER. So what?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then your answer was wrong?

Mr. FOSTER. My answer was correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Lovestone carry an appeal to Moscow?

Mr. FOSTER. Not to the International Control Commission. He carried an appeal to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and the position of the Executive Committee of the Communist International was that the American Party had acted upon it and that settled it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the International Control Commission?

Mr. FOSTER. The International Control Commission is a body that looks after the status of the organization one way or another.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it not the supreme court of the Comintern that passes upon cases of expulsion where appeals are brought to it?

Mr. FOSTER. That is it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then the International Control Commission was the supreme court before which Lovestone's appeal went, was it not?

Mr. FOSTER. This was a political question, not a personal question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then why did the International Control Commission issue a notification on the case as set forth in the Daily Worker?

Mr. FOSTER. Because Lovestone had some personal matters with them. This was a political question and fell within the jurisdiction of the Executive Committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You just stated the International Control Commission was the supreme court of the Comintern, precisely as the Executive Committee of the Communist International is the executive body?

Mr. FOSTER. But not politically, it is not; it only functions in personal cases, and Lovestone's expulsion was not a personal matter, it was a political matter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does the International Control Commission ever pass upon both personal and political questions?

Mr. FOSTER. Sometimes they are interwoven.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have not there been cases of drunkenness brought before the International Control Commission?

Mr. FOSTER. That is the kind of questions they particularly handle.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And have not there also been deviation questions brought before the International Control Commission for adjudication?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, I am not familiar with the workings of the committee in detail; but, generally speaking, it is a personal approach, and sometimes political angles exist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read you just briefly from the Communist International, an official document of the Communist Party, between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses, 1924 and 1928, under the chapter "International Control Commission":

The International Control Commission received no complaints during the period of the report concerning activities of the Department of E. C. C. I. It did receive about 190 complaints concerning disciplinary measures taken by the sections against individuals, or against organizations.

And among these 190 cases are listed embezzlement, drink, undesirable elements; reinstatement of members expelled, mostly for reasons of embezzlement; transference from one section to another; opposition; slander; violation of discipline; estrangement from party work; participation in white army; religious; political dishonesty; reinstatement of the expelled; nonseparative work in fractions in other organizations; financial; miscellaneous and indefinite.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, here is the question we have to have an answer to, and I don't think it will take very long, and it will avoid your staying over here until tomorrow morning.

Mr. BRODSKY. O. K.

Mr. FOSTER. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. You know the occasion that Mr. Browder testified before this committee, don't you?

Mr. FOSTER. I know he testified.

The CHAIRMAN. And do you know anything about what his testimony was?

Mr. FOSTER. Not in detail.

The CHAIRMAN. Generally, did you understand what his testimony was?

Mr. FOSTER. Some of it. I did not discuss it with him in detail. I read the newspaper reports of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in accord with what he had to say before this committee, so far as you know?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, that is pretty hard to say.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean insofar as the matters you know he testified about?

Mr. FOSTER. I certainly did not see anything I was in disagreement with.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Well, he is in a position to speak for the Communist Party, is he not?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right; he is our principal spokesman.

The CHAIRMAN. He is your principal spokesman and it therefore stands to reason that whatever statement he made would be the correct statement; is not that true—insofar as the party is concerned?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, he can make errors in fact, like anyone else.

The CHAIRMAN. But generally speaking, for the most part, his statements would be correct statements, would they not?

Mr. FOSTER. Generally; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And from him you would get a correct enunciation of the position of the Communist Party; is that not correct?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now, the Communist Party, as I understand it, has about 5,000 branches in the United States.

Mr. FOSTER. Something like that. I am not familiar with the figures; I am not individually—

The CHAIRMAN. You know it has approximately 5,000 branches; is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. Several thousand. I know about the figures that have been presented here; I don't know what it is.

The CHAIRMAN. I think Mr. Browder said 5,000.

Mr. BRODSKY. That is my recollection, that he said 5,000.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be correct, would it not, if he said 5,000?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, he would know.

The CHAIRMAN. He knows what he is talking about?

Mr. FOSTER. He would know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what the membership of the party is? Mr. Browder said 100,000. Would that be correct?

Mr. FOSTER. That is what we call our membership, approximately 100,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Browder was also correct in saying, was he, that you had no record in the national offices of the membership?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have a record, according to Mr. Browder, of the officers in the district organizations?

Mr. FOSTER. That is it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct, is it?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, I am trying to understand the organization of the party. As I understand it, the party is divided into sections and then into districts, and then you have the national organization?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. BRODSKY. Below the section is the branches.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is right; below the sections are branches of sections, or districts. Now, the national offices, you just stated, has the names of the officers in the district organizations, but does not have the names of the officers of the section or branch organizations? Is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. That I could not say. I am not familiar with the organizational work. It is out of my sphere.

The CHAIRMAN. You just stated, I believe—you stated very definitely that you did have the names of the what—district organization?

Mr. FOSTER. Of the district organizers; that we have.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not know whether you have it of the branches, or sections?

Mr. FOSTER. On the branches, I am sure we have not got it; on the sections, I am not so certain.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not sure of the sections, but you are sure on the branches?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in each branch there are officers, are there not?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the names of the officers—president, or chairman?

Mr. FOSTER. No; secretaries. They don't have any president—they are secretaries and bureau organizers, and so on.

The CHAIRMAN. Secretaries and bureau organizers?

Mr. FOSTER. We can send you a complete—



Mr. BRODSKY. I am going to look at the constitution. I think they have something here about the organization, and maybe that will give you what you are after. "Structure of the Party"—I think perhaps this will help you. This is article VII:

#### STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY

SECTION 1. The basic organization of the Communist Party of the United States of America are the shop, industrial, and territorial branches.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the branches?

Mr. BRODSKY. Yes.

The executive committee of the branch shall be elected once a year by the membership.

The CHAIRMAN. The executive committee of the branch?

Mr. BRODSKY. Yes.

SEC. 2. The section organization shall comprise all branches in a given territory of the city or State.

The CHAIRMAN. All branches in a given territory?

Mr. BRODSKY. Yes [reading]:

\* \* \* The section territory shall be defined by the higher party committee and shall cover one or more complete political divisions of the city or State.

The highest body of the section organization is the section convention, or special annual council meeting, called for the election of officers, which shall convene every year. The section convention or special council meeting discusses and decides on policy and elects delegates to the higher convention.

Between section conventions, the highest party body in the section organization is the section council, composed of delegates elected proportionately from each branch for a period of 1 year. Where no section council exists, the highest party body is the section committee, elected by a majority vote of the section convention, which also elects the section organizer.

The section council or section committee may elect a section executive committee which is responsible to the body that elected it. Nonmembers of the section council may be elected to the executive committee only with the approval of the next higher committee.

SEC. 3. In localities where there is more than one section organization, a city or county council or committee may be formed in accordance with the bylaws.

SEC. 4. The State organization shall comprise all party organizations in one State.

The highest body of the State organization is the State convention, which shall convene every 2 years, and shall be composed of delegates elected by the conventions of the subdivisions of the party or branches in the State. The delegates are elected on the basis of numerical strength.

A State committee—

There is not much more of it. Do you want me to continue?

The CHAIRMAN. No. That gives the State and then the district—where is the district?

Mr. BRODSKY. That is the last section. This goes on:

A State committee of regular and alternate members shall be elected at the State convention with full power to carry out the decisions of the convention and conduct the activities of the State organization until the next State convention.

The State committee may elect from among its members an executive committee, which shall be responsible to the State committee.

Special State conventions may be called either by a majority vote of the State committee, or upon written request of the branches representing one-third of the membership of the State, with the approval of the national committee.

SEC. 5. District organizations may be established by the national committee, covering two or more States. In such cases the State committees shall be under the jurisdiction of the district committees, elected by and representing the party organizations of the States composing these districts. The rules of convening district conventions and the election of leading committees shall be the same as those provided for the State organization.

Then it goes on to the national organization.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, as I remember Mr. Browder's testimony, the only names that the national organization has are the officers of the executive committee and the district officers?

Mr. BRODSKY. That is as I understand the testimony, and each one in turn has the names below.

The CHAIRMAN. And the district has the names of the one below?

Mr. BRODSKY. That is as I understand his testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you have any objection to submitting to this committee the names of all the officers and members of the executive committee, of the district organizations?

Mr. BRODSKY. Well, I personally have no objection, or any feeling about it.

The CHAIRMAN. As attorney for them, do you have any objection to that?

Mr. BRODSKY. I personally cannot see any objection. I will be glad to take it up with the national office and present that question to them, if you want.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that your opinion?

Mr. BRODSKY. Yes; I will take the matter up, also.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand, that is all the information you have in your national offices, as to any officers or members, or anything else; is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You just do not know who the members of the party are?

Mr. FOSTER. Not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Only as you might meet them in various meetings?

Mr. FOSTER. Only in the branch that I belong to.

The CHAIRMAN. Only in the branch that you belong to: Do you not go around from one branch to another?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. How many branches have you visited?

Mr. FOSTER. I visit them very rarely, because I have been laid up and do not get around.

The CHAIRMAN. Who makes the visits around to the branches?

Mr. FOSTER. The organizers; the secretaries, the district and section people.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Then the committee is asking you to submit, as soon as possible, the names of all the members of the executive committee, of the district organization and, if you have them in your office the names of any of the officers or committeemen of any section or any branch, we ask you to submit that information; because this committee is going to issue subpoenas to all organizations, whether Communist or Fascist, Bund, or Silver Shirts, and have every organization to bring to this committee a correct list of the membership. And failing in that, the committee is going to make a test of it as to all organizations. I tell you that so that if

they will not submit those names and addresses to us frankly, the purpose is to serve a subpoena on them duces tecum to bring their membership lists to this committee.

MR. BRODSKY. I shall deliver that message.

MR. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, could I suggest that Father Coughlin's name should be added to this list?

THE CHAIRMAN. We are going to name everybody there is any evidence they are either Fascist or Communist, to the full extent of the power of this committee.

MR. FOSTER. And the Associated Farmers?

THE CHAIRMAN. We are going to have their membership lists brought before the committee.

Now, are there any further questions that you have?

MR. WHITLEY. I would suggest that the witness be kept under subpoena.

THE CHAIRMAN. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. Well, he is not under subpoena; you just requested him to come, and if he is willing to continue that status——

MR. BRODSKY. Oh, yes.

MR. WHITLEY. In other words, I would like for him to remain at least where he can be recalled at anytime.

MR. BRODSKY. You had no difficulty; he did it on the telegram, and he will do it again.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is all right.

MR. WHITLEY. I had in mind he may be in some other part of the country, or out of the country, several weeks from now, if we want him.

MR. FOSTER. No.

THE CHAIRMAN. You have no such plans, have you, Mr. Foster?

MR. FOSTER. No.

THE CHAIRMAN. I do not suppose there is anything you can add to the statements of Mr. Browder? Mr. Browder said approximately 50,000 Communists are members of trade-unions—twice as many in the C. I. O. as in the A. F. of L.—and hundreds of the Communists were officers and directors. Since you don't know anything about the proposition, you could not add anything to his testimony; is that right?

MR. FOSTER. No; I could not.

MR. WHITLEY. Well, he understands the request?

MR. BRODSKY. He wants to make a statement.

MR. FOSTER. I would like to say——

THE CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further?

MR. FOSTER. I would like to say that the weight of this committee's activities has been directed against our party.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is what they all say.

MR. FOSTER. That is a very important question, and our opinion is that this committee is not attacking the institutions that are carrying on un-American activities in the country.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is what Pelley, Kuhn, Deatherage, and the others say. They all say the same thing.

MR. FOSTER. It is correct.

THE CHAIRMAN. When it comes to the Nazi Government and Soviet pact——

Mr. FOSTER (interposing). I would like to add Mr. Ford's name, the name of Father Coughlin, and the Associated Farmers.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else?

Mr. FOSTER. Your committee is looking for evidence of people who are carrying on un-American activities——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You and your party will submit the lists that have been called for by the committee to this Congress, or the issue will be squarely made on it, with the demand that your party be dissolved and outlawed, as it has been in France, and as it will be throughout the world before we are through. (Loud applause from the audience.)

(Thereupon, the committee adjourned to meet tomorrow, Saturday, September 30, 1939, at 10 a. m.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10 a. m., in the Caucus Room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Dies, Voorhis, and Mason.

Also present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

## TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH ZACK, GARMENT WORKER

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Joseph Zack is the first witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Zack, you will be sworn.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, have you been known by the name of Joseph Zack for many years?

Mr. ZACK. Right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that your mother's name?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you born under the name of Joseph Kornfedder?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that is the name that appeared on your birth certificate?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that was your father's name?

Mr. ZACK. Right.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present address, Mr. Zack?

Mr. ZACK. 1001 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your occupation?

Mr. ZACK. Garment worker.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you married in New York City?

Mr. ZACK. I was.

Mr. WHITLEY. What year?

Mr. ZACK. 1926.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you speak a little louder and more distinct please?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any children?

Mr. ZACK. I have a son.

Mr. WHITLEY. When and where was he born?

Mr. ZACK. In 1927, I believe, in New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, when did you first become active in politics in the United States?

Mr. ZACK. In 1916.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in what party or group did you become active at that time?

Mr. ZACK. I was a member of the Socialist Party, and I joined the Communist Party at the time the party was first organized, in 1919.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you are a charter member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. And where were you at the time the split of the Communist Party took place?

Mr. ZACK. New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you, after joining the Communist Party, or becoming a charter member of it at the time, become an active Communist worker?

Mr. ZACK. I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, from the time the Communist Party was formed until the fall of 1934, did you devote practically all of your time and energies and abilities to Communist Party work in New York City and elsewhere?

Mr. ZACK. Well, most of the time. I was not all the time an officer. I worked in my trade off and on, and about half that time I was an official of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Full-time official?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. At what time, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY. From 1919, when the party was formed, up until the fall of 1934.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1934; down to about that time you devoted half of your time as an officer, a full-time officer?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. As a party officer?

Mr. ZACK. Right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And at one time he was working at his trade and doing work for the party.

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, were you indicted in Michigan in 1922 or 1923 under the Michigan syndicalism law?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was for radical Communist activities?

Mr. ZACK. Correct. The party was underground at that time. I was arrested in connection with the convention that was held in Michigan.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. William Z. Foster was one of the 15 or 20 others who were arrested with you?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. And during the period that you were active as an official and functionary in the Communist Party did you devote a good part, or a major part of your time to trade-union work of the party?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. I held various leading positions in the Communist Party which related to its activities in trade-unions. First, I was their national trade-union secretary, the same position that Foster held after me, and I was also their trade-union director in the New York district, and secretary of the Trade Union Unity League in the eastern district.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, as secretary of the trade-union work throughout the country that meant you were actively in charge and directed the Communist Party's trade-union work and policies throughout the United States?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, were you ever a member of any of the higher governing bodies of the Communist Party?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. I started as Unity secretary, then became section organizer and district organizer in the New York district, and then I was a member, three times, of the central committee of the Communist Party, now known as the national committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. For approximately how many years were you on the central committee of the highest governing body of the Communist Party?

Mr. ZACK. I was on the central committee I believe about 5 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. About 5 years altogether.

Mr. Zack, did you come—rather did the central committee of the Communist Party of the United States send you to Moscow during 1927?

Mr. ZACK. They did.

Mr. WHITLEY. And Mr. Lovestone who was then the general secretary of the party in this country furnished your credentials?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. And who paid for your traveling and other expenses for that trip while you were there?

Mr. ZACK. The traveling and other expenses were paid by the Comintern, that is the Communist International, in Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see; that is the headquarters of the Communists throughout the world?

Mr. ZACK. Right.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did you remain in Moscow, Mr. Zack?

Mr. ZACK. I remained in Moscow 2½ years.

Mr. WHITLEY. That would be to about 1930?

Mr. ZACK. 1930.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what were your functions while you were in Moscow?

Mr. ZACK. Well, I was sent there to study in the Lenin Institute, but at the same time I represented what was then known as the Foster faction of the Communist Party in the Comintern; that is, I was representing what is now the leadership in Moscow. While I was there for 2 years I was a member of the Anglo-American secretariat of the Communist International, and also of the Anglo-American Second Red Trade Union International.

Mr. WHITLEY. And at that time you were active in the Comintern and the R. I. L. U.?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. While you were there?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, did the Communist International or the Comintern then send you on a mission to South America?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. I was a delegate of the Comintern in South America from 1930 to the end of 1931.

Mr. WHITLEY. When you left Moscow on that mission to South America for the Comintern did you leave your wife and son in Russia?

Mr. ZACK. I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did you remain in South America, did you state, Mr. Zack?

Mr. ZACK. I believe a year and a half.

Mr. WHITLEY. During that time did you have any difficulty with the authorities in South America as a result of your work?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; I was arrested in Venezuela.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the result of that arrest?

Mr. ZACK. Well, I was imprisoned in the prison known as Lori Rotunda and was freed by the efforts of the State Department.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is in the United States?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that arrest and imprisonment was the result of your activities on behalf of the Communist Party?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. On behalf of the Communist International rather?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you return to New York City from South America, approximately, Mr. Zack?

Mr. ZACK. In the fall of 1931.

Mr. WHITLEY. And then did you become active in party affairs?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. In New York City?

Mr. ZACK. I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in what capacity or in what field?

Mr. ZACK. I became secretary of the Trade Union Unity League, which at that time was the Communist Party Trade Union organization in New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. ZACK. And around about.

Mr. WHITLEY. And during that time did you reside in the same apartment with Mr. Earl Browder?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; at that time I resided in the same apartment with him for 4 months.

Mr. WHITLEY. And then you later were doing trade-union organization work, were you, in Ohio and the Middle West for a while?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. I was trade-union secretary in Ohio.

Mr. WHITLEY. When were you expelled from the party, Mr. Zack?

Mr. ZACK. I broke with the Communist Party in the spring of 1934, and they announced my expulsion about 4 or 5 months later.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your break was occasioned by what?

Mr. ZACK. My break was occasioned by the new turn of policy from ultra-left to ultra-right. I had suspicioned for some time before that the changes in policy have nothing to do with conditions in the United States and were motivated by the policy of the Russian Government. Hence, I considered their new sweeping changes of policy one more of



the principal tricks, and I was not willing to go along with it any further.

MR. WHITLEY. As a result of this difference of opinion, your failure to comply or agree with the change in policy, you were expelled?

MR. ZACK. Well, I had already broken with them.

MR. WHITLEY. There is no such thing as a resignation from the Communist Party?

MR. ZACK. No. You can quit the party, and if you are of importance they will announce your expulsion in the Daily Worker.

MR. WHITLEY. I see.

THE CHAIRMAN. This is the first time you have ever told this story before any committee?

MR. WHITLEY. You have never testified before any committee?

MR. ZACK. Correct; I never testified before any committee.

THE CHAIRMAN. This is the first time you have ever given any full disclosure?

MR. ZACK. Correct.

MR. WHITLEY. Of these facts?

MR. ZACK. That is correct.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to read an excerpt from the Communist, the official organ of the Communist Party of the United States, in the issue for July 1932, an excerpt from an article entitled "Place the Party on a War Footing."

The author of that article is Earl Browder, and on page 601 of that article Mr. Browder states as follows:

Comrade Zack gives a very rich and fruitful discussion and demonstrates again in his speech that he is one of the most reliable and productive workers, an essential part of the leadership of the party.

Mr. Zack, have you, during the 15 years that you were active in the Communist Party, and for the Comintern, written articles which have been published in Soviet publications?

MR. ZACK. Yes. I wrote a number of articles that were published in the chief organ of the Communist International, and also in the chief organ of the Communist Party in the United States.

MR. WHITLEY. I see. Did you at one time coauthor an article with Mr. Browder which was published in one of the Comintern publications?

MR. ZACK. Yes. There was an article published under our joint name in the Pravda, the official organ of the Russian Communist Party.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, by way of identification of Mr. Zack, I would like to refer to a few articles which have appeared in official publications: The Daily Worker March 1, 1933, page 4, has a lengthy article by J. Zack, entitled "The Trade Unions in New York and the Unemployed."

With reference to Mr. Zack's statement concerning his arrest along with Mr. Foster for radical work in Michigan, there are a number of articles appearing in official publications of the Communist Party.

THE CHAIRMAN. I understand Mr. Zack was particularly active in the trade-union movement.

MR. ZACK. Correct.

THE CHAIRMAN. Was from the start?

MR. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were really head of it?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And of course you met all of the different people who were active in the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. ZACK. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. And you pretty well know, or have known since the beginning, those who have been actively identified in the C. I. O. or with the A. F. of L.?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; I know most of them.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the Daily Worker for April 7, 1923, is an article entitled "International Committee in Action," by Earl R. Browder.

The article has to do with some very important committees of an international character, which have been appointed, and one of those committees, international committees, was the T. U. E. L., that is, the Trade Union Educational League, and Mr. Joseph Zack is listed as a secretary.

There are a number of other articles in reference to Mr. Zack's activities on behalf of the party. Among those articles is one by Mr. Zack himself as contributor to the publication, showing that over a period of years he has written articles for the Communist Party.

In the monthly publication for December 1929 an article entitled "Against Labor Party."

Another article in the January 1930 issue in the Communist; another article in the issue of March 1930 in the Communist, entitled "The Era of Partnership."

A number of other articles which I will not read at the present time, Mr. Chairman, and which we can put in the record later if it is found desirable to do so.

Before we go into these publications or writings, Mr. Zack, I would like for you to explain to the committee or relate to them your efforts to get your wife and son out of Soviet Russia.

Mr. Chairman, the witness previously testified when the Comintern sent him out, in 1930, I believe it was, on a mission to South America that he left his wife and young son in Russia. He has never been able to get them out of Russia since that time.

Will you relate that to the committee, Mr. Zack?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. When I left Russia in the spring of 1930 my wife and my boy remained there. My boy was born in New York.

After I returned from South America I made efforts through Browder, the general secretary, who was then going over for one of his visits to Russia, to arrange for their return. He promised to do that. That was in 1932, but nothing came of it.

And in 1934, when I quit the party, I made another effort. Nothing came of that. So finally I made a complaint to the State Department to intervene in behalf of my family over there, and help me to have them returned to the United States.

At the same time I received a letter from Russia written by my wife, but apparently from a concentration camp, because that letter was deposited in my mail box, not by the post office but by an agent, and all identification marks, as to the location from which it was mailed, were eliminated.

The text of the letter was of a kind as to make me believe that the letter was dictated.

Later on I saw one of the tourists, a friend of mine, who had visited the place where she worked on a farm in the Crimea section of Russia and he was told that she had disappeared from the farm at the end of 1936, and no explanation was given as to where she disappeared.

A law was passed in Russia authorizing the government to arrest relatives of political opponents. That law was passed in 1934. It was not applied to foreign Communists at that time. It was only applied to Russian Communists, but since 1935 and 1936, in particular, they have been applying that law also to relatives of foreign Communists that happened to live in Russia at the time.

The State Department took action on the matter in December of 1938 but with no results thus far.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Zack—

Mr. ZACK (continuing). My wife and child are held in this case as hostages, expecting good behavior on my part as a result of that, but I have tired of trying to cash in on the promises in this case on the part of Stalin.

I do not expect any better treatment, or worse treatment for my family whether I tell about the manipulations or not, so I have made up my mind that it is my duty to fight this kind of a movement and disregard their efforts to keep my family as hostages.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you are to be congratulated Mr. Zack, for that resolution. It shows a lot of courage on your part. That is the only way we can get the facts, when men like you, who have been in the movement and are fully acquainted with its activities and manipulations come here. It is natural that we are not going to get any facts from Browder or Foster; they are going to tell us as little as they can unless they are confronted by documentary evidence of a character they cannot evade.

Mr. ZACK. You are correct on that.

The CHAIRMAN. And we do not want anything but the truth. However, we only want the facts from you.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, as you previously testified, your son was born in New York and is an American citizen.

Mr. ZACK. Right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your repeated efforts to get your wife and son back to this country have all been fruitless to date?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the only conclusion you can put on that situation is that they are being held as hostages, as a club over your head so you will not do anything unfavorable to the Communist Party or to Stalinist regime?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Zack, recently—Mr. Chairman, Mr. Zack has the letter which he referred to, the letter that he received about 1935 or 1936. Is that correct?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That letter he will introduce later in connection with another part of his testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is the letter he mentioned a while ago?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is correct.

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, will you explain to the committee the policy and the strategy and the objectives of the Communist Party in its work in the trade-union field?

Mr. ZACK. Well, the work of the Communist Party in the trade-union field is directed by a center located in Moscow called the Red Trade Union International. That is, it was directed by them until a few years ago. The Red Trade Union International, or the present trade-union committee of the Comintern, have as their objective to use the trade-unions for their own political purposes.

Now, in order to do that they cannot come to the public and say, "We want to use them for political purposes." They have to come in and prey on the grievances, actual grievances——

The CHAIRMAN. You mean prey on the grievances of the workers?

Mr. ZACK. On the grievances of workmen in the particular trade they want to work in.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. ZACK. And pretend that they are making those grievances, sponsoring those grievances, in order to get anywhere, and establish influence, and have influence upon one or another group of workers.

But, of course, their main objective in the matter is to obtain political influence over these masses and organization control.

You will notice that the trade-union policies of the Communist Party changed each time their general line changed. At one time they favored organizing what was known as dual unions outside the American Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Have a split with the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. ZACK. Right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Instead of a union of their own?

Mr. ZACK. Correct. Then they changed the policy of the party from within the American Federation of Labor to American Federation of Labor split. At first advocated that there should be no split, and when they received instructions from Moscow they took the effort to control inside the American Federation of Labor into the C. I. O. because they were instructed to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they received instructions to split the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. ZACK. Well, they had instructions of a split of the American Federation of Labor away back in 1922, but they changed their methods as to how to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Since that time they changed their efforts as to how to bring about that objective?

Mr. ZACK. Correct. While this in general is the objective in the trade-union movement—I may illustrate, for instance, the matter by saying that Hitler claimed he wanted the Sudetenland Germans in order to unite the Sudetenland Germans with the other Germans, but his real objective was to take over a part of Czechoslovakia.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. ZACK. And in this case they pretended to sponsor grievances of the workmen, but their real objective was to obtain political control for their own purposes over these workmen, and whatever

changes of policy may facilitate those objectives and at the same time serve the Stalinist government, why, of course, they changed the policy.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Zack—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a second, Mr. Whitley. Let me clear up one point if I may.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that effort was in accord with orders from Moscow to leave the American Federation of Labor, those who were with the C. I. O., and unite with the C. I. O.

Mr. ZACK. Most of them left their union; not all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of them stayed in the A. F. of L.?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; some of them stayed in the American Federation of Labor, with the idea of getting more organizational control within one particular trade-union, and then withdrawing it.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the ones who stayed in the A. F. of L. did so for the purpose of waiting until they had complete control of certain unions in the A. F. of L., and then taking them over to the C. I. O.?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what was the strategy of going over to the C. I. O.? That is what I do not understand—why they wanted to go over to the C. I. O.

Mr. ZACK. Well, the strategy in this case, I think, was a very obvious one. The C. I. O. had a policy of organizing certain strategic industries, which could not be organized through the craft unions of the American Federation of Labor. However, the C. I. O., by organizing on an industrial basis, offered the opportunity of penetrating those industries under respectable auspices. So, for instance, the Communist Party hardly ever succeeded to organize the automobiles, the automobile industry, or rubber, or several others. Well, them doing it through the C. I. O. made it possible for them to do what before they could not.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they tried, as Communists, to organize the automobile industry and the rubber industry and the steel industry. Was it true with reference to steel?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Which were key industries, but they were unable to do so?

Mr. ZACK. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. And the C. I. O. offered them an opportune method of doing what they had failed to do as Communists?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So most of them went over to the C. I. O.?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, right in that connection, when they went into these new industries—I do not mean “new” from the standpoint of age, but from the standpoint of organization—like the rubber industry and the steel and the automobile, did the Communists furnish trained organizers and officials?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; the Communists had, as a result of their boring from within and as a result of organizing so-called dual unions, trained several thousand of actives in the various industries and those several thousand actives—

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say; actors?

Mr. ZACK. Actives.

The CHAIRMAN. Actives?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Active labor agitators?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. ZACK. Men that knew something about how to organize in the trade-union field. And when the C. I. O. branched out to organize the industries, it could avail itself of these several thousand persons that had experience in organizing, you see, and which now could become very effective, because they were received under popular auspices, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they had the training, the background necessary?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They were trained agitators?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, they had an opportunity, under the popular auspices, really to do effective work?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And the C. I. O. aided them?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Because the C. I. O. lacked trained organizers in these heavy industries they had never organized before?

Mr. ZACK. Yes—it did not have them in such large numbers.

The CHAIRMAN. It only had a few?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason I ask that is because that substantiates testimony we have previously heard.

Mr. MASON. Would you put it this way, that the C. I. O. furnished respectability to Communist organizers and agitators, while the Communist organizers and agitators furnished the power to get organized to the C. I. O.? That was an exchange, you might say?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; it was a bargain necessitated by the conditions at the time. Of course, the C. I. O. leaders thought they were going to utilize the Communists, and the Communists thought they were going to utilize the C. I. O. I once said, in a discussion of the matter, that the C. I. O. leaders are mistaken, that Stalin followers do not work for John L. Lewis; they only work for Joe Stalin. And, in due time, they will find that out.

Mr. MASON. Well, they have begun to find that out already, have they not, in some instances?

Mr. ZACK. I hope so.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Zack, awhile ago you mentioned what was done with their unions; you said the Communists took their unions so and so and so. I wish you would just explain a little bit what you mean by "their unions."

Mr. ZACK. Well, during the so-called dual union period, the Communist Party had organized what they called "industrial unions." Most of these unions were affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League, but many of them were not affiliated; they were formally independent, but indirectly controlled by the Communist Party.

When they decided to change their policy and affiliate with the American Federation of Labor they, through the party organization, instructed the leaders of these unions, which were Communist Party members, to disperse these independent unions and have them join the various trade and craft unions of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, in other words, they just broke up the organization that they had and then individual members went and joined the established unions, you mean?

Mr. ZACK. Correct. There was a bloc arrangement behind that, you see.

Mr. VOORHIS. I see.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let us get the development. So that when the C. I. O. broke away, the Communists were instructed from Moscow to break away also, and go with the C. I. O.?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And they had at that time several thousand well-trained agitators; is that right?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. So that these several thousand being Communists, they are actually agents of the Soviet Union; is that not true?

Mr. ZACK. They are.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, they are serving the interests of the Moscow Government, are they not?

Mr. ZACK. They are; they certainly are. And if some of them don't know it, well they are exceptionally dumb.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, take a union, say, of four or five million American people; the overwhelming majority of them are non-Communists, are they not?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. But the Communists get the key positions; is that correct?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Because of the fact they are well trained?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. They manage to act as an organized group inside and with that method they can obtain domination of many thousands with a few dozen.

Mr. VOORHIS. We have had testimony here denying that the Communist Party still used the fraction method of organization. Is that true, or not?

Mr. ZACK. The Communist Party cannot use any other method except the method of using its members in every particular organization in the most efficient manner to obtain their objective, and that means to do it through the fractions.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, testimony to that effect would not be accurate?

Mr. ZACK. That is only applesauce, if I may say.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, as I understand it from your testimony, then, the policies and objectives of the Communist Party in the trade-union work in this country have nothing whatever to do with the conditions in this country, or the needs of the particular union involved; those policies and the strategy used are all determined by the political needs of the Soviet Government? Is that correct?

Mr. ZACK. They have only to do with conditions to the extent that they have to utilize the conditions for the purpose of influencing the mass workers for their political objectives.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, they will take a popular issue or condition to disguise the real purpose of their activities and, under the guise of trying to sponsor or promote that issue within the union, they will get the sympathy and the following of the individuals in that organization?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. Well, they will utilize, for instance, a condition of mass unemployment and inadequate relief for the purpose of getting the masses on their side, and then use them for whatever purpose politically they want, you see. For instance, now a short while ago, they hollered from the roof tops that this country should go to war against the Nazis. Well, whatever influence they had, they would use for that purpose at that time. Now it is the contrary: now they are saying that all wars are imperialistic wars, as long as Russia is not on the same side, you see. So, now, they will use the influence that they obtained, let us say, from unemployment or other categories of the masses that have grievances—they will now use that for the purpose of helping out the new Nazi-Soviet combination by keeping any help away from the Allies, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, to state it correctly, now that it is to the interest of the Soviet Government that the United States not aid France and England or any other foe or opponent of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party in the United States, with its numerous contacts in labor organizations and wherever they are—their whole strategy will be to use all of that influence to cripple the United States in the event of war; is not that true?

Mr. ZACK. Correct; oh, sure.

The CHAIRMAN. So that is a serious condition when a large labor organization has on its board of directors Communists and in key positions Communists—is not that a serious and critical situation we are facing in this country?

Mr. ZACK. It certainly is.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not time that the responsible leaders should take some decisive action to satisfy the American people they are not going to stand for that kind of thing?

Mr. ZACK. I think they should; but I am afraid that the American public does not understand this proposition and they would probably mistake it; that is, they don't yet understand that Stalin's political leaders in this country have objectives different from the ones that the masses have, you see.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would you say, Mr. Zack, an accurate statement would be to state that the foreign policy which is advocated by the Communists for the United States to follow is not determined by what is necessarily in the American interest, but is determined altogether by what is in the interests of Soviet Russia?

Mr. ZACK. Correct—exclusively by the interests of the Russian Government.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, can you cite an instance or example of use of a strike for Russian purposes? Would you say, for instance, that the Gastonia strike was a good example of using a strike for political purposes of the Soviet Government?



Mr. ZACK. Well, no. They use strikes, in this case, for purpose of increasing their influence—an influence which they will later on use for whatever purposes. And the strike in this case might have been an actual necessity; I mean the low pay of the workers in that case caused these workers to respond to the strike, and the Communist Party used the strike to increase their influence in that particular territory. It may not have been specifically at that time for what you call a Russian purpose; it may have been just for the purpose of increasing their influence which, later on, they can use for the Russian purpose, you see?

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, because the Communists attempt to take advantage of a situation and do the best they can with it does not necessarily mean there are not a great many things that need to be corrected in that situation?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. From the standpoint of perfectly good democratic interests of the people?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What I cannot understand from your testimony and the testimony of other witnesses is why, with the known facts that have not been disputed, because this committee wrote to Mr. Brophy and told him if he wanted to deny any of these facts, he would be accorded ample opportunity to come before the committee and testify under oath and dispute Gitlow's testimony on the Communist Party, but we have never heard from him—and how long ago was it we sent word to him?

Mr. WHITLEY. Several weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. And what I cannot understand is why these responsible leaders who are not Communists—Mr. Lewis is not a Communist, and never was a Communist during the time you were connected with the party?

Mr. ZACK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, why is it that the responsible leaders, knowing they have several thousand Communists in important positions; that is, as organizers, officials, and so on, and so forth—why is it they do not take some action to clean house and get rid of the Communists in their ranks?

Mr. ZACK. Because they think they can utilize the Communists and then dispose of them whenever they wish to, which, of course, remains to be seen. I think if Mr. Lewis will make an attempt to get rid of the members of Stalin's organization he will find it not so easy, because they are in control of about 11 of his national organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Eleven of his organizations.

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, if it is dangerous to have Communists occupying key positions in labor organizations, is it not also dangerous for them to occupy key positions in the Government?

Mr. ZACK. Well, wherever they are, they work for Joe Stalin only; I can assure you of that. They don't work for anybody else, wherever they are, whether in the Government, or unions, or any other place.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think there is any question about that, because even Foster and Browder both admitted if a member of the

party does not follow the party line he is expelled. There is no question about that, is there?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. If the Communist Party of the United States and the members of the Communist Party do not follow the orders that come from the Communist International, they are expelled from the Communist International, are they not?

Mr. ZACK. They certainly are. They are even expelled if they are only suspected of not following.

The CHAIRMAN. If they are only suspected?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the discipline is so rigid that every member of the Communist Party, no matter what position he occupies, whether in the Government, labor unions, front organizations, or what not, must obey the orders of Stalin; is that right?

Mr. ZACK. Must obey the general line.

The CHAIRMAN. The general line?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would not this be a pretty accurate way to put it: That the Communist Party of the United States cannot remain affiliated with the Communist International unless it follows the Communist International line, and a member of the Communist Party of the United States cannot remain a member of the Communist Party of the United States unless he follows the directions of the Communist Party, which, in turn, are dictated by the Communist International?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; that is correct; but they may become formally disassociated for convenience and still follow their policies.

Mr. VOORHIS. I wanted to ask you, Mr. Zack, whether you can make any practical suggestions as to how to find out just who are Communists and who are not?

Mr. ZACK. How to find out? Well, the most reliable way to do that is to see whether any individual goes along with the general line over a period of time.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. ZACK. For instance, it is impossible for an individual to have sponsored all the democracies going to war at once against the Nazis, say, and today to sponsor the opposite, unless he is a soldier, a political soldier, you see.

Mr. MASON. In other words, we are to judge them by their actions over a period of time, rather than by their words or protestations?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; that is a most certain indication, because no normal person—

Mr. MASON. Would change over that quick on a fundamental problem?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; because anybody who has a brain, instead of only a receiving set to receive orders, will certainly, if he is convinced of one thing, not go along with the other thing overnight.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, here was the League for Peace and Democracy going around all over the country denouncing fascism and nazi-ism; in all their conventions that was the only thing they denounced.

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And then when the Soviet Government made this pact with Germany and the Communist Parties in the United States and throughout the world came out in defense of the pact, the American League also came out in defense of it, did it not?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And how could there possibly be any sincere change of policy, except they were following the party line of Moscow?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And how can people remain in the American league, people who hold positions of responsibility in this Government, and in labor unions and in labor organizations—how can they stay in this league when they have had the evidence, and for a year they have had the evidence, that the league is nothing but a Communist organization?

Mr. ZACK. They must be members of the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or sympathetic to it, anyway?

Mr. ZACK. Or maybe unofficial members.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have unofficial members of the party?

Mr. ZACK. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, people who hold, say, a Government job, or any job where they would be likely to be fired, when they join, they join unofficially; is that right?

Mr. ZACK. They will not attend any unit meetings where other people are present; they will only report to certain officials that they are connected with.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it the general practice, Mr. Zack, in the party, for members to hide their identities and to use false names or so-called "party" names?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is a general practice?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. Since 1932 every party member has an assumed name and the party books are issued to him in his assumed name.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is what is known as a "party" name?

Mr. ZACK. Right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, very often a front organization, or labor or trade-union organization, when an accusation or statement is made that it is controlled or dominated by the Communist Party, denies it on the basis that there is such a small percentage of Communists in the organization, the defense being that they could not possibly control this organization, when just a few, 4 or 5 or 6 percent of the total membership, are Communists.

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you explain to the committee how the Communist Party goes out and gets control of a trade union with a very small percentage of the membership—just how it performs that modern miracle of strategy?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. Well, you can take a trade union of 5,000 members, let us say, and out of the 5,000 the average number that will come to the trade-union meeting may be two or three hundred, you see. Those two or three hundred are the ones that actually vote upon the every-day business of the union. Now, these two or three hundred are all individuals, except the Communists; they are not individuals; they will act as a compact body, you see; whereas the 300 that come, each of them will vote individually according to what he

likes or dislikes, the 15 members of the party will vote as a unit. Plus those 15 men, they will have influence, let us say, over 15 or 20 more, and they will organize them as what has become known as "fellow travelers." So that you will then have a block of 30 to 35 individuals. These 30 to 35 individuals will not be known as a Communist group, but they will act concertedly in favor of a certain proposition. Various individuals in different parts of the hall will rise and speak in favor of that proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Zack, I think that is a most astounding situation and presents, I think, a very dangerous situation—that here are hundreds of Government employees members of front organizations that we know by absolute indisputable evidence for more than a year, or for a year, it has been disclosed that those organizations were controlled by the Communist Party, and here they are occupying key positions in this Government and yet they have not withdrawn from those organizations; they are still members of them. And, under your testimony, it leaves a very grave question as to whether they are not also members openly and knowingly of the Communist Party, whether officially or unofficially.

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that being true, they are, in effect, agents of Stalin, in a position to hurt our country in this political situation, and Stalin seems to be nothing but a bedfellow of Hitler. So it looks like, from your testimony—and you have been in this movement a long time and ought to know what you are talking about—that we have a very critical situation. Is that correct?

Mr. ZACK. You have. Most likely many of those officials, however, joined up with them at a time when they were favoring the policies of the Government. Now that they are changing their policy, these officials will probably quit, or have.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I would have thought they would have quit a year ago when we, by the most competent testimony, brought out the facts, when the people who promoted these organizations testified to the facts, and yet the Chair has absolute evidence that they have not quit. So it raises a serious question, under your testimony, as to whether or not these people are not in fact Communists.

Mr. ZACK. Yes. If they still stick with them after such a face-about and preach the exact opposite of what they preached yesterday, well, then, they must be, of course, members unofficially of the party and carrying out the party's orders.

The CHAIRMAN. And really the only way we can tell they are unofficial members is by their following the party line; because they have no record—they keep no record, at least—that anybody can get of the membership?

Mr. ZACK. They keep records of the membership, but you could not get them; I mean those are kept secretly.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, there is one way to clarify this whole thing. Browder swore that he had 100,000 members, and Foster said that was correct. Now, if the Communist Party of America wants to cooperate, and will give us a statement showing exactly who are the members, how many are engaged as Government officials, how many are members of labor unions, and how many are labor organizers, and will make that information available to this committee in an accurate list, we can, once for all, clarify this grave situation.

If we can find out how many belong to their organization, and the front organizations, like the League for Peace and Democracy and the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, or how many of them are Communists and how long they have been Communists, it seems to the Chair that we can take some action to expel them from the Government service and from labor unions.

Mr. ZACK. I am sure you will never get such a list.

The CHAIRMAN. They will never submit such a list?

Mr. ZACK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The next best thing, if they state to the committee, after this committee has been trying desperately to get the facts, that they belong to the organization, or have joined organizations organized by the Communist Party and controlled by the Communist Party—the next best thing is to take that list and use it as evidence of their Communist views.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continue with your explanation of how a very small minority of Communists in trade unions gain control of the policies and dominate the union. You have explained how only a small percentage of the membership attend the meetings, and how the Communists form a bloc or group in the union.

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Suppose you continue with that.

Mr. ZACK. We will say there are 15 Communists, with their fellow travelers, who act as a bloc in the meeting, whereas everyone else will act individually. When they come to nominate people for office, they, of course, figure out who to nominate beforehand, whereas the others will not agree among themselves. The others will want to run each individual for some office, we will say, and they will disagree, whereas those 35, we will say, will have agreed upon a particular slate of officers. They will nominate them, and will propagandize for their slate of officers, so when they come up for election, that organized group—

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it a fraction?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir. They are more or less ably directed, and they usually take good advantage of grievances that may exist at the time. That will get them into the offices. Once they get in office they will use the means of the union as a whole to further their purposes in various ways and to entrench themselves in the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. They increase their strength as a result of occupying key positions?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where does the party get its finances for carrying on their trade-union activities? Are they financed by subsidies from outside of the United States or subsidies from the Comintern?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir. The top organization, the Trade Unity League, used to be maintained entirely from subsidies, because the affiliated unions did not have any part in the activities. So the top organization, or what was known as the national committee of the Trade Unity League, had its publications, representatives, etc. They received their pay from subsidies received from Moscow. Also, in certain industries in which the Comintern was particularly interested, they would assign a budget. Let us say that to the maritime industry they would assign \$10,000 a year for activities in that field; in

the railroad industry they would assign, let us say, \$5,000; and to the mining industry, say, \$25,000 or \$50,000.

Mr. WHITLEY. That money would only be sent for that particular work from the Comintern?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir. That is where no money has been raised for the activity in this country.

Mr. WHITLEY. You can go ahead and discuss the trade-union policies and strategies in your own way, making a presentation that you think may be of interest to the committee.

Mr. ZACK. Well, I do not know what angle particularly you may be interested in, and there is so much to discuss in this field.

Mr. MASON. Personally, I would be interested in the objectives of the Communist Party through their trade-union activities.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right, will you explain that?

Mr. ZACK. The objectives of the Communist Party are to establish in this country the same kind of totalitarian government that exists in Russia. It is the Russian form of government that dominates the ideal model for every member of the Communist Party to be applied in every country. That is, the Government should take over all industry, expropriate the private owners, and the Government would dominate the labor unions and expropriate the workers from their rights.

On the one hand they would expropriate the capitalists of their capital and property, and, on the other hand, they would expropriate the workers of their rights. Of course, that is the only thing the workers own. That is the only right that belongs to them, and under that particular set up, if you would take that right away, they have nothing left. In fact, the whole society, the social and political organization, is merged into a government, which is a bureaucratic democracy, which is also based on a one-party system. Since such a system would not work, because the various officeholders would tend to disagree among themselves, you have the party organized on the basis of a top dictator who appoints lower dictators, and they, in turn, appoint still lower ones. Therefore, you have an absolutely rigid control. Of course, some people think that it is socialism in Russia, and that it had its beginning in direct socialism, but what you have in Russia is really one of the most vicious forms of state capitalism, minus capitalists and minus the rights of workers. The Communist Party in the various countries, including the one in the United States, wants to do exactly that.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they use trade unions as one of the means of attaining that objective?

Mr. ZACK. The trade unions they use as one of the most strategic means for that purpose, because the trade unions give decisive effect to economic functions in all industries and in economics generally. Therefore, they consider it more important than, for instance, just some propaganda front organization, like the League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. WHITLEY. To what extent is the Communist Party in its trade-union activities actually interested in promoting the welfare and interest of the working classes who are union members? Have they any real interest in accomplishing that?

Mr. ZACK. So far as the interest of the workers is concerned, that is incidental with them. They will utilize their grievances in order to

obtain political influence. How incidental it is to them could be illustrated on the basis of what happened to the workers in Russia. The workers of Russia, after this government bureaucracy, were gradually expropriated from all of their rights. They have nothing whatsoever to say over wages or over industry generally. They work, instead of for an individual owner, or for individual capitalist owners, for the government. They work for the government which owns all the means of production. The government dictates to labor the intensity of labor and the price of the goods that they buy, and, of course, it manipulates the volume of money very arbitrarily—so much so that the condition of the workers has been materially declining in Russia continually.

Mr. VOORHIS. Can you give some concrete example of that?

Mr. ZACK. Well, there is, for instance, this: When you say that the pay that an average workman received was 64 rubles per month, and that that workman now receives 180 rubles per month, yet the ruble was worth about five times as much at that time as its present value; so that the actual material value of the ruble today is about one-fifth of what it was formerly. The Daily Worker will each time say that workers in Russia are receiving 9 percent, 15 percent, or 20 percent more, but they will not say that the value of the ruble has declined by much more than that; so that the same worker who receives now 180 rubles per month will be actually getting in value only about 30 or 40 rubles per month in comparison with the value of the ruble in 1928, let us say. That is because they have nothing to say about the whole business. They cannot protect themselves. They cannot strike. They have no rights. Then, they have in Russia what is known as the internal-passport system whereby you cannot move from one locality to another in the same country without special permission. On that passport they specify their conduct in the factory where they have been working, so that if you are on the black list, you will be unable to get the kind of a job that you would have been able to get otherwise.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do they have assessments on workers for various purposes?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. How are they levied, or how do they determine the amount? I mean to say who decides how much these assessments are to be?

Mr. ZACK. That is decided entirely by the Government or by the Communist Party. In reality it is decided by Stalin.

Mr. WHITLEY. How is that passed down, or how is it done?

Mr. ZACK. It is simply imposed, like the check-off assessment. The assessment is checked off from their pay. That is all there is to it. You do not receive it in your pay envelope.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you finished with that?

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to bring out the point of whether the workers know the plans. They do not have any chance to have any meetings to decide if they want to have an assessment made for certain purposes, do they?

Mr. ZACK. Sometimes they go through the ceremonial of presenting plans in meetings, but it is not healthy for anybody to vote against a Government proposition.

Mr. DEMPSEY. In answer to Mr. Voorhis' question, when he asked who levied the assessments, you said it was the Communist Party, which was the government. Do I understand from you that the Communist Party and the government are one and the same?

Mr. ZACK. Absolutely.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What about the American Communist Party? Is that a part of the Government of Russia, too?

Mr. ZACK. The American Communist Party is not a part of the Russian Government, because it is not in Russia. But otherwise it is.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Is it subservient to the Russian Government?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; it certainly is.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Where is the allegiance of the Communist Party? To what government does it give allegiance, the Soviet Government or the United States Government?

Mr. ZACK. The Soviet Government. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Suppose you take several large industrial centers in this country, where there are a number of active Communist fractions in the various industries in an industrial center like Detroit, for instance, where they probably have Communist groups active in 40 or 50 industries. In each one of these industries the Communist fractions or groups carry out their policies in the trade-unions. Now, where do those fractions get their orders? How do they get their instructions and the plans they are to follow in their own particular industries?

Mr. ZACK. They get their instructions from the district headquarters, or from representatives from some bureaus for special actions. They would come from the political bureau. That would be from New York, or from a representative from New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. That would be in special cases?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; special cases, in internal strikes, and so forth. That is where they get their instructions. Of course, in New York, at the headquarters, there are delegates of the Comintern, who are the ones who really decide the business.

Mr. WHITLEY. You will go into that when you discuss the relations between the Comintern and the party in this country. The point I want to bring out is that the Communist Party fractions in the various industries do not determine their own policies or the procedure they will follow, but they get orders or instructions from district headquarters, and when they have an important problem they have instructions from a representative from the political bureau.

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir. They are allowed to decide peanuts or the small stuff, but not anything of any consequence.

Mr. WHITLEY. They get their orders when they make important decisions in this country?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. They get orders from the district headquarters, and the district in turn, if it is an important matter, receives instructions from the political bureau at the Communist headquarters?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you name some of the organizers you referred to a moment ago who go around the country, confer with, and give instructions to the fractions on important matters?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; there is Jack Stachel.



Mr. WHITLEY. He is the executive secretary of the party?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; at the present time. Then there is William Z. Foster, and a man by the name of Gebert.

Mr. WHITLEY. They are traveling representatives who go around to them on these different problems?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; and there are others.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you want to name some others?

Mr. ZACK. I do not remember all of them on the spot.

Mr. WHITNEY. Does the party, in carrying out its trade-union policies, ever resort to terrorism or strong-arm tactics in accomplishing its purposes?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir. They do not believe in being soft. Whenever they need to use, or can use, roughneck tactics, they do it. They used to have a combat squad in various trade-unions who would go out and beat up either their opponents or scabs. I think you have heard of cases like that of Juliet Stewart Poyntz who was done away with by them.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, if strong-arm methods or violence will serve their purposes, they use them?

Mr. ZACK. The more power they have, the more they use it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Frequently we have had references to the Communist Party securing control or domination over unions, and the statement is made that they clean out the treasuries. Do you know of any instance where that was done, or can you explain how that is done? In other words, where they use the treasury of a particular trade-union for their own political propaganda or activities.

Mr. ZACK. Well, you see, if you have control of the actual leadership of a union, you also have the technical staff that handles the accounts in the union offices, and you can do very many things.

The CHAIRMAN. Even though the membership is 98 percent non-Communist? In other words, the membership may not be Communist to any extent.

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But they would have the key positions, and would be able to do whatever they wanted to do?

Mr. ZACK. You could draw a lot of money, or practically the whole treasury of the union, and use it as a loan for 6 months, or draw it by installments. They have both direct and indirect means. Direct means would be where you voted a donation to an organization. An indirect means would be to say you will use it to buy literature, and put it on the bill of the union, without specifying it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of instances where those procedures are being followed?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; they have been followed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you cite a particular instance as an illustration of that?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir. They used to do that in the case of furriers and food workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is where they were engaged actively in union work?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir. They have become even more proficient since.

The CHAIRMAN. You got out in 1934?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Communist Party occupying half a dozen strategic positions in a union can dominate that union, even though 98 percent of the membership is not communistic, based on the Communist Party figures?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Once they get in key positions—

Mr. ZACK (interposing). They can do that as long as the American public at large is not wise to their methods. Their methods are not known to the average American, and he cannot get wise to them unless he goes through a lot of experience and education. I know of some unions, among them, for instance, the transport workers, or the New York subway workers, where it would be impossible for them to dominate the union. You have people there who have begun to understand their methods.

Mr. VOORHIS. Taking it from the standpoint of the union itself, suppose there is a situation in which certain policies should be followed for the sake of the welfare of the members of the union, but those policies happen to conflict with the current party line for some reason: Would the Communist Party members of that union have to follow the party line in such a case?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, the union would have very poor reliance there if they depended upon any element of loyalty on the part of members of the Communist Party who were members of the Union?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say that in the trade-union work, the Communist Party is interested in certain industries. They have a particular interest in certain industries?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In organizing and getting strength in the industry?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you give some reason for that?

Mr. ZACK. They were always interested particularly in the maritime industry. That is a strategic industry from the point of view of both equipment and national communications. It is also because that at the present time the operation of the equipment in peacetime also becomes the operation in wartimes. They would use the same personnel for operation in wartime. It is also because of the great importance and value of the equipment in this case, and the importance of the industry. They spend more on the maritime industry both in this country and in other countries than in any other industry or several of the industries put together. They started with the maritime industry before they did anything else in any other industries as far back as 1921 in this country. Of course, the next to that in interest used to be the railroads.

The CHAIRMAN. The railroads in the country?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; means of communication, radio, and so forth.

Mr. WHITLEY. And cables?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; cables.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about munitions?

Mr. ZACK. It would cover telephones, and so forth. From the viewpoint of their ultimate strategy, for instance, in the case of a social upheaval, where they could get into control, those are the industries that would play the key role. They decide their strategy in the unions from the point of view of their ultimate objectives, and from the point of view of manning the communication service, whether it would be on land or sea, in the air, or by wire. That would play a primary role.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the Comintern dictate the industries in which the party in these countries is to be particularly active in organizing?

Mr. ZACK. It certainly does.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the Comintern instructions to the Communist Party in this country are that they must try to get control of the maritime trade unions, the communication services, and so forth.

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the party in this country is carrying out the ideas and policies of the Comintern?

Mr. ZACK. The party in this country does not do anything that is important without instructions, but they do it upon instructions received in various ways, either secretly or semisecretly, or through personal delegates that are sent from there.

The CHAIRMAN. From where?

Mr. ZACK. From Moscow, and they see that those instructions are carried out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the Communist Party use its connections with the trade-unions of the various industries for the purpose of carrying on espionage activities? For instance, if the Soviet Government wanted to obtain some industrial secret, and sent its agents over here for that purpose, would they utilize those Communist Party connections with the trade-unions in the industries to help procure such a secret?

Mr. ZACK. The Soviet Government will utilize its American organization for whatever purpose they find convenient or necessary at all times, and the officials of the Communist Party will, if they venture to tell the truth—they cannot tell you anything else.

Of course, that does not mean that every member of the Communist Party can be used for certain purposes, but there are secret organizations that manage to pick out individuals out of the ranks of the Communist Party to use for that purpose.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any specific instances in which they have used their trade-union connection to obtain industrial secrets?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. While I was in charge of the Trade Union Unity League I was once asked to supply an engineer, a chemist, who would personally have qualifications capable, and let us say, talk to other engineers higher in the profession than himself, in this instance, specifically, certain engineers of du Pont. I was asked to do that by Max Bedacht, who was then in charge of this phase of their secret activity. Well, I recommended a certain individual, and I was asked to meet the G. P. U. agent in charge of this branch

of their activities, and I introduced him to him. Anything that happened after that I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, in this instance, you, as head of the T. U. U. L., were asked to select a man who could get into a certain industry, obviously for a specific purpose, which, in this instance, you know was industrial espionage or to get some secret?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; to obtain a commercial secret, which in wartime would be of importance for any war purposes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the party in this country cooperate in that manner in munitions plants and airplane factories, using its members who are in those industries to get secrets of the industries, which are transmitted to the Soviet Government?

Mr. ZACK. I wish I could impress you gentlemen sufficiently with the fact that the Communist Party in this country will and does do everything which they think will serve their ideal, that is, the Russian Government, it does not matter what.

As I said, they cannot use the same individual for everything, so they will select individuals, just as you would in any other undertaking where you have to have individuals fit for a particular purpose.

But their allegiance and obligation, and theory and methods, et cetera, et cetera, is at the use and command of what is known as the Russian Government, and the party that runs the Russian Government. There is no one who can truthfully maintain the contrary and prove it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you happen to know approximately how many communistic agents, citizens of Russia, are in this country, usually?

Mr. ZACK. No; I do not.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you know how many of them are here for educational purposes?

Mr. ZACK. Well, originally, they used to send around Russians to the various parties, but in the last 10 years they cut down on that because they trained non-Russians in the various schools in Moscow to perform the functions originally performed by Communists outside of Russia.

Mr. DEMPSEY. If you know, how many, approximately, Communist agents do you have?

Mr. ZACK. You mean in the Communist Party?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes.

Mr. ZACK. Oh, I do not think—

Mr. DEMPSEY. Who are aliens.

Mr. ZACK. I do not think more than 20 percent of the present membership are noncitizens.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you think 20 percent are noncitizens?

Mr. ZACK. About that many.

Mr. DEMPSEY. They are citizens of other countries?

Mr. ZACK. They are citizens of other countries.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Have not taken out their papers here?

Mr. ZACK. Either took out their first papers, or did not take out any papers at all.

(Thereupon the committee proceeded to executive business, after which a recess was taken until 1 p. m. this day.)

#### AFTER RECESS

The committee reassembled, pursuant to the taking of recess, at 1 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

## TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH ZACK—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order. Will you proceed, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, you mentioned this morning that at the time the C. I. O. was formed 11 unions controlled by Communists were taken by the Communist Party out of the A. F. of L. and joined the C. I. O.

Can you name those unions for us?

Mr. ZACK. Well, they were at the time unknown with the names they carry now.

The CHAIRMAN. What are they now?

Mr. ZACK. They were the furriers, who are now affiliated with the C. I. O.; the independent transport workers, who were formed as a maritime union originally and then affiliated with the Brotherhood of Railway Car Men, et cetera, et cetera, and then taken out of there and affiliated with the C. I. O., and they are known as the C. I. O. Transport, the National Maritime Workers, and then the Maritime Workers Industrial Union.

There is the Auto Workers Union, which later on became the United Automobile Workers.

There is the United Electrical and Radio, which was formed out of a number of independent unions, and the Metal Workers Industrial Union, a T. U. U. L. organization. There is the Office Workers, which the party had an independent union in before.

Mr. WHITLEY. And is now the United Office and Professional Workers of America?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. There was a union of agricultural workers out in the West, which later became the United Cannery or something or other.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Agricultural Packing and Allied Workers of America?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about the furniture workers?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; the furniture workers—they have a furniture workers' industrial union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now?

Mr. ZACK. Went into the C. I. O. and broke away and became the United Furniture Workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. What about communications?

Mr. ZACK. The Communications Association, which formerly was radiotelegraphers.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know the present name of that organization?

Mr. ZACK. The American Communications Association.

There was an independent union also of chemists, technicians, and engineers which originated from an independent union in the municipal service in New York, and was gotten control of by the Communists, and out of which came the present Chemical Engineers and Technicians Association.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians?

Mr. ZACK. That is it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that the organization that Sherer is the head of?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; he is the head of that organization, or—

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of that?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that now affiliated with the C. I. O.?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the steel workers?

Mr. ZACK. Well, the Communists have a few branches of the steel industry, formerly affiliated with the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union. These branches have all very active personnel in the steel areas, and later on joined the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and this body was taken over by the C. I. O. and formed into the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, as it exists today.

The CHAIRMAN. The Steel Workers Organizing Committee as it exists today?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Which is affiliated with the C. I. O.?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any others? I think you have named 10 or 11.

Mr. ZACK. Yes; there is several others that I cannot recall at this moment. If I saw the names in front of me, I could easily recall all the rest.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Mr. Wyndham Mortimer?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; I do; Mr. Wyndham Mortimer worked in the White motor plant when I was the secretary in Ohio, and he joined the party in 1933. I O. K.'d his application to join the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. You recommended him, or approved him?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his position?

Mr. WHITLEY. What position does he hold now?

Mr. ZACK. He is now one of the leaders in the United Automobile Workers, one of the principal leaders in the Automobile Workers of the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether he is a national director of the C. I. O.?

Mr. ZACK. Whether he is on the national committee of the C. I. O.?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. ZACK. I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Joseph Curran: are you acquainted with him?

Mr. ZACK. Joe Curran from Maritime?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; he was a member of the Maritime Workers Industrial Union before he was in the party group.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was a member of the party?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; so far as I know; at least at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever attended any party meetings with him?

Mr. ZACK. I attended a lot of meetings of the party faction in the Maritime Union, the New York faction, and sometimes also the national party faction. That is what I remember Curran from.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, to the best of your knowledge as a former member, he was in the party any known as a member of the party?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; and he certainly followed all their policies.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his position now?

Mr. ZACK. He is general secretary of the National Maritime Union of the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. And as such he is a member of the board of directors of the C. I. O.?

Mr. ZACK. It may be.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Mr. John Brophy?

Mr. ZACK. Slightly.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what his relations have been to the Communist Party?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; he was working very closely with the party back between 1925 and 1928.

At that time there was an internal fight in the United Mine Workers, and the Comintern invested tremendous amounts of funds to put John L. Lewis out. At one time Brophy was running for president against John L. Lewis. His campaign was organized entirely and directed by the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did they also finance that campaign, to your knowledge?

Mr. ZACK. They certainly did, and no one else did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know the extent to which it was financed, Mr. Zack, of your own knowledge?

Mr. ZACK. Well, I know it was financed at least 90 percent out of resources obtained by the party and the Comintern.

While I was in Moscow representing the Foster faction I was called to the Comintern building and asked by men then in charge of financial subsidies, one by the name of Melinchansky, whether we would approve the Comintern sending an additional \$50,000 for a campaign inside of the United Mine Workers, in view of the factional situation in the party here. They suspected that Lovestone wanted to use it to bolster up his faction instead of using it for the fight in the United Mine Workers.

I said, "Well, I think \$25,000 additional would be enough," and that is what they received.

Mr. WHITLEY. In addition to funds already sent?

Mr. ZACK. In addition to funds already sent.

Mr. WHITLEY. So far as the \$25,000 is concerned, you know where that came from, because you saw it going through?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; I certainly did.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you would say that during the period you refer to Mr. Brophy did follow the party line of the Communist Party very closely?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. As closely as if he had been there?

Mr. ZACK. Certainly.

Mr. WHITLEY. He took orders and followed out their instructions?

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see about that. At that time the Communists were fighting Mr. Lewis and supporting Brophy. What brought about the change of attitude on the part of the Communist Party toward John L. Lewis and the C. I. O.?

Mr. ZACK. That is a pretty good question. The change had nothing to do with either John L. Lewis or the Communist Party, or the conditions of this country.

The change had to do with the fact that Moscow changed its foreign policy from one of the extreme left which at that time was embodied in the slogan, "Class Against Class," to one of cooperation, cooperation with the democracies.

Now a policy of cooperation with the democracies presupposes that you do not continue to fight those that you think you could get on your side by this new policy.

Let us say that in order to apply the policy of what they called the popular front they would make a combination with Daladier in France, or with Blum, or in this country they would make a combination with anyone whom they formerly fought, if they would allow themselves to be used as a pressure group for the objective that Stalin had in mind. His objective was to bring pressure against the Nazis, and to bring pressure against the Nazis it is not sufficient just to have a little Communist Party somewhere. He was in favor of an alliance with France and England and all of the labor leaders of this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Because all of the labor leaders were active anti-Nazis?

Mr. ZACK. That is it. In order to work out a sufficient and formidable front against the Nazis, to force the Nazis into making a deal with Stalin, which he was figuring on all along.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, he was trying to put pressure on the Nazis throughout the world, to force them to enter into an alliance with him?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That being the foreign policy of the Communists throughout the world, to cooperate with the party line?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And when the party line insisted on cooperating with Lewis the Communist Party changed its attitude toward Lewis?

Mr. ZACK. Lewis became a gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. From one of opposition to one of support?

Mr. ZACK. It had nothing to do with anything inside of this country.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Mr. Michael Quill?

Mr. ZACK. Mike Quill was a member of the Independent Transport Workers Union formed by the Communist Party, which, for reasons of camouflage, affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League. Then Michael Quill, when the party policy changed and the party ordered these unions into the American Federation of Labor, he, with his group, went into the American Federation of Labor. But when the party policy changed again, to take them out of the American Federation of Labor, Michael Quill transferred them again.

I only remember Michael Quill from one meeting of the central body of the Trade Union Unity League. I never had any occasion to do any business with him personally, but from what I know through party leaders, he is a party member.

Mr. WHITLEY. To the best of your knowledge as an active party member, you have every reason to believe he is a party member?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Michael Obermeier?



Mr. ZACK. Mike Obermeier is secretary of Local 6 of the International Alliance of Hotel Workers, Bartenders, and so forth. He is a party member since the party was formed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Maryvyn Rathborne?

Mr. ZACK. No; I am not acquainted with Rathborne, but I heard of him while I was in the party as a party member. I had no dealings personally with him as a party member.

Mr. WHITLEY. You heard through party circles and channels that he was a member?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is with the Communications Association?

Mr. ZACK. He is head of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. What about Lewis Weinstock, of the Painters Union?

Mr. ZACK. Lewis Weinstock is a charter party member.

Mr. WHITLEY. And was active throughout the years you were active?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with J. Ruben, president of the New York Hotel Trades Council?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; he is also a party member from the beginning.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe that the New York Hotel Trades Council is an A. F. of L. organization?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; it is an A. F. of L. organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Ben Gold?

Mr. ZACK. Ben Gold is a party member since the party started.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Carey of the Radio and Electrical Workers?

Mr. ZACK. Carey—I know very little of him personally, but I believe he came from a group that was originally organized by the party in the General Electric plant at Schenectady; my opinion is he is a party member, although I do not know from personal experience.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us clear that up a little bit? You believe you have good reasons for saying that?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. You see, the United Electrical and Radio Workers, of which he was the secretary, was formed out of the Metal Workers' Industrial Union and formed into an independent union, organized by the party right after it organized the movement. All individuals that are known as party members have been admitted, and as leading officers, like Metlas, who is one of the principal organizers; like another one, Lustic, and several others, also not much known to the public as organizers, they followed all the various switches of policies that the party has made.

So if Carey is not a party member, he certainly takes instructions.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Have you finished, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY. No; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Marcell Sherier?

Mr. ZACK. Marcell Sherier is a member of the party since the beginning.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his position?

Mr. ZACK. He is, I think, general organizer; he is with the party section of that organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Of that organization?

Mr. ZACK. That is, the United Artists, Chemists, and Professional Workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the Artists, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians?

Now, how about Irving Potashe?

Mr. ZACK. Potashe is a party organizer himself.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have already asked you about Benjamin Gold.

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Brown, president of Typographical Union No. 6; do you know him?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; Emil Brown. He has been elected frequently as president of the Big Six Typographical Union, New York City.

And when I was in charge of the party trade-union activities Brown was only classed as a fellow traveler. He was not then a party member, and I do not know for positive that he is now, but the party organization in that union supported him in his candidacy for president.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about George Addes, of the Automobile Workers? Are you acquainted with him?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. Addes I believe is a party member.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know that of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. ZACK. No; I do not know it only from others.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean from what you heard from other Communist Party members?

Mr. ZACK. From others, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You qualify your answer to that extent?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know personally but you have that information from other members?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about William Albertson, of the Food Workers?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. Albertson is a party member, since, I think, 1924.

Mr. WHITLEY. Sam Kramberg; do you know him, Mr. Zack?

Mr. ZACK. Sam Kramberg is the secretary of Hotel Local No. 16, also of the International Alliance of Hotel and Culinary Workers.

The CHAIRMAN. What does Albertson do?

Mr. ZACK. Albertson is the secretary, Local No. 302, International Alliance of Hotel and Culinary Workers, A. F. of L.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have anything to do with the organization of that group?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; yes; while I was in charge of the party trade-union policies of the organization I appointed him as the editor of the Food Workers, although he is not a Food Worker, later with the support of the party fraction, became the secretary of that union.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Sam Kramberg. Do you know him, Mr. Zack?

Mr. ZACK. Sam Kramberg is the secretary of Hotel Local No. 16; also of the International Alliance of Culinary Workers. He was my treasurer while I was secretary of the trade-union movement and a member of the party since 1923.

Mr. WHITLEY. Since 1923?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I hope to have that list of directors of the C. I. O. in a few minutes, Mr. Zack.

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Harry Bridges? Do you know anything about him?

Mr. ZACK. Harry Bridges—I never met Harry Bridges, personally, but Earl Browder, who was in Frisco during the big strike in 1934, on his way back to New York, he stopped in Cleveland, and he told me that he spent about 4 weeks in Frisco, and the main man there for the party is Harry Bridges.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was Mr. Browder's own statement to you?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now you have named a number of unions that the party controls and took out of the A. F. of L. and affiliated with the C. I. O.

In addition to those named, can you tell me what the status of the following organizations are, Mr. Zack, that is, whether they are subject to party control and, if so, to what extent?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The United Electrical Radio and Mechanical Workers of America?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; that is party controlled.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is party controlled?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute. Let me understand that. You mean they have a number of men in key positions and that is their method of controlling them; that is what you mean?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not mean they necessarily have a large membership?

Mr. ZACK. Oh, no; not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. I want that to be clear.

Mr. ZACK. They probably have only a membership of three or four hundred.

Mr. VOORHIS. Out of how many?

Mr. ZACK. Out of about forty or fifty thousand they are supposed to have.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, they control them through control of the key positions?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about the American Newspaper Guild?

Mr. ZACK. The American Newspaper Guild is not controlled absolutely by the party, but the party has a number of key individuals in it. It is one of the organizations that they will lose control of completely, party control, in the near future.

The CHAIRMAN. Their influence, or partial influence, in the guild is on account of the fact that they have some keymen in the guild?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you know the names of the keymen?

Mr. ZACK. I used to know their names, but I could not remember them offhand. You see, it has been many years since I was active.

The CHAIRMAN. How about Heywood Broun?

Mr. ZACK. He was once a member.

The CHAIRMAN. He was once a member. How long ago since he has been a member of the party?

Mr. ZACK. I think the first time he was a party member was back in 1928, if I remember rightly. He was a member for, I think, about 2 years and was dropped out.

Later on he worked along with them and probably was a member, but now he is at odds with them again, it seems. He broke with them on account of the new pact.

Mr. WHITLEY. What do you know about the affiliation of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America, Mr. Zack?

Mr. ZACK. I am not familiar with that.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are not familiar with it?

Mr. ZACK. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about the International Longshoremen, headed by Harry Bridges?

Mr. ZACK. Well, the International Longshoremen were formed out of a branch of the Marine Industrial Workers Union of the Pacific coast organization, local union of the International Association of Longshoremen, and they became so as a result of the maritime strike. The control of the party there is very strong.

The CHAIRMAN. On the west coast, you mean?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do they have control of the International Longshoremen's Union?

Mr. ZACK. In Frisco.

The CHAIRMAN. In Frisco.

Mr. ZACK. And thereabouts; not on the east coast.

The CHAIRMAN. But in San Francisco?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. The International Association of Longshoremen was an American Federation of Labor organization, still is, but the branch on the Pacific Coast disaffiliated from the A. F. of L. and is now a part of the C. I. O.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, what is the status of the International Alliance of Hotel, Restaurant, and Culinary Members, Locals 1, 16, 6, and 302, New York City?

Mr. ZACK. All those locals are controlled now by the Communist Party.

The way that was effected was the Food Workers Industrial Union was a trade-union in the large organization before it went into the A. F. of L. and when the party lines changed from within, the party got control of these organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of course, you qualify all your statements about control with the explanation that when you say "control" you mean they just controlled the key positions and through their ability to control with a very small minority.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, control the policies of the union?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. From the control of the key positions in the union?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you do not mean to suggest that they even have a very large number of members who are in the party.

Mr. ZACK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. From your testimony concerning the large number of key positions in the C. I. O., occupied by Communists, how could they go about getting rid of them?

Mr. ZACK. How?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. ZACK. Well, legally, they could not get rid of them until they hold an election or a convention and elect other officers, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I want you to explain.

Mr. ZACK. Yes. For instance in this particular case of the Food Workers local that were mentioned: There is quite a strong opposition against the Communist Party there now, and I am sure that in most of these locals in the next elections they will lose control just as they lost control of the Painter, when Weinstock was head of the Brotherhood of Painters in New York. But in recent years the Painters Brotherhood—they were defeated by contrary splits.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the majority of the members not being Communists, when they are thoroughly aware of the situation get rid of them?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; in such unions where they are not yet very strongly entrenched.

But when you come to a union like the Furriers, to get rid of them, I am sure will result in a split in the organization because they are so strong they will not be easily dislodged.

The CHAIRMAN. You have named 11 unions in the C. I. O., completely dominated by them.

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In those 11 unions how are they going to get rid of the control?

Mr. ZACK. Well, I think they could in most of them.

The CHAIRMAN. In most of the 11 unions?

Mr. ZACK. The 11 unions; they could get rid of them as members understand what the whole thing is about, and at the next election that will take place, the unions slate of the Communist Party I believe will be defeated.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Would you say the Furriers is in a different category?

Mr. ZACK. In the Furriers the Communists are using practically the Russian regime methods, in that they are so very strong they do not permit the opposition the necessary privileges, legal privileges in order to put them out.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about, Mr. Zack, the Teachers Union, that is, the New York branch, particularly?

Mr. ZACK. Well, that is under party control; they will probably lose control of it in the next election.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about the Typographical Union, Local No. 6?

Mr. ZACK. Well, they do not really control the union, although they elected the president.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who is that; Brown?

Mr. ZACK. Brown, Emil. That is one of the very democratic unions where the membership would not permit anybody to take away their rights.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, if I understood your testimony this morning, when you started your organizational activities into the several industrial industries, like the steel, automobile workers, rubber, there was a scarcity of trained organizers in the C. I. O., and the Communist Party had about 2,000 well-trained organizers, and the C. I. O. used these organizers to build up its organization.

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, did they do that knowingly; did Lewis and his leaders know these men were Communists?

Mr. ZACK. Well, from what I know of officials of that line of experience, as John L. Lewis, I would not expect that he was so foolish as not to know a thing like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Then why, if he did know that there were 2,000 Communist agitators, who had caused so much trouble in the past and had caused him a lot of trouble, too——

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would he then make a deal with them, put the key men in positions in the union? How do you account for that?

Mr. ZACK. Well, most likely for two reasons: First, at that time the Communist Party had a policy that was called the democratic front, which made it possible for a man like John L. Lewis to assume that for a number of years the Communists are going to have a line, a policy, with which he can work, you see.

Secondly, he also assumed that he controlled the United Mine Workers, and Sidney Hillman, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which was the two organizations inside the C. I. O. and which have been financing the C. I. O., and in case the Communists, old leaders, were asked to work against John L. Lewis and his associates, he thought that he would be able to put them out.

The CHAIRMAN. That he would always have, whenever the time came to try to oust him or to cause him too much trouble—he wanted to have power to get rid of them?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; that evidently was the assumption.

The CHAIRMAN. And you think it is not a correct assumption?

Mr. ZACK. I know one thing, the party members can cause a great deal of trouble, and that is the thing that is of major importance in the long run, and they are not going to allow John L. Lewis to put them out in the easy manner that John L. Lewis thinks.

John L. Lewis should remember that the Communist Party gave him the sort of fight in the United Mine Workers that almost put him out, and they were organizationally not as strong then as they are now.

The CHAIRMAN. You say they almost put him out. You mean Brophy was almost elected?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How much difference was there between Brophy's vote and Lewis?

Mr. ZACK. You see, John L. Lewis happened to have the privilege of counting the votes.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Hillman?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; I know Sidney Hillman. He never was a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with it, but he collaborated for a time with the Communist Party in reference to a number of issues.

Mr. VOORHIS. What about the situation at the present time?

Mr. ZACK. At the present time, I do not think that Sidney Hillman collaborates with the Communist Party. I think the Communist Party collaborates with Sidney Hillman.

Mr. VOORHIS. So far as Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union is concerned, you would not say, would you, that Sidney Hillman had collaborated with them about the matters——

Mr. ZACK. Of his own union?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. ZACK. Of his own union—he had enough experience with the Communist Party not to tolerate any control by them, and the same thing with John L. Lewis.

Mr. VOORHIS. I understand at one time there was very strong opposition?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. When they attempted to dominate the Amalgamated Clothing Workers?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. He would not permit anybody to dominate it.

The CHAIRMAN. Through the C. I. O. you say the Communist Party greatly extended its influence in the unions?

Mr. ZACK. Oh, yes; they never had that much influence in industry; in fact, they did not dream of having that much influence in industry for a long time.

The CHAIRMAN. Through what other means have they extended their influence? What about the front organizations; were they able to extend their influence to front organizations?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; the front organizations are used for the purpose of extending their influence; yes, in industry. It is a sort of interlocking directorate for supporting each other to attain certain objectives, and in this case they are interested mainly in influencing strong organizations in industry.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Zack, I would like to ask you a general question.

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. You have testified here with regard to a number of labor organizations, as to what the situation was with regard to them, and I would like to ask you to tell the committee on what you are basing your testimony. I mean how can you testify to such and such a thing in regard to many organizations?

Mr. ZACK. I base it mainly on my own experience in this activity. You must remember that I was one of the main trade-union——

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). I understand that.

Mr. ZACK. Organizing for about 14 years.

Mr. VOORHIS. I am referring to what has happened recently, in the last few years.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean since he has been out of the party?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Since you left the Communist Party in 1934.

Mr. ZACK. Well, suppose you specify anything concrete.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, for example, how can you tell—and I am not questioning your testimony, but I think something ought to be in the record—how can you tell that a certain union, for instance, in San Francisco, is dominated by the Communist Party?

Mr. ZACK. Well, I can only tell that in the following manner: That this organization became a force out there through the 1934 strike.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. ZACK. The party was the chief engineer in the affiliation work; and from the party leaders, and I also know that the main individuals there, that act in that organization, were formerly members of the Maritime Industrial Union. Outside of that, of course, I cannot tell.

Mr. VOORHIS. I see.

Mr. ZACK. I mean, I never was out there personally; don't know any of the local individuals, but I know a majority of the individuals who were formerly maritime workers in that section.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you know from your experience, as a Communist Party member, occupying certain positions, how they control the union?

Mr. ZACK. Well, if they occupy not one but several key positions. For instance, if you have in Typographical Union No. 6, not only the president—when they have the president that does not mean they necessarily have control. But if you have the president and the secretary, or the secretary-treasurer, and so on, and several key positions, organizers, several delegates in the field who every day attended to complaints, then I would know they had control.

Mr. WHITLEY. There would not be any doubt then?

Mr. ZACK. Of the organization; no.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have that list of directors here, Mr. Zack, and I will ask you about them.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you read the ones that he has already testified were Communists, in the C. I. O.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Lewis Allen Bern of the Automobile Workers of America; do you know anything about him?

Mr. ZACK. Of the Automobile Workers?

Mr. WHITLEY. No; that is Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians.

Mr. ZACK. No; I don't know this individual—I don't know if I do; I am not certain.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Donald Henderson, of the Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers?

Mr. ZACK. Henderson I know little about, but from what I know from other leaders of the party, he is a party member.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know that from other party members?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have already testified concerning Mervyn Rathborne, I believe.

Mr. ZACK. Yes.



Mr. WHITLEY. You testified that he was a party member?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get to the ones that he has not testified about.

Mr. WHITLEY. Julius Emspak, of the Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; Emspak, I believe, is a party member, although personally I had no business with him. I know it from other party leaders.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, from what other party leaders have told you in their conversations, you have reason to believe that he is a member?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Morris Muster, United Furniture Workers of America?

Mr. ZACK. I do not know Muster, although that organization, I know, is fully controlled by the party.

The CHAIRMAN. Fully controlled by Communists?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reid Robinson?

Mr. ZACK. No; I don't know him, but from what I do know of him he is not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Lewis Merrill?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the Office and Professional Workers of America?

Mr. ZACK. That is right. Merrill is a party member, from what I know from party leaders.

Mr. WHITLEY. H. C. Fremming?

Mr. ZACK. No; he is not a party member.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, Mr. Fremming has been one of the strongest opponents of communism in the labor field; don't you know that?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. He is not only a party member; I think he is an opponent.

The CHAIRMAN. Very much an opponent of communism?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know anything about Sam Wolchok?

Mr. ZACK. No; he is not a party member.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe that is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of the directors are Communists? What is the total of those that he has testified were Communists?

Mr. WHITLEY. I will have to check that up.

The CHAIRMAN. Make that computation, so that we can have it.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will have it tabulated right away. Did I ask you about Powers Hapgood, Mr. Zack?

Mr. ZACK. No; you did not. Powers Hapgood was a party member. Whether he is now, I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. What are his affiliations?

Mr. ZACK. He used to be one of the leaders of the United Mine Workers. At the present time I think he is the secretary of the United Shoe Workers, affiliated with the C. I. O.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Jim Meyerscough?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; I am. Meyerscough is a party member, ever since 1923 or 1924.

Mr. WHITLEY. What are his affiliations?

Mr. ZACK. He used to be—he ran once for president in the United Mine Workers against John L. Lewis, but at the present time I think he is just a party functionary, either in Pittsburgh or down in Pennsylvania.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are acquainted with Pat Toohey?

Mr. ZACK. I am.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is his status, Mr. Zack?

The CHAIRMAN. What is his position?

Mr. ZACK. Pat Toohey used to be the leader of the party in the anthracite area, of the United Mine Workers. At the present time he is a party functionary, I believe.

Mr. WHITLEY. And John Steuben?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; John Steuben used to be one of my assistants in the Trade Union Unity League Council. Later on he was an organizer for the steel workers' organizing committee, I think in the Youngstown area. What he is now, I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, according to the list we read off there, Mr. Chairman, identified eight of the directors of the C. I. O. as being Communist Party members.

The CHAIRMAN. How many directors are there?

Mr. WHITLEY. Forty, I believe. Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like at this time, unless there are some further questions, to have Mr. Zack discuss the relations between the Comintern and the Soviet Government and the party in this country, and particularly with reference to the split in the Communist Party in 1928, at which time he was over there acting as liaison man on behalf of the Foster group.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, before we get off of this trade-union business, are there any questions that you gentlemen want to ask?

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to ask just one question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Zack, I would like to ask you whether you do not feel that one of the most serious features of the attempted Communist control of labor organizations is not the following: That we all know that there are many cases where there is need for improvement of conditions in various groups of workers in different industries, and if it can be indicated, whether with truth or not, that there is Communist influence in the labor organizations, and attempts to correct those things, then the very best argument against the efforts of that labor organization, and the most effective argument, has been used, has it not?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And that argument is liable to be used even where it does not apply, provided there is any substance to it, in any place; is not that true?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, Mr. Zack, the unfortunate situation with reference to the Communist penetration of the labor unions and of other movements is that it furnishes opponents of legitimate labor activities an opportunity to classify everyone in the labor movement as a Communist, which they readily do?

Mr. ZACK. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they are likely to give out the impression that everybody that does not agree with them is a Communist; is not that true?

Mr. ZACK. Quite correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And, for instance, in reference to these peace societies, right now there are many sincere and honest people in this country who have different views on this embargo question?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But there is a danger that there will be those who will say that those who are in favor of the embargo are Communists, and on the other hand those who want to repeal it are war mongers?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean this thing of name-calling. That is the great danger in this thing, is it not?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, as a matter of fact, while the Communists have a very dominant position in the C. I. O., that does not mean at all that a majority of the C. I. O. members are Communists or sympathetic to Communism, does it?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, I know. They do not even control the C. I. O. They are just in a pivotal position.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent do you think the Communists control in the C. I. O., that is, the policies or the activities of the C. I. O.?

Mr. ZACK. Well, they control the policies and activities of the C. I. O. in a whole number of very important industries. Outside of that, I imagine they have no control of the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, tell me this: Have the Communists in the labor unions been responsible for many unauthorized and sitdown strikes?

Mr. ZACK. Oh, certainly. When they had the policy of class against class, and during the worst period of the crisis, well, they naturally, for their own political purposes, would pick up a grievance and drive it to its extreme, even when it could be compromised.

The CHAIRMAN. And again, that does not mean that there were not just grounds for complaint?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; there were plenty of reasons for complaint.

The CHAIRMAN. And even conceding that there was just ground for complaint, the Communists would prolong the strike beyond the period that was necessary for the settlement of the grievance?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. I will give you an illustration. Right here in front of the Congress, back in 1932 or 1933, I believe, a number of Congressmen offered to take up their demands on the floor of Congress; but the idea of the C. P. at that time was to expose Congress as a tool of the class enemy, and they would not even accept the offer; whereas, for instance, later on, when they had the policy of the Democratic front—well, they would abandon a fight, even a justified fight, for a grievance, in order to get after the politicians.

The CHAIRMAN. Now tell me this: Was the sit-down strike technique a Communist technique?

Mr. ZACK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. It was not?

Mr. ZACK. No. The sit-down strike arose out of sheer desperation in places where the workers could not strike in what we would call a legitimate manner. For instance, in Hungary they could not strike. However, conditions were so terrific that they had to do something, so they remained in the mines. It was passive resistance. They would not go out of the mines.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the United States now, taking it from Europe to the United States?

Mr. ZACK. The idea spread to the United States and to other countries, because at that time it fitted into the situation. There was a tremendous mass unemployment, and the workers that worked inside the plants were afraid of having their jobs taken at once by the great mass of unemployed outside, so they figured, "Well, we have to do something, but we will stick with the machines; we won't abandon them, so that scabs can't go and take our jobs." And that was how the idea spread.

The CHAIRMAN. What part did the Communists play in the sit-down strikes and the unauthorized strikes?

Mr. ZACK. Well, after the thing became popular amongst the masses, they jumped on the bandwagon and sponsored it. Originally, when it first spread to France, they opposed it, because they were practicing the policy of alliance with certain employers' groups, and it was very inconvenient for them to be put in such a position. But after tremendous masses got behind these ideas, then they jumped on the band wagon in order to retain their influence over the masses.

Mr. MASON. Right there, the sit-down strike technique came into full fruition in France, and was so successful, and appealed to the masses so well, that the Communist leaders of the C. I. O. here introduced that technique as a result of its wide spread in France; is that right?

Mr. ZACK. Oh, no; I beg to differ with you, Congressman.

Mr. MASON. That is what I understood.

Mr. ZACK. I know that is the newspaper version, but it is not the correct one.

Mr. MASON. Well, we want to get the correct one.

Mr. ZACK. The sit-down strikes spread in the automobile industry because the employers had resisted systematically and persistently all attempts at organization. They had a very efficient spy system inside, and there was mass unemployment all around, and the automobile workers would not take the risk of going to union meetings for fear of being spotted and then discharged individually. So when this idea that spread from Europe about sit-down strikes hit the public here, they grabbed on that idea. They said that was the idea for them; that they would sit right next to their machines until the employers granted them the right to organize, and certain improvements in conditions. The C. I. O. leaders, as far as I know, simply threw up their hands at the proposition. They did not know what to do with it. They did not dare to deny it, and they did not dare to sponsor it; but they, of course, took advantage of it for the purpose of organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what part have Communists played in strikes that have occurred in the United States since the time you began your affiliation with the Communist Party up until the time you went out of

it? Did they play a prominent part in starting strikes or in continuing strikes, or what was the situation with reference to that?

Mr. ZACK. Well, when they had a policy of, let me say, ultra-left, then they fostered a strike under every condition, irrespective. It did not matter whether the situation was ripe for a strike or was not ripe for a strike.

Mr. VOORHIS. And kept it going as long as possible?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; and kept it going for the maximum time. Why? Because they figured that that was the kind of condition that would best serve their policy at that time. When later on they switched it around to get the various governments to make an anti-Nazi front, in order not to annoy their new allies, they would even discourage strikes where strikes would be in place from a humanitarian point of view.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this: Mr. Browder testified before this committee that there were a great many intellectual people, as I recall, in the Communist Party; that it appealed to members of the so-called intelligentsia.

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that true?

Mr. ZACK. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Just what was that type of people?

Mr. ZACK. Well, during this democratic-front policy lots of unemployed intellectuals thought that this was very convenient for them to get into the kind of more or less nice-looking and nice-sounding organizations, and so the party made tremendous headway amongst that category—aspiring professionals and intellectuals that did not have anywhere to go, perhaps, at the time, or who could gain prominence by getting the support of the organizations controlled by the party.

Mr. VOORHIS. Anybody who was anti-Fascist or anti-Nazi could be in it?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, were you in Moscow about the end of 1929?

Mr. ZACK. I was.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, you were there from 1927 to about 1930, were you not?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And while you were in Moscow, did a serious internal situation in the nature of a factional fight develop in the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you describe that situation to the committee, and how it was handled from the Moscow end?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. We have already heard testimony with reference to the handling of it from this end, and would like to have you describe particularly the situation from the other end.

Mr. ZACK. Well, I was in Moscow then, and I was a member of some of the important committees of the Comintern which directed the activities in the Americas and in England, and so on. In the American party at that time the control was a group now known as the Lovestone—or since known as the Lovestone group, with Jay Lovestone as the general secretary. I represented in Moscow what

was then known as the Foster group—that is the gentleman that testified here yesterday—and I was very much engrossed in that fight, for the purpose of putting Lovestone out of office.

Mr. VOORHIS. About what year was this, Mr. Zack?

Mr. ZACK. That was in 1928 and 1929.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, you were opposed to Lovestone and in favor of the Foster faction?

Mr. ZACK. That is right. So I acted as their unofficial representative inside of the Comintern. I looked over all the reports sent over from the United States, either by courier or otherwise, and sent back reports, and so on. Now, during the same time there was a fight in the Russian Communist Party between the Stalin group and what then was the Bukharin group. Now, Lovestone was accused of the sin of lining himself up with the wrong faction, that is, the Bukharin group. Bukharin then was the president of the Communist International; but in reality Stalin, who was in control of the Communist Party of Russia—Stalin controlled the Communist International also. Now, let me explain to you how this works, before I come to the question asked by Mr. Whitley.

The Comintern, to explain to you the physical situation there, has a building of about half a block in size. In there work about four or five hundred employees, and all these employees are paid out of the Russian treasury. So are all the delegates that are sent by the Comintern to the various countries.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just a minute. Do you mean to say that the employees of the Comintern are paid by the Russian Government or by the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. ZACK. Well, the Russian Communist Party—

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). I understand; but I mean technically by whom are they paid?

Mr. ZACK. The money, you mean?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. ZACK. Oh, the money is obtained out of the Russian treasury.

Mr. VOORHIS. It is?

Mr. ZACK. Oh, yes; sure. And all these employees are paid from that source, and that source is controlled by whomever controls the Communist Party in Russia. So, for instance, the moment that Stalin had control of the Communist Party of Russia, he could command in the Comintern, irrespective of whether Bukharin was still formerly the president or not, because not only are all the technical functionaries in the Comintern building paid out of the Russian treasury, but all the chief political functionaries in charge of the various subcommittees and subdivisions inside of the Comintern are all Russians, members of the Russian Communist Party, or, if they are non-Russians, which is the case with a very few of them, they have been obliged to become members of the Russian Communist Party, and they must carry out what the Russian Communist Party decides. So, since Stalin was in control of the Russian Communist Party, he controlled and commanded materially every employee, whether of a political or technical type, inside the Comintern building, and he also commanded every delegate sent from Moscow to every country throughout this earth.

So Bukharin remained thereafter with the honorary title of president of the Communist International and with no actual authority, but it served the purpose at that time of Stalin to continue to use Bukharin as a punching bag; so he allowed him to remain president of the Communist International even beyond the time necessary from the point of view of his control. Now, then, if you have this picture, you will be able to understand the American situation a little better.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, any organization from another nation that was affiliated with the Comintern was affiliated with a supposedly international organization, all of whose employees and functionaries, however, are paid from the Russian treasury, and most of whom are actual members of the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not gotten down yet to your question, though.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. This is just preliminary. Let us get down to your question.

Mr. ZACK. You see, the initial organization, so-called, of the Comintern, when it comes down to the concrete, is not an international organization; because, for instance, Foster is a member of the executive committee of the Communist International, but he is never in Moscow, or he is only there occasionally, and even if he is there, he or any other like him, from any other party, is not in a physical condition to control anything there. Those that actually control there are what is known as the small commission. You see, Foster is also a member, with Browder, of the presidium of the Comintern. Well, that is another beautiful name, but the presidium of the Comintern does not control anything, either. The ones that control the actual organizational machinery of the Communist International are the so-called small commission, a body of three individuals, and those three individuals are all Russians and members of the Russian Communist Party. They command the every-day routine technical and political work inside of the Comintern building, and all the delegates of the Comintern in foreign countries; and these three individuals are selected by Stalin, and Stalin has a battery of private secretaries whose function is to watch the foreign situation—China, the Americas, Germany, France, England—and who report to him personally anything of any consequence, and have nothing else to do but that; and through them and through his chief political clerks, who are these three members of the commission, he commands and controls absolutely everything inside of that Comintern building, and everything else outside of the Comintern building that he cares to control in any of the foreign parties outside of Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. What are the names of the members of that control commission?

Mr. ZACK. There used to be three individuals on that commission. The name of one at that time was Piatnitzky. Another one was Manuelsky, who is now the general secretary; and the third one was Kuusinen. These three were the small commission, and they are the ones—they are really the Comintern as long as Stalin permits them to be.

That is the inside workings of this machinery.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it is just a lot of camouflage to cover up the fact that Stalin is the absolute dictator in Russia, is it not? The rest of it is camouflage to deceive the public?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. It is window dressing.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Mr. Zack, any statement on the part of the Soviet Government that it has nothing to do with the Communist International, again, is just camouflage?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; it is like, for instance, if Hitler would say he doesn't control the bund. That would be about the same thing, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree with you on that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, go ahead with this description of the split of the American party.

Mr. ZACK. Now, these three individuals are the ones also that decide on the subsidies that go for various kinds of activities in foreign countries. The question of subsidies is decided on the basis of what Russia considers of political importance for itself at the particular moment. For instance, at one time they were interested in China, so the bulk of their subsidies went to China; another time they were interested particularly in Germany, and the bulk of their subsidies went there—I mean for foreign political reasons of their own sort.

Of late, that is, the last few years, they were interested chiefly in France and the United States, you see, and I am sure that considerable of the subsidies went into those countries.

Now this gives an idea of the inside wheels of this thing as they actually are.

Now, then, if we come to the American party situation: Officially, Lovestone and his group, which was a sort of democratic Bolshevik group—to the extent that you could associate democracy with bolshevism at all—they were in control of the party. Stalin was not supposed to act against them officially, because Stalin was only the general secretary of the Russian Communist Party; he was not supposed to be a ranking official in the Comintern; but, unofficially, he would tell, for instance—he would tell Foster or me, while I was there—he would say, "Well, you can do what you want in the United States," that is, fight the established leadership. Officially he would disavow anything; unofficially he encouraged us to fight the leadership in the American Communist Party and wear them down and break them down until the job is ready for, say, an official operation. Now, when the official operation was about prepared for, then Stalin instructed the Comintern to send a telegram to the United States, to Lovestone, that they want a delegation to come to Moscow from the American party in order to discuss the conditions, and they sent officially a cablegram to us, the opposition, saying that we must lay off from all activity against the Lovestone group and recognize them as the leadership, and so on, and so forth.

So when I read that telegram, I went to one of Stalin's secretaries and I said, "What is the idea?" They said:

Never mind; forget it. We had to send that telegram in order that Lovestone would send a delegation to Moscow, believing we will recognize him when he comes over here.



Well, Lovestone was foolish enough to take this cablegram hook, line, and sinker. He came over with a big delegation—Lovestone, Gitlow, that you had as a witness, Bedacht, Mother Bloor, and so on, and so forth. Well, when we were over there, they said, they told us:

Now the sky is the limit in the United States; that is, the opposition can go about tearing down the official leadership at their pleasure.

Meanwhile, they kept the delegation in Moscow with many sessions which they had. They had formed a special committee on the American question, of which Joe Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovich, and several others were members of. They dragged them out for 2 or 3 months to give the opposition in the United States an opportunity to further tear down the leadership of Lovestone; then they finally made a decision, of course, against Lovestone.

Lovestone, if he was to behave, was to be sent as a Comintern delegate to India for 2 years, and, if after that he is considered a good boy, he will be allowed to stay in Moscow 3 or 4 years and then maybe be sent back to the United States.

Meanwhile, they were going to get control of the American party. Browder, who is now general secretary, was called from China purposely as a sort of dark horse (he had not been involved in the factional situation) to be put in control of the Communist Party in the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who suggested Mr. Browder as a good possibility for that office?

Mr. ZACK. Well, it was Foster that was first suggested, but he was too much involved in the factional situation; so I suggested Browder as a dark horse and they thought that was a good idea. So that they called Browder back from China. He stayed in Moscow about 6 weeks; then he was sent back to the United States with all those who were willing to accept the decision of the Comintern. Lovestone and several others were, however, held back in Moscow; because, if you are with them, you can get a visé just like that [snapping fingers], in 5 minutes; if you are not with them, you have to go through the regular routine; they send you from one office to the other and it may take you anywhere from 1 to 6 weeks to get a visé to get out of Russia.

So, while everybody who was in favor of the decision sponsored by Stalin went back to the United States, Lovestone and the others were kept in Moscow and at that time Stalin was willing, if Lovestone would get control of the Daily Worker—Stalin was willing to put up enough money to create another daily paper in order to ruin Lovestone's hold upon the Daily Worker. Well, as it happened, this was not necessary. The following that Lovestone had when they heard that Moscow was against Lovestone and that naturally all the funds and patronage and everything else would go on the side of those favored by Moscow, why they quit Lovestone and he remained only with a small group, and Stalin remained in control of the party, and ever since then Browder is the General Secretary.

Mr. WHITLEY. And at the time this factional fight first started in the party in the United States, what percentage of the membership was with the Lovestone faction?

Mr. ZACK. Oh, from 70 to 80 percent.

Mr. WHITLEY. He had a large majority of the membership with him?

Mr. ZACK. He did, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. But in spite of that, by the methods you have described, he was put out and Stalin's hand-picked man, Browder, was put in charge?

Mr. ZACK. Correct, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did I understand you to say earlier in your testimony that the principal sin Lovestone had committed, and for which he was removed from American leadership, was that he approved or sympathized with the wrong Russian leader?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. It had nothing to do with his activities or the political conditions in this country?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. His sympathies were with the wrong leadership in Russia?

Mr. ZACK. Yes—it had nothing to do with the conditions in the United States at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. And, for that reason, he was strong-armed out of his position of leadership of the party?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, while Lovestone and his lieutenants in his group were being held in Moscow, was there a convention held in this country and called, at which the leadership was changed?

Mr. ZACK. No. There was a delegate sent by the Comintern. Well, please note when I say "Comintern" on any important question, that means Stalin. In this case, the delegate was an individual hand picked by Stalin with whom I had some business during this factional fight in Moscow—a fellow that called himself here "Williams," but it was the same individual that Krivitsky mentioned in his articles that took Krivitsky's place in France after he was removed.

Mr. WHITLEY. After Krivitsky was removed?

Mr. ZACK. After Krivitsky was removed. This individual came here as a delegate fully authorized to carry out the new decision and to clean out all the Lovestone following inside of the Communist Party, completely, root and branch, from the unit up to the top committee. And he stayed here about a year or a year and a half for no other purpose but to do exactly that.

The party convention was called after all possible opposition had been eliminated and thrown out, and then the party convention was called and, of course, the party convention then was a mere ritual approving the decision made in Moscow.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to know: What do you suppose Mr. Foster meant when he said 98 percent of the members of the American party were against Lovestone? Did he have reference to this time when this convention was called, after the work of this delegate?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Zack has so much testimony we cannot possibly finish with him this afternoon, because he has a great many other phases he has not touched upon.

Mr. WHITLEY. He has a great many other subjects that he can discuss fully.

The CHAIRMAN. Before we get on a new subject, Mr. Zack, there are just a few questions I have to ask you, and then the other members, probably, will have some questions to ask.

You, of course, for a good many years were acquainted with the top people who were in the Communist Party, were you not?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You have met them in their sections, and so on, and so forth?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You know the charge that is made by a great many organizations in the country to the effect that the bulk of the Communist membership are Jews; that Judiasm and Communism are identical and that in the United States the real factor behind it are the Jews?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what are the facts about that? You have been telling us and I thing giving us pretty frank statements; now what are the facts about that?

Mr. ZACK. Well, I think out of the total membership of the Communist Party there is about 20 percent that are Jewish; and amongst the upper group of leaders, I think the Jewish is about 30 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. The upper group is about 30 percent?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What type of Jews are they that belong, as a whole; are they of the poorer class?

Mr. ZACK. Well, they are mostly skilled workers and the small middle class.

Mr. MASON. Would you say that most of them are not what we usually consider orthodox Jews, but they are unorthodox Jews who are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. ZACK. Yes; unorthodox, naturally.

Mr. MASON. They could not be members of the Communist Party if they were orthodox Jews?

Mr. ZACK. No. Orthodox Jews do not join the Communist Party; oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Browder said that the greatest membership—they enjoyed the greatest membership increase from the year 1935 until recently?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you account for this enormous growth, according to their statements, from 1935, before and prior to this pact announcement?

Mr. ZACK. Well, I believe they exaggerate their growth, but there was a considerable growth; I know that. Well, that is to be accounted for by the fact that they had a policy at the time which was rather popular with a large circle of elements that wanted to do all kinds of repairing in the social structure and who thought that the Communist Party could be used as a vehicle for that purpose, you see. These people thought that in the Communist Party they have an element which is a driving force to achieve that, you see; so they hooked themselves up to it in much larger numbers than would have been the case otherwise.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you know anything about the finances; do you know of cash money sent from Russia to the United States, yourself, in recent years?

Mr. ZACK. Well, I only know from—well, let me explain this from, let us say, my own experience. As I said before, I was a delegate of the Comintern to South America. Well, the procedure in this case is that I, as a delegate, would have to be informed what the budget is for, let us say, the country that I am assigned to. The budget is discussed on the basis of the political interest Russia may have at that time in that particular country and, within that country, in certain industries. So, let us say, they would decide the budget is \$25,000. Let us say it is a small country, you see. Now, this \$25,000 would be put at the disposal of the Comintern delegate, you see. He would be given certain instructions as to how to spend it, you see; let us say one-third upon organizing the transportation workers, the maritime workers, and so on; another third for organizing the oil workers, chemical workers, and so forth. All right; so that money is put at his disposal with certain instructions as to how to spend it; then it is at his discretion as to how he distributes it.

Now, take a party like the American party, let us say; they would say that "due to the importance of the situation, the possibility of getting the United States into war together with Russia against Japan, it would be necessary to stimulate public sentiment." So they would decide to finance the creation of several additional daily papers, you see, and the money for that would be put forward by them, with the understanding that the party must strive, within a year, to cover out of its own revenue at least 50 percent of the expenses of that paper, you see.

I know when they authorized the publication of the Daily Worker in England, they did not have—the British party did not have a cent, and the Daily Worker in England was financed for 5 years almost exclusively out of the Russian treasury. And the Daily Worker in this country was financed for the first 10 years, at the beginning, more than two-thirds, and later on one-half, and later on not less than one-third out of the subsidies given in Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. Would those subsidies come over here in cash?

Mr. ZACK. Well, the subsidies came here in various ways. They are either authorizations to appropriate money that has been raised here for different purposes, you see?

The CHAIRMAN. You mean by the local Communists—by the Communists in the United States?

Mr. ZACK. No. Assuming, let us say, you have a thing like Amtorg, which does lots of business. All right. So, let us say, the Comintern authorizes a budget for the United States of a half million dollars for 1939. Well, that half million is assigned to the Communist Party out of whatever resources the Russian Government commands in the United States at that time, you see, whether they be of a commercial nature or of some of these rackets that Dubrowsky spoke about, and so on. If that money is not available, why then it is assigned directly from Moscow—usually, first, to a European country. For instance, it used to be assigned to Berlin, before the Nazis; later on, to Paris, then sent here. It is not sent directly from Russia here, you see; it is sent first to another country and from there here. It is sent to a European center first.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, while you were the Comintern delegate to South America, how did you receive your funds from the Comintern; through what source?

Mr. ZACK. Through Earl Browder.

Mr. WHITLEY. They sent them to Earl Browder and he transferred them to you in South America?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he made regular remittances to you while you were down there over a period of a year and a half?

Mr. ZACK. Well, as a matter of fact, I was assigned about \$5,000 to spend for a period of 6 months—the first 6 months; and, as a matter of fact, I did not receive a cent of the \$5,000. Some of the grafters that handled the money in between took it. The only thing I received was my salary and traveling expenses, and later on somebody even chiseled in on that and I was not getting the salary except in part.

Later on, when I was already back in the United States, one day Earl Browder called me to his office and gave me a thousand dollars' worth of receipts to sign for the money that I was supposed to have received while I was in South America. So I said, "Well, I never got it; what is the idea; I would not sign these." So he says, "Well, we have been good friends for such a long time, you would not want to put me in trouble on account of a trifle like that?" So I says, "All right; one trifle is as good as another. You arrange for the return of my wife and kid out of Russia the next time you go there and arrange that their expenses be paid, and I will sign you the receipts." I signed the receipts, but I never got my wife and kid back, you see.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many receipts were there; do you recall?

Mr. ZACK. \$1,000. There were about eight receipts.

Mr. WHITLEY. Eight receipts covering about \$1,000?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that just before Mr. Browder was planning to go to Moscow?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he state why he wanted a receipt at that particular time?

Mr. ZACK. Well, you see, they expected a certain amount of accounting for the funds that are sent out, you see.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he, in anticipation of having to account for these funds—

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Supposedly transmitted to you, wanted your receipt that you had gotten it?

Mr. ZACK. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you had not received the funds?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now suppose we stop there and maybe the members of the committee have some questions to ask.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have only one other thing which very logically fits in here. I would like to have Mr. Zack identify some of the Comintern representatives who have been sent to this country and have worked in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, will you name some of the Comintern representatives—or perhaps I will name some that have been mentioned previously and see if you can identify them.

Mr. ZACK. All right, that is better; my memory for names is not good.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether there was a Comintern representative who was sent to this country by the name of Pepper—John Pepper?

Mr. ZACK. Yes. John Pepper's real name is Joseph Pogany. He used to be the editor of the social democratic daily paper in Budapest, before the present Government was established there, about 12 or 15 years ago.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long was he in this country as a Comintern representative?

Mr. ZACK. He was in this country as a Comintern representative, I think, for about 4 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he known to Mr. Browder and to Mr. Foster?

Mr. ZACK. He certainly was.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know, of your own knowledge, he was well known to them?

Mr. ZACK. He was very well known to them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, do you know whether there was a Comintern representative who was sent to this country by the name of Johnson?

Mr. ZACK. Johnson?

Mr. WHITLEY. He was also known as Scott, I believe.

Mr. ZACK. Oh, yes, yes; that was a lad, a big tall lad. He was the first one that came to this country with, I think, about \$50,000 to finance trade-union activities—yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Zack, may I interject right there? I want to get one thing cleared up. Did not you state awhile ago, definitely, that, in your judgment, based upon your experience in this movement, the Communists control the policies of the C. I. O.

Mr. ZACK. No; I did not say that.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say, exactly?

Mr. ZACK. I said that the Communists control the policies of the C. I. O. in those industries where they are in control of the C. I. O. unions. They do not control the policy of the C. I. O. in general, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. Just in those industries in which they control, that you named?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

Mr. MASON. And those are some of the leading industries in the C. I. O.?

Mr. ZACK. Yes—well, they are some of the most important industries in the country.

Mr. MASON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, this party Johnson, or Scott, you say brought \$50,000 over here as Comintern representative to finance trade-union work?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And do you know whether he was known to Browder and Foster?

Mr. ZACK. And how! [Laughter.]

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he known to them in this country; did they know him over here?

Mr. ZACK. They knew him over here and over there.

Mr. WHITLEY. They knew him in both places?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you are sure of that, even though they might have previously testified they did not know him, or could not identify him?

Mr. ZACK. Like if I sleep with you in the same bed for 6 months, would I know you? Well, that is how they know these fellows. [Laughter.]

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether an individual known as Valitzky was Comintern representative to the Communist Party in this country?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, he was; he was a representative present at the secret Michigan convention, a very clever boy—too clever for Stalin; so he is now 6 feet below.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was about what year he was over here, Mr. Zack?

Mr. ZACK. He was here in 1923 and 1924.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he was personally known to Browder and Foster?

Mr. ZACK. Well, he certainly was—and how!

Mr. WHITLEY. There is no doubt about that?

Mr. ZACK. No doubt whatsoever.

The CHAIRMAN. And both Foster and Browder, on their oath, denied knowing them?

Mr. WHITLEY. Not all of these, I will say. Mr. Foster yesterday denied knowing Johnstone. He said he, however, met him in Moscow, but he had never seen him here. As a matter of fact, yesterday, as I recall, Mr. Foster's testimony, Pepper was the only one he stated he had ever known in this country as a Comintern representative.

The CHAIRMAN. No, Pollitt.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. He said Pepper was not; that Pollitt was the only one he could identify as a Comintern representative, and that Pepper was mixed up in Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right. Did you know a Comintern representative in this country by the name of Sirola, who was also known as "Miller"?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You knew him?

Mr. ZACK. He was a nice old gentleman who tried to bless us. He stayed around about a year.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Zack, as a matter of fact, from your experience, is it true that the Comintern always has at least one representative in this country?

Mr. ZACK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And just what influence does he have on the party in the United States?

Mr. ZACK. It was originally the Comintern's work to send delegates over periodically when there was a dispute. Later on they established the idea of permanent delegates, and still later on—now I am speaking

since about 10 or 11 years ago—they have permanently stationed in all the most important parties, including the American Party, not only a Comintern delegate but the staff which works with him. In that staff they usually have a man who knows propaganda methods, another one who is an expert in organization matters, and, of course, there is the G. P. U., which he makes use of.

Mr. WHITLEY. This Comintern representative that you say was in the United States is the one who actually makes the decisions on important matters?

Mr. ZACK. No one else does.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the membership of the party in this country, or in any other country, are just figureheads, and the man sent here by the Comintern is the one who decides important matters of policy, and they carry them out. Is that correct?

Mr. ZACK. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that is the way in which the Comintern is exercising such a degree of control over the allied groups in other countries?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir. Neither Browder nor Foster nor anyone else decides the policies of the American Communist Party. They are decided from Moscow through the delegate who is stationed here.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever know of the Comintern representative being a member of the central or national committee?

Mr. ZACK. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is on the outside?

Mr. ZACK. He is just a delegate, just as I was. When I was a delegate I was not a member of any of those parties. I was a delegate, but yet I had authority to decide over all their business.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was in South America?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the American Party or the United States Party also keep a representative at the Comintern in Moscow?

Mr. ZACK. They send a delegate to Moscow, who has about as much to say about the policies of the Comintern as the man that sweeps the shop in which I work, because he has nothing to say about it. The only thing that he does there is to read reports coming from the United States. He picks out whatever he considers matter to be submitted to the Comintern.

The CHAIRMAN. Yet you say that when you were a delegate of the Comintern, you had absolute control. You meant of the Communist Party of that country?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Now let us assume there is a delegate in the United States from the Comintern, and let us assume that we enter the war on the side of France and England: I do not think there is any question but what if we enter the war it will be on that side. It certainly will not be on the side of Germany and Russia. Now, if we were to enter the war, and there were Communist workers holding key positions, and the international representative was here, would he be in a position to get almost any information that he wanted for the Comintern? Suppose he wanted military information, could he not get it from Communists working in the munition factories in this country?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; he could get it.



The CHAIRMAN. That would apply to espionage the same as to anything else?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; certainly he could get the information. Of course, any member of the Communist Party that would refuse to give the information to such a high functionary as that would be immediately disposed of.

The CHAIRMAN. Then what you would really have would be a very elaborate and effective spy system maintained by Russia in the United States?

Mr. ZACK. You would have a system to be used by Russia for whatever purpose they saw fit; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The same thing would be true with reference to the bund, with its 100 posts scattered throughout the country under the control of Hitler. They would be just as effective as the Communist Party under the control of the Russian Government.

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So you will have information coming from all those 100 posts of the bund, from people working in aircraft factories, and so forth. We have some evidence, and very definite evidence, that there are bund members working in our munition factories. Therefore, in effect, from those sources, from the Communist Party and from the influence of its front organizations, fellow travelers, and so forth, and from the bunds with their influence with allied groups affiliated with the bund, like the Silver Shirts, and so forth, and from the Ukrainian Fascist groups, there would be a wealth of information, from an almost inexhaustible source of information, constantly going to Hitler and Stalin.

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir. You would have a situation that I do not think ever existed in the history of any country. These alleged political parties, which are nothing but branch agencies of foreign governments, are used for their own imperialistic convenience.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, if we were to maintain an espionage system in Germany, it would be just a handful of people that we could pay to do it.

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And, at most, it would be a very doubtful method of finding out what the Germans were doing.

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The same thing would be true if we tried to maintain an espionage system in Russia. It would mean that we would have to have a few individuals in the pay of the government to get the information.

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; and they will sell a lot of ideology to them for nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. Yet, Germany and Russia have in the United States thousands of people to whom they do not have to pay anything?

Mr. ZACK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And those people serve not only in an espionage system in time of war, and for sabotage, but in time of peace they serve to influence our country in behalf of whatever foreign policies they want to promote. Is that true?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir. Of course, they cannot ask those individuals to do all of those things in such a frank fashion.

The CHAIRMAN. But the fact is that they get results. It does not make any difference how they camouflage the thing, they get the results. Where you have in operation a Communist Party you have thousands of people working in the munitions factories in the United States, and there you have a sabotage and espionage problem.

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no use in going out and looking for the few known agents, if you let all these groups get by with it.

Mr. ZACK. You are right.

Mr. VOORHIS. As a matter of actual fact, as I understand it, your realization of this situation was one of the main reasons why you got out of the Communist Party.

Mr. ZACK. That is correct. I also thought originally this way: Well, I am serving the interests of the working class by supporting the Communist Party, and if I had not gotten to see the close inside, or the center of it, I might have kept my illusion much longer.

Mr. VOORHIS. When a person first joins the Communist Party, how do they manage a person like that? Do they tell them anywhere near all of the things that are really the truth about it at first, or do they wait awhile?

Mr. ZACK. No, sir; they do not tell them that. That is a very interesting question. They just sell them the thing as a desirable and lofty ideal which is worth while making sacrifices for, working for, and so forth. Well, the individual really gets busy, thinking he is pursuing a worth-while aim. Later, as he gets more and more interested, he realizes or thinks that it is worth spending one's life for, and he becomes in a condition to do everything.

For instance, if I was a skilled workman in a machine plant which produced, let us say, some worth-while equipment, either for war purposes or otherwise, and should be affiliated with the Communist Party, if somebody asked me, "Why not let Russia have this?" I would say, "Of course." After all, if you believe in it, you want to serve the thing you believe in. It makes no difference what others might think about the matter, you would give it to them. That individual would not consider that unusual or strange at all. Then, for instance, there are always plenty of grievances. Every workman has them. You tell them, "Listen, by organizing yourselves and putting up a fight you can remedy those things." You can say that to almost any workman at any time of the year, because the conditions are such that you can always make that appeal. You can say to them, "If you will come into the Communist Party, we will work for that." The workingman will listen to that, because he has a grievance, whereas the ones behind the scenes may be fostering a proposition for political purposes altogether.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know a Comintern representative by the name of Gussev?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; he was the Comintern representative here for about 2 years. He died about 3 years ago.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he personally known to Foster and Browder in this country?

Mr. ZACK. He certainly was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know a Comintern representative by the name of Marcus and also known by the name of Jenks?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; I knew him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he was known to Browder and Foster?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; of course he was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know a Comintern representative who was known as Ewatts?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Also known as Brom?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he known to Browder and Foster?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they know he was here in that capacity?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know a representative of the Comintern by the name of F. Brown?

Mr. ZACK. I think his name is Alpi.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did know him?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he is here at the present time?

Mr. ZACK. I think he probably is. I am not sure.

Mr. WHITLEY. He has been here for a number of years?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; he was here for about 7 or 8 years that I remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he was known personally to Browder and Foster?

Mr. ZACK. He certainly was.

Mr. WHITLEY. They knew in what capacity he was here?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know a Comintern representative by the name of Pollit?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; he came here about 3 or 4 years ago.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he was known to Browder and Foster?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, these Comintern representatives would immediately get in touch with the party leaders in this country?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know a man by the name of Dengel?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; Dengel was a German who was sent here together with Pollit. Both were stationed here, one for about 4 years and the other for 6 or 7 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Dengel was known to Foster and Browder?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know a Comintern representative by the name of Rust?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; I think he was a representative from the Young Communist League.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he was known to Browder and Foster?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; he was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know a Comintern representative who was known by the name of Bob?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; he was a little fellow stationed here about a year. He was one of Stalin's lieutenants in the Young Communist International, a commissar of a youth organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. If they came here on regular passports, how did they manage to stay here for 7 or 8 years?

Mr. ZACK. Now you ask a good one. They did not come here on Russian passports.

Mr. WHITLEY. What passports did they have?

Mr. ZACK. They obtained passports that were made for them. When you go to Russia, they ask you to file your passport, which you do not get back until you go out. If they happen to use that passport, you are told that it was lost. Other people travel on them. That is how people like Bob and others get out of Russia and travel in other countries.

The CHAIRMAN. We had some testimony from Mr. Gitlow on that. He went into considerable detail on that. The G. P. U. have offices where you surrender passports in Russia. They forge passports in many instances.

Mr. WHITLEY. They reproduce them. When they get hold of one, they hold on to it.

Mr. ZACK. Either that, or they come on British passports or French passports.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know a Comintern representative by the name of Kuuinen?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; I knew him. It was his wife who was here to control the Finnish organization in this country.

Mr. WHITLEY. Her husband occupied a prominent position in the Comintern?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; her husband was secretary of the Comintern at the time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was she known to Browder and Foster?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is what I wanted to have identified for the record.

Mr. MASON. I have one or two questions: When these great labor organizations wanted to organize along industrial lines, under leaders like John L. Lewis, you testified that they made use of active Communist organizers because they thought they would get a more rapid growth. Is that one reason why the Communist Party during the last 5 or 6 years has made such a rapid growth in the United States? Did they become influential in securing themselves, you might say, because of their organization work in the ranks of labor? Is that right?

Mr. ZACK. The situation at that time was for the organization of industrial unions in the big mass-production industries, and the Communists, through John L. Lewis, took advantage of it.

Mr. MASON. Is not the same thing true in the case of those who were interested in rebuilding the social and economic structure of

the country? Did they not also utilize the driving force of the Communists in helping them to accomplish that work, and, as a result, have not the Communists established themselves among those people, who are not sympathetic toward communism, but who made use of them in furthering their own ends?

Mr. ZACK. Yes, sir; they do that wherever they have social discontent in any class or group of people.

The CHAIRMAN. There is one other question that we always ask for the record: Are you a Jew?

Mr. ZACK. No, sir; I am by breeding a Catholic.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason I ask that is to have it for the record. (Thereupon, the committee adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 1 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman), presiding.

Present: Messrs. Dies, Mason, and Thomas.

Present also: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee, and J. B. Matthews, director of research for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will call Mr. Ness.

The CHAIRMAN. You solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. NESS. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF NEIL HOWARD NESS, MECHANICAL ENGINEER

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your full name, Mr. Ness?

Mr. NESS. Neil Howard Ness.

The CHAIRMAN. And what is your present address?

Mr. NESS. It is 37 Beacon Street, Oakland, Calif.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born, Mr. Ness?

Mr. NESS. San Francisco, Calif.

Mr. WHITLEY. What date?

Mr. NESS. September 9, 1897.

Mr. WHITLEY. You will outline for the committee your education, experience, and training.

Mr. NESS. Well, I am an engineer, a mechanical engineer, a graduate of the Harrison Technical High School in Chicago, and from that—

The CHAIRMAN. Speak a little more distinctly, please, and louder.

Mr. NESS. Yes—and I just went in corresponding school work in engineering and developed into a mechanical engineer's position from that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you in the last war, Mr. Ness?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I served in the World War.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have overseas duty?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. And at the present time what occupation are you engaged in?

Mr. NESS. Mechanical engineer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mechanical engineer?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Ness, did you ever have occasion to come in contact with an organization which was formerly known as Friends of New Germany and later the name was changed to the "German-American Bund"?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you describe to the committee how you first came in contact with that organization and approximately when?

Mr. NESS. Well, the latter part—during the latter part of 1935 I visited a restaurant in Los Angeles which was owned and operated by some German people. I met quite a number of Germans there and became friendly with them and after a brief period of time they invited me to the German House in Los Angeles. I visited the German House, which was the headquarters for the Friends of New Germany at that time and later changed to the German-American Bund. I became acquainted with officials then and continued with them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who were some of the officials that you met at that time and became acquainted with?

Mr. NESS. At that time I met Mr. Paehlör—I think you spell his name P-a-e-h-l-o-r; that is purely a guess on my part, but I think that is the way you spell it; I am not sure.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that "T" or "P"?

Mr. NESS. "P."

Mr. WHITLEY. P-a-e-h-l-o-r?

Mr. NESS. I think that is the way you spell it; I am not sure about that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who were some of the others?

Mr. NESS. Mr. Schwinn.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is Herman Schwinn?

Mr. NESS. Herman Schwinn; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What position did he occupy in the Friends of New Germany at that time?

Mr. NESS. Well, he was known officially as the fuehrer of the West; he was the head of the Friends of New Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. For the western division?

Mr. NESS. For the western division; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And, as I understand it, your first meeting with the individuals you have named, and others, members of the Friends of New Germany, in the latter part of 1935, was rather incidental and just social?

Mr. NESS. Yes; quite casual.

Mr. WHITLEY. And social?

Mr. NESS. And social; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you continue your association with those individuals?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did you gain their confidence?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they become confident you were sympathetic to their organization?

Mr. NESS. Yes; they did.



Mr. WHITLEY. How did you manage that? How did you work yourself into their confidence, and over what period of time, Mr. Ness?

Mr. NESS. Well, I might best explain that in this manner—

Mr. THOMAS. Talk a little louder, please; I cannot hear you.

Mr. NESS. Yes; I am sorry.

The CHAIRMAN. Talk over this way.

Mr. NESS. When I first visited the German-American House in Los Angeles, I was rather surprised at the extent of the Nazi display of swastikas and literature that was available, and I thought—well, I would just find out what this was all about. And, in order to do that, I just mentioned the fact I was sympathetic to their activities and listened to what they had to say. Later on, I decided I would like to gather enough material about this activity to write either some articles or perhaps a book on the subject.

Mr. THOMAS. Were you employed by anybody at that time?

Mr. NESS. Pardon?

Mr. THOMAS. Were you employed by anybody at that time?

Mr. NESS. No; I was not employed. And I used my leisure time; as a matter of fact, I visited there very frequently to observe what was going on, for the purpose of gathering this information.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. And did you, Mr. Ness, after building up—after continuing those associations and purposely building up confidence in the members of the organization, were you later initiated into the German-American Bund or the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I became a member fully initiated.

Mr. WHITLEY. Approximately what date was that, to the best of your recollection?

Mr. NESS. It was about the middle of 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. About July?

Mr. NESS. Yes; about July of 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. And describe the process by which you became a member. Did you have to make application or to go through any ceremony?

Mr. NESS. Yes. I had been quite active in the bund activities previous to the time when they thought I should show my wholehearted support by joining the organization; so when they pressed me to become a member, I tendered a formal application and was notified I would be initiated on a certain date. The date I do not recall now.

Mr. WHITLEY. The date of your initiation?

Mr. NESS. The date of my initiation, but it was sometime in July.

Mr. WHITLEY. July 1936?

Mr. NESS. 1936; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And this actual, formal affiliation was after you had been closely associated for a number of months?

Mr. NESS. Oh, yes; I had been closely associated with them for perhaps 7 or 8 months previous to this.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, what ceremony did you go through? Did you take an oath of allegiance to the organization or to any individuals?

Mr. NESS. Yes. There were several that were initiated on the same evening I was initiated, and when our names were called, the speaker or the leader, who was Herman Schwinn, called us to the front, and

we lined up in front of Herman Schwinn. He delivered a lecture in German that lasted for about 5 minutes, and then he switched to English and told us we were there for a purpose that was far more reaching than we might feel at that particular time; that we may have occasion to defend the fatherland. He spoke, of course—I mean this: He spoke, of course, of our adopted country, the United States, because there were several that were Germans that were being initiated, and he spoke of our building up a closer bond between the United States and Germany; of establishing a German culture in this country that would bring us very, very close to Germany; and said that, while at the time—this impressed me very forcibly—that while at the time we were required only to supply our financial and moral support, there might be a time come when we also would have to be called upon to give even our lifeblood in defense of the fatherland.

MR. WHITLEY. And by the fatherland——

MR. NESS. He meant Germany. And in the final analysis, we swore allegiance to National Socialism and to Adolf Hitler.

MR. WHITLEY. Was that a part of the oath that you took?

MR. NESS. That was a part of the oath that I took. As a matter of fact, I had someone in the audience that night making notes on the oath. I have the oath written out, but I have not it here, and I am just giving the gist of it.

MR. WHITLEY. The gist of it was, in taking that oath to become a member of the Friends of the New Germany, you had to take an oath of allegiance to the Nazi Government?

MR. NESS. That is right—to Adolf Hitler.

MR. WHITLEY. There is no question about that?

MR. NESS. That is true.

MR. WHITLEY. That was an oath of allegiance to him?

MR. NESS. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. And to his Government?

MR. NESS. Yes.

MR. THOMAS. As I understand it, Mr. Attorney, that was the Friends of the New Germany oath, not the bund oath?

MR. WHITLEY. That is right. The name had not been changed at that time, Mr. Thomas.

Now, how did you, Mr. Ness, appeal to Mr. Schwinn and the other members and leaders of the bund, when you first met them and became associated with them, to get them particularly interested in you and what you could do for them? Did you suggest any ideas you might have in mind that appealed to them?

MR. NESS. Well, at first I mentioned I was interested in a series of articles, meaning the articles I had referred to before, which perhaps was not the brightest thing for me to do, but I mentioned it that way and later I saw they thought I meant I would write articles for them.

MR. THOMAS. I do not like to interrupt, but there is one thing I think you ought to get straight for the record. This oath that was taken was in 1936, was it not?

MR. WHITLEY. July 1936.

MR. THOMAS. Well, the bund was formed before that time, was it not?

MR. WHITLEY. No; my recollection, Mr. Thomas, is that the bund came into existence in 1937.

Mr. THOMAS. I think it came into existence in 1935.

Mr. NESS. I believe Mr. Thomas is correct. I think it had already come into effect in 1936, and that this was the German-American Bund oath of allegiance that I took.

Mr. THOMAS. That is what I wanted to get straight.

Mr. NESS. I am not definitely sure about that; I would have to refer to my notes to be absolutely sure.

Mr. WHITLEY. The thing I am not sure of, Mr. Thomas, is whether when the bund was formed all of the previous organizations of Friends of New Germany immediately affiliated with and changed their name.

Mr. THOMAS. No; they did not.

The CHAIRMAN. No; they did not.

Mr. NESS. It was a gradual process.

The CHAIRMAN. The testimony heretofore, as I recall it, is that when the bund was formed the Friends of New Germany in various sections continued to function for some time after that. In other words, it was not just a sudden discontinuance of one and beginning of the other, but in certain sections the Friends of New Germany continued on for some time afterward.

Mr. NESS. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. I just bring it up to get it straight in the record.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; I am glad you did.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not recall, from memory, whether it was the bund or Friends of New Germany?

Mr. NESS. I am quite definitely sure it was the bund.

The CHAIRMAN. The German-American Bund?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the name had been changed at that time?

Mr. NESS. I feel that it had. As this gentleman—Mr. Dies—mentioned, the change-over was made gradually; throughout various parts of the country they changed from Friends of New Germany to the German-American Bund in order to facilitate their own organization conditions. The Germany-American Bund, as I recall, was not supposed to have any citizens of the Reich in it, and Los Angeles had quite a number of citizens of the Reich.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean a number of the members of the Friends of New Germany were German citizens?

Mr. NESS. That is right, and the bund was supposed to be entirely American citizens, and maneuvers that were gone through at the time to camouflage the change-over from Friends of New Germany to the German-American Bund and to pick up at the same time these German citizens in the German-American Bund was what caused delays in various sections of the country.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, they had to go through a kind of weeding out of German citizens before they could operate openly with the bund?

Mr. NESS. That is the idea. At the same time, they had an absurd situation, a camouflaged one.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Ness, was it your observation that the change from Friends of New Germany to the German-American Bund was primarily a change of name and the organization substantially continued to operate as it had?

Mr. NESS. Well, if there had been any degree of change in the policy or activity, I would certainly be more clear insofar as my memory of the change-over was concerned; but there was no difference; after the Friends of New Germany changed to German-American Bund, there was no difference.

Mr. WHITLEY. Which makes it hard for you to recall just when the change took place?

Mr. NESS. That is it. I could not determine any difference in policy or operation.

Mr. WHITLEY. The same policies——

Mr. NESS. The same people were present, and the same operation going on.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, getting back to the manner in which you first interested them, this series of articles you mentioned, will you follow that up, Mr. Ness, and tell us what their reaction was to this suggested series of articles which I believe you said you had in mind writing about the bund, and they thought, when you mentioned it, you wanted to write to help them carry on their propaganda?

Mr. NESS. That is right. And when I recognized that condition existed, I did not do anything to change their thoughts, and they became very friendly, and Schwinn assigned one of the storm troopers to work with me in that regard. This storm trooper was a man by the name of Rheinhold Kusche and Kusche was supposed to help me bring out these articles as propaganda material. Kusche visited my home and we discussed things in general, then later became more definite as to what policies we would pursue in connection with putting out this propaganda.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where was that to be published?

Mr. NESS. Well, it was to be national in its scope, as far as they were concerned, but it was going to be published in Los Angeles.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it going to be in pamphlet form, of a series of articles?

Mr. NESS. No; they were going to bring out a youth magazine that would attract the youth of America.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the propaganda was to appeal to the youth of the country?

Mr. NESS. That is right; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, in your talking over of plans for that magazine, or for these articles, did they suggest certain material for you to read or for you to follow in preparing your articles?

Mr. NESS. Yes. There was quite a bit of material that had come from Germany; some of it had come to various of these bund members direct; and this material was given me to incorporate in these articles.

Mr. THOMAS. That material had to do with what kind of subjects?

Mr. NESS. National socialism; the development of national socialism in Germany and what it had done for Germany and what it could do for others, and how the youth had been benefited by it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you actually do any writing for any of their publications or by way of articles, Mr. Ness?

Mr. NESS. Yes. I was on the California Weckruf, which is the official organ of the bund—a weekly newspaper. I was on the editorial staff and I also conducted a column; wrote articles.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, you were a regular writer for the official organ?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The California Weckruf?

Mr. NESS. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. What type of material did they suggest for you to follow, or did they give you material or literature that had been prepared there, or sent in?

Mr. NESS. Well, the biggest part of the material was propaganda in favor of Germany and material that would attack the Jewish people of America, and also attack the administration.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they indicate the source from which they had received that material? In other words, did it come in from Germany, or was it of domestic origin?

Mr. NESS. It came from Germany; most of it came from Germany, but some of it was domestic. The biggest part of it had the stamp of the German National Socialist Party in Germany on it.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. And that is what they followed in preparing their own propaganda material for their paper and for other activities in this country?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have regular office space assigned to you at the Deutscheshaus?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I had a desk there.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is where you did your work?

Mr. NESS. In Schwinn's private office.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now what groups, Mr. Ness, did the Friends of New Germany or the German-American Bund—and, according to your testimony they are synonymous; it is just a change of name?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What groups did they cooperate with or work with on the coast while you were active in the organization?

Mr. NESS. Well, there were quite a number of groups that they were affiliated with either directly or indirectly. One was the Russian Revolutionary Party; another one was the American Nationalist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. You are speaking of what year, now?

Mr. NESS. 1936. And another one was the Silver Legion, or Silver Shirts.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is William Dudley Pelley's organization?

Mr. NESS. Pelley's organization; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they cooperate with those groups you have named, closely?

Mr. NESS. Yes; we did.

Mr. WHITLEY. In writing literature and exchanging visits?

Mr. NESS. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the representatives of those groups attend meetings at the Deutscheshaus and participate in them as speakers?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall any particular instance when representatives of those organizations were present?

Mr. NESS. Yes. On one occasion Pelley himself spoke at the German House.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, on that occasion do you recall whether or not, when Mr. Pelley made his speech at the German House, he made any allusion—or do you want to bring that out? Are you coming to that?

Mr. WHITLEY. I do not know what you have in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he make any statement about Adolf Hitler and about his own position?

Mr. NESS. Yes, he did; I have complete notes on his speech. And also Kemp, who was considered his right-hand man, spoke that evening as well. In his speech, I remember very vividly that, Pelley mentioned that he had been called by his enemies as a pro-German. He said he was proud of being pro-German; he was proud of the fact that he had been called the Adolf Hitler of America, because that is what he considered himself.

The CHAIRMAN. He was proud of being called the Adolf Hitler of America, because that is what he considered himself?

Mr. NESS. That is right; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he applauded vigorously there?

Mr. NESS. Yes; they stamped the floor and just about took the roof down.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he say how many followers he had; did he make an estimate to the crowd?

Mr. NESS. Well, the inference he gave would lead one to assume that he had everyone in the United States behind him except the present administration.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. All right; proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Ness, this material that you were given as a guide in preparing those articles and propaganda for consumption of American youth was written in German or English?

Mr. NESS. Some was in German, some in English.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the English translated here, or was it sent to this country in translated form?

Mr. NESS. No; it had been translated in Germany at party headquarters for propaganda and then shipped here.

Mr. WHITLEY. And was it your observation there was a regular supply of this propaganda material coming over here constantly?

Mr. NESS. Yes; there was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Through what channels did that come, Mr. Ness?

Mr. NESS. In Los Angeles, the biggest part of it I observed came through German ships that called at the port of Los Angeles. There were several German vessels that came in there—the *Vesser*, the *Portland*, the *Oakland*, the *Elbe*.

Mr. WHITLEY. What were the relations between the bund leaders in Los Angeles and the officials on these boats that came into the harbor?

The CHAIRMAN. You mean German boats?

Mr. WHITLEY. German boats; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Before he gets to the relationship, may I ask him, if you do not mind, how many members were there of the Friends of New Germany, or the bund—how many members that attended the meetings, would you say?

Mr. NESS. I would say that our average attendance amounted to about 100 persons.

The CHAIRMAN. That was bund members?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When they had an open meeting and the sympathizers were there, the Silver Shirts and all of this other crowd, what would be the number present?

Mr. NESS. I think the largest attendance we had was about 700 persons.

The CHAIRMAN. About 700 persons?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; go ahead.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you describe the relations between the officials of the bund, or Friends of Germany—whichever it was at the moment—and the captains and officers of these German boats that came into the harbor?

Mr. NESS. Well, the relationship was a very cordial one. It seemed that the members of the crew on these German vessels, from the captain on down, had a great deal of respect for the bund officials and in some cases it looked as though they even had a bit of fear of them. I recall on several instances when we visited various of the ships that we had the free run of the boat from the captain's quarters to any point that we wanted to go, and, of course, the captain would do anything that he was asked to do.

Mr. THOMAS. Right along those lines, if you do not mind: Did the German consul or any of the employees of the consulate out there attend any of these meetings?

Mr. NESS. Yes. Mr. Grah was the chancellor of the consulate and when Dr. Gysling was not able to visit the bund meetings, when some important functions were going on, Grah would be there as the official representative of the consulate office. Gysling was there, himself, on several occasions.

Mr. THOMAS. Did they take any active part in the inner workings of the bund out there?

Mr. NESS. Yes; it appears that they did. I cannot say definitely they did. I know there was an exchange of finances, and things of that nature.

Mr. THOMAS. But you believe they did?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You know there was an exchange of what?

Mr. NESS. An exchange of finances; that is, the consulate at one time helped the German bund with some money during one of their difficult periods.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that to be a fact?

Mr. NESS. I am quite sure. I was told by Schwinn. If his word is good, that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would Schwinn tell you that?

Mr. NESS. Because I was so closely associated with Schwinn. I might mention this, that I spent practically every day with Schwinn. Schwinn had a car that 90 percent of the time would not run, and I had a new car, and I would drive him about, and he would use my car whenever he wanted to go places.

Mr. THOMAS. You also recall that these officials of the German consulate attended these secret meetings of the bund; that is, closed meetings?

Mr. NESS. Well, I would see them going and coming during the secret sessions in Schwinn's office.

Mr. THOMAS. You would see them going and coming?

Mr. NESS. Yes. Just what transpired in his office, I don't know. I do know at one time that the German House was in a very precarious situation so far as finances were concerned and they weathered the storm quite nicely right after the consulate had been very active at the house.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I understand it, Mr. Ness, after you made your first contact there casually, then you conceived the idea of following this thing up for the purpose of getting all the information you could, so you went out of your way to observe what was going on and also to build up their confidence so that you could be in a position to get more information?

Mr. NESS. That is true.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall an incident in the early part of 1936 when a German boat called the *Elbe* was in the harbor there?

Mr. NESS. That was in the early part of 1936, you say?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir. I visited so many German vessels when they came in that it is rather difficult to recall all of them now.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Schwinn and others go down and go on the boat when it came into the harbor?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; whenever a German ship came in.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you on many occasions went with them?

Mr. NESS. On practically every occasion.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the procedure there much the same in each instance so far as going on board and talking with the captain was concerned?

Mr. NESS. Very much the same during the early part of 1936. In the latter part of 1936 or the middle part of 1936 there was a change that took place. When we first visited German ships the captains used to turn over to Schwinn whatever material he had to turn over to Schwinn that came from Germany, and Schwinn would turn over to the captain any material he wanted to send back to Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the material he was sending back to Germany?

Mr. NESS. Official reports on the status and development of bund activities in America.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether he sent any photographs, or anything of that kind to Germany?

Mr. NESS. That I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other information, besides reports on the bund, that he was sending back to Germany?

Mr. NESS. No, sir; I do not. As nearly as I recall, it was material on the activities and development of the German-American Bund, material on its progress and propaganda work in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Would he deliver sealed envelopes to the German officer or captain on the boat?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that done many times?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. On practically every occasion when a German boat came in here?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; on practically every occasion when a boat came.



The CHAIRMAN. Whenever a German boat came into the harbor at Los Angeles, Schwinn would meet the boat, and you were present most of the time?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He would go on board the German boat and contact the German officer on the boat?

Mr. NESS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And he would receive from him material, or packages of material, and they would deliver to him packages of material?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir. There would be an exchange of sealed packages or envelopes.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not know what was contained in the packages or envelopes?

Mr. NESS. Sometimes I did. I always had the packages in my car. Schwinn used my car, and I would go back to the German House and open the packages. It would be in some cases material from the propaganda headquarters in Germany. In some cases there would be a flat envelope, and I would not learn what was inside of it.

The CHAIRMAN. He would not let you see what was inside those flat envelopes?

Mr. NESS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is when you were in the bund, or associated with the bund?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Schwinn get material or packages from other parts of the country?

Mr. NESS. I recall on one occasion there was a meeting at the German House when some material was received. It was about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Although Schwinn was quite congenial, he was a bit upset because I was late. He mentioned that he had to go down to the main post office at once and send some material to Fritz Kuhn, the national leader, because Fritz Kuhn was going to Germany, and this material Fritz Kuhn was to take to the headquarters in Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you tell us approximately what date that was?

Mr. NESS. I do not recall. It has been some time.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was sometime during 1936?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir. Of course, outside of that, that had been the policy in the exchange between officers or officials on the ship of material between them and Schwinn, with their contacts, during the early part of 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was always sealed material. It always came in sealed envelopes?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir. During the middle of 1936 I went down to a German ship with Schwinn, with several other members of the bund. We always traveled around with storm troopers. We met on that ship a man who was a member of the National Socialist Party and leader of the party on that boat, and it was then they made a change in the policy. On every ship that sailed then they had placed on board the ship a man whose official duty it was to concern himself a great deal with the activities of the crews of the ships, as to their loyalty to national socialism. From that time on Schwinn would always report himself to the party leader.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was a political leader?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; he was a political leader or party leader.

Mr. WHITLEY. From the time that policy was instituted, instead of reporting to the captain in the exchange of sealed envelopes with him, he would report to the political leader or party leader?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; at first——

Mr. WHITLEY. (interposing). Were those conferences more private than those with the captain?

Mr. NESS. They were all private.

Mr. WHITLEY. He would go aboard, and they would go into a private cabin with the political leader?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; and they would go into the captain's quarters, where the captain would entertain us, while Schwinn was discussing their problems with the party leader.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it your understanding from Schwinn and other officials of the bund that those were the duties of this political leader on the boats, with one on each boat—that is, from then on, once the policy was inaugurated, there would be a political leader on each boat?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they explain to you in conversations what were the duties or what were the functions of this political leader?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir. Schwinn told me just what the duties of the political leader were; that his duty was to keep everything in line, and to give definite reports to the National Socialist Party headquarters in Germany, not only as to the conduct and activities of the men on the boat, but also on various organizations, like the German-American Bund at Los Angeles and other ports of call.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where would he make his report?

Mr. NESS. Schwinn would report to him, and he would, in turn, report to the party headquarters in Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was the one who got the reports, and there was one on each boat?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir. Schwinn once told me that when this man came here on the boat, that he was the right hand man of Adolf Hitler, and that every man throughout the entire organization was subordinate to him.

Mr. WHITLEY. They were subordinate to him because he was superior to the captain or any official on the boat, and to any local leaders in this country?

Mr. NESS. Yes; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall an occasion on which a German cruiser was in Los Angeles Harbor?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What were the circumstances of that?

Mr. NESS. It was not Los Angeles Harbor, but San Diego. The German cruiser *Karlsruhe* visited San Diego, and they sent a group of officers to the German House in Los Angeles. We had quite a number of them at the time, and we had to provide sleeping accommodations for them. They stayed for a week. In addition, there was quite a celebration in Hindenberg Park, in Los Angeles. About a week later we went to the cruiser *Karlsruhe*, at San Diego, and at that time Schwinn sent some Storm Troopers down there. I have an invitation to that meeting, but I do not have it with me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did any German consular official take part in that meeting?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; Dr. Gysling and Mr. Grah.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was Grah?

Mr. NESS. The chancellor of the consulate.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did any other outside groups participate in the celebration meetings that took place on that occasion, such as the Silver Shirts or the Russian group?

Mr. NESS. There were a number of groups present.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it usual that at least one official representative was present at all the functions of that sort, or on all such occasions?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; on all occasions we had important officials.

Mr. WHITLEY. Going back to the matter of material, do you know whether on the occasion of the cruiser's visit any orders were exchanged, or whether Schwinn made any reports to the officers of that vessel?

Mr. NESS. Schwinn told me that all those officers had to report back to Germany on their observations as to the developments and feeling in the United States for national socialism. That is the National Socialist Party. He said that he had several very pleasant conversations with them in connection with the work that he had been doing here in Los Angeles.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, would the officers on those boats observe the work of the bund and of the National Socialist groups in this country, so as to report back to the party headquarters in Germany?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITNEY. Schwinn made that clear to you in his talks?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; definitely.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those officers or officials were coming in and constantly checking up and watching them so as to report back to the officials in Germany as to their progress, activities, and so forth?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall any particular instance when you visited a German boat, or any unusual incident that took place in your relations with an officer on a boat?

Mr. NESS. In what way do you mean?

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall an occasion where there was some difficulty, or when Schwinn and the captain had difficulty in exchanging envelopes because some stranger was there?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir. There was one time when we went aboard, Schwinn and myself. We met the captain, and just as we stepped into the captain's quarters, some man walked up. He was behind us. Who he was, I do not know; but he looked around, and we came in out of the quarters again. When we came out, we left that deck and went down on one of the lower decks. This man followed us about. I believe that was Captain Prauerucht.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you remember what boat it was?

Mr. NESS. I think it was the *Oakland*. That man kept following us about, and the captain seemed to be a bit nervous. He did not question him—whether he did it, I do not know. There was not much we could do about it, and we left the ship without accomplishing anything, so far as making any exchange of letters or material was concerned. Schwinn had a brief case, but he never opened it.

Mr. WHITLEY. They did not do anything, or he did not deliver any messages?

Mr. NESS. No, sir. They seemed to be worried about the man's activities.

Mr. MASON. Who was the strange man that had a right to be on the ship?

Mr. NESS. I do not know. I do not know whether the captain questioned him. Personally, I do not know whether he did or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a passenger ship?

Mr. NESS. It was a passenger and freight ship. It was a combination ship.

Mr. MASON. You do not know whether he was a customs officer or a man who would have a right on the ship?

Mr. NESS. The captain might have known who he was. He seemed to be quite nervous when this man was about.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it your observation that this man might have been there observing their activities?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; that is the way it impressed me at the time. I felt that to be the fact. I was impressed because the captain was so nervous about this man following him around.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it the practice of the bund or the Friends of New Germany to entertain officers of ships and others when they came in the harbor?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were those entertainments usually held at the German House?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Schwinn and other leaders of the German group on the west coast make visits to Germany?

Mr. NESS. I do not recall Schwinn making a visit during my time there, but other members of the bund, particularly members of the Storm Troopers, visited Germany during 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what the purposes of those visits were, or who paid the expenses?

Mr. NESS. We used to have a roll call at meetings that were held during the absence of Storm Troopers, and Schwinn would remark that they were absent on special duty in Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever have occasion to talk with any of them after their return as to what their activities had been over there, whether it was for training, or what?

Mr. NESS. I talked to them, but they did not disclose entirely what the activities were that they had, but they gave very glowing accounts of National Socialist Party activities in Germany, and as to how greatly Germany had been built up since the National Socialist Party came into power. They mentioned that they were extending their efforts to build up national socialism in the United States.

Mr. THOMAS. Did any of those people who went to Germany relate to you anything about the meetings they might have attended at the Brown House?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; they mentioned they had been to party headquarters, and met this one and that one. They did not mention all that transpired.

Mr. THOMAS. They told you that they attended party meetings at the Brown House?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have any contact with the exchange students while engaged in activities around Los Angeles?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; at one time there were three exchange students that visited the bund. They were, I believe, going to Georgia Tech. They were exchange students at Georgia Tech, and they were driving through the country in a Ford roadster. They had swastika emblems painted on it, and the three-ring sign of the Olympic games in front.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have any discussions in bund circles as to what the functions of the exchange students were, or do they have any direct affiliation with bund groups in this country?

Mr. NESS. Just how direct that affiliation was, I do not recall. They have visited German House in Los Angeles. They reported to Schwinn immediately upon their arrival. I learned from Schwinn that they were very active in putting out propaganda favorable to the National Socialist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you learned from Schwinn, or got from Schwinn the definite impression that they were engaged in propaganda activities in behalf of the Nazi Party?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And while engaged in this activity, they maintained contact with the bund posts in this country?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the bund, I suppose, cooperated with them in every way possible in their activities?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir. On this occasion, when those three students came, Schwinn gave them a letter, as they were driving through the country. I do not recall now whether it was to the leader of the bund at San Francisco, or any other coast cities, but they took that letter from Schwinn.

Mr. WHITLEY. At any time while you were connected with the bund on the west coast, did any special representative of the Nazi Government make contact with the bund for the purpose of helping to reorganize its work or program?

Mr. NESS. I recall now that Schwinn told me that Mr. Meyerhoffer was coming from Germany to assist in rebuilding the bund. The bund seemed to be constantly in hot water so far as its financial condition was concerned, and this man was a special agent.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the Nazi Government?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir. When this man arrived, he was accorded a very cordial reception, and the house was practically turned over to him. He was a very military-bearing man, although quite short in stature. In my talks with him, he constantly referred to his association with Rudolph Hesse, the deputy fuhrer of the National Socialist Party in Germany. He tried to impress me with the close connection that he had with Hesse. He went out of the way to explain the association that he had with Hesse. He told me about going to lunch with him, working with him, going to the theater with him, and so forth.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he tell you that he had come directly from Germany, or was sent from Germany, on any official mission or purpose?

Mr. NESS. No, sir; he just mentioned that he came from Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he mentioned how closely he was associated in Germany with Rudolph Hesse?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; he told me that he was closely associated with Rudolph Hesse. Rudolph Hesse is the deputy fuehrer of the National Socialist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. What about Myerhoffer? What were his functions? Did he take an active part in the organization of the Los Angeles bund?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; in straightening out the financial difficulties they were going through.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he supersede the local fuehrer, Schwinn, when he was there? In other words, did Schwinn look up to him and recognize him as a superior while he was there?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; Schwinn took the attitude that whatever Myerhoffer suggested, he would follow along the line with it.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did he remain there?

Mr. NESS. I do not recall exactly. I believe he was there when I left. I do not recall exactly.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the O. D., or the so-called orderly division, of the bund?

Mr. NESS. That is the Orrehurt Dienst. They were storm troopers.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do they call themselves that?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In private, at least?

Mr. NESS. In private and in public.

Mr. WHITLEY. They did at that time at least?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Schwinn tell you, or did you hear, that this orderly division was modeled after the storm troopers division in Germany?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. That it was modeled after them?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; it was the same thing as the storm troopers in Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. What function did they perform?

Mr. NESS. They were the official bodyguard of Fuehrer Schwinn, and, also, to maintain order in the meetings, or party meetings.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that a special group made up of the more trusted and tried members of the bund?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. They have to have special qualifications to go into that inner circle?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is somewhat of an inner circle, or a confidential group, in the bund?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; and it is a uniformed group.

Mr. WHITLEY. What particular uniform do they wear?

Mr. NESS. Black trousers, white shirts, and black ties, and the Sam Browne belt.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do they have special meetings in the bund?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. At which the rank and file members are not present?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what procedure was followed at those meetings?

Mr. NESS. No, sir; I do not recall.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know whether they drilled?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; I know they drilled.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever attend any of their meetings?

Mr. NESS. I think you mean so far as discussions were concerned.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean any of their meetings.

Mr. NESS. I have watched them drill.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether all of the members of the bund were American citizens? Did you ever hear Schwinn comment on that, even after the orders went out that they all had to be American citizens in order to be members?

Mr. NESS. We had one member who was to be deported. He was still a member, but was to be deported to Germany. He was not a citizen of the United States. I knew several other members who were not citizens of the United States, but who were citizens of Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. In all bund meetings, do they indicate even though they are supposed to be American citizens whether they owe allegiance to the United States, or whether their allegiance is to some other power?

Mr. NESS. They would owe all their allegiance to Fuehrer Hitler. In calling a meeting to order they give their salute of heil, and at the end of the meeting there would be a heil salute given three times.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you still talking about 1936?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Thomas, in the latter part of 1936 Mr. Ness just dropped out and ceased to be active. He never broke with them, but became inactive and gradually disassociated himself from them. So far as you know, you are still on the membership rolls?

Mr. NESS. So far as I know; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever testify before any committee before?

Mr. NESS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the first time you have ever appeared and given testimony about this?

Mr. NESS. This is the first time I have appeared before a committee. I have discussed it before the Americanization Committee of the Disabled Veterans.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the first time you have appeared in public before a committee and given testimony?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the bund in Los Angeles organize a group for target practice?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir; we had an organization which was formed out of the bund, which engaged in rifle practice, and set up a couple of teams.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mr. Schwinn or any other of the bund members or officials indicate to you why they were particularly interested in giving the members this training?

Mr. NESS. Yes, sir. The rifle practice was brought about primarily for the purpose of developing a familiarity with the use of arms among the various members.

Mr. DEMPSEY. For what purpose did they want to develop their familiarity with the use of arms?

Mr. NESS. As Schwinn put it, for the purpose of taking over control.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Taking over control of what?

Mr. NESS. Taking over the Government of the United States.

Mr. THOMAS. Did they have many members who took advantage of that rifle practice?

Mr. NESS. I believe rifle practice averaged about 18 or 20 members. Sometimes we had considerably more, but I would say the average was about 20.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know where they got those rifles from?

Mr. NESS. Well, they just purchased at first a rifle that we used for target practice, and one would have to use the rifle, and then he would have five shots, and then later another would use the rifle.

Mr. THOMAS. I mean, were they members of any rifle association?

Mr. NESS. Pardon?

Mr. THOMAS. Were they members of any rifle association?

Mr. NESS. That I do not know; but Egan, who was the head of the rifle practice and instructor in rifle practice, had been an instructor in the German army during the World War. He was an expert rifleman from Germany.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the full name of that man who was a German army instructor?

Mr. NESS. Max Egan—E-g-a-n.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has some rather important work to do this afternoon, and suppose, Mr. Counsel, we recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Mr. WHITLEY. And then continue with Mr. Ness?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

The committee will stand in recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Thereupon the committee recessed until tomorrow, Friday, October 6, 1939, at 10 a. m.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Dies, Mason, and Thomas.

Also present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The Chair's attention is called to a statement made by Mr. Harry C. Lamberton, chairman of the local branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The Chair will issue a written statement in reference to this, as well as with reference to other Communist front organizations, sometime today.

On January 3, last, this committee reported to the Congress unanimously that certain organizations in this country were dominated and controlled by the Communist Party. Among those organizations was the American League for Peace and Democracy. That was the decision of the committee, and, as I said, it was a unanimous decision, concurred in by the so-called New Dealers and anti-New Dealers, as well as Republicans, or by everyone alike. In spite of that decision by this committee, many hundreds of Government employees continued to retain their affiliation with, not only this organization, but with other front organizations of the Communist Party. These employees know, or they should have known for more than a year now, or for at least a year, that they are members of a Communist front organization. Despite that fact, the membership lists which this committee obtained from the files of that organization revealed that many employees of the Government have continued active in that front organization.

Now, we have Mr. Lamberton, who is with the Rural Electrification Board, and who is the chairman of the local branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy, making the statement that this committee through illegal trespass, search and seizure without warrant, obtained possession of certain files and records or membership lists of the American League for Peace and Democracy. In fact, a local demonstration was held by that league the other night at which these statements were made. Yet, the Chair holds in his pos-

session a letter from Mr. Lambertson dated September 29, 1939, addressed to the Chair, in which he says:

We are turning over to your Mr. Robert B. Barker a membership and financial list, a mailing list, and application list, requested in subpoena dated September 28-29, respectively.

This information, of course, would have been available to you without subpoena had a request for it been made of a responsible official of the Washington branch. Our national office has always made it clear that any information in the league's records is open and available to the committee.

In other words, the Chair has a letter here in which the league voluntarily turns over this data and membership list to the committee, and then for some unexplainable reason here is the chairman of the league deliberately making the statement that this committee has illegally obtained those records through different illegal actions mentioned in the statement. The facts are that the membership list was surrendered to this committee, both here, in Chicago, and elsewhere, without any objection—that is, without any protest.

The letter from the American League for Peace and Democracy is dated September 29, 1939, and I will give it to the press. The chairman is Harry C. Lambertson; vice chairmen, Dallas W. Smythe and Sterling Brown; executive secretary, Eleanor Fowler; recording secretary, Janet Gaines; treasurer, Fred Silcox; members at large of the executive committee, Edwin S. Smith and Eava Budd; chairman of committees—on membership, Mrs. Gordon Dunthorne; legislation, Henry Lehman; publicity, Alice Barrows; finance, Michael Naigles; literature, Sophia Pressman; and education, Edward Huberman.

If you want to see this letter, together with the subpoena and this voluntary agreement to submit the matter, I will show it to the press.

Of course, this congressional committee found that this organization and others were controlled by the Communist Party. The evidence then obtained and obtained since then by the committee demonstrates that fact, and there can be no further controversy as to the parentage of this organization; and when hundreds of Government employees who have belonged to it for many years continue to belong to it, after they know that it is a front organization of the Communist Party, it does raise in the Chair's mind, at least, speaking for himself, a serious question as to what the motives of those Government employees are in continuing their affiliation with the Communist front organization, after a committee of Congress has found the true facts with reference to that organization, and then defying the committee and attributing to it ulterior motives, and charging the committee with the sabotage of social objectives, and making other statements derogatory to the committee. That raises, to the Chair's mind, a most serious question as to what are the views and purposes of Government employees who are members of this organization when they continue their affiliation with the organization after the facts have been determined.

MR. MASON. They do not attempt to deny the fact that the American League for Peace and Democracy was set up, initiated, and established by agents direct from Moscow, do they? That information is contained in the hearing of last year.

THE CHAIRMAN. In answer to your question about that, as a matter of fact, from the correspondence and files which were made public, including letters by officials of the league, and from the attitude

that had been taken, there can be no question in anybody's mind but what the Communist Party set up the American League for Peace and Democracy, and that it has largely dominated it from that time to the present time.

This committee has not violated any law in securing possession of those records. They were obtained under a legal subpoena. The records were turned over to the committee, and I have here a letter from Mr. Lamberton agreeing to the very thing that he is now denouncing the committee for, which is a well-known Communist tactic.

I might add this, that if there is any question about what the activities are, here is a document that was obtained under subpoena from the Communist Party headquarters that will give an idea of what is going on in the city of Washington, from their own reports. I might say that the membership lists that this committee seized run into the thousands, and I personally was absolutely amazed at the people who belong to this front organization. While there might be some excuse or justification for those who joined a year or 2 years ago, before they had a chance to know about it, after this committee has had witness after witness on the stand, day in and day out, testifying to the facts, supported by documentary evidence, if they continue to belong to such an organization, and defy and denounce a congressional committee, it raises, I think, a very serious question. That is not only true here in Washington, but it is true of Chicago, as appears in the record.

(Thereupon the committee took a recess, subject to the call of the Chair.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 2:20 p. m., in the Caucus Room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Shall we proceed with Mr. Ness, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

## TESTIMONY OF NEIL HOWARD NESS—Resumed

Mr. NESS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to extend my apology to the committee. I understood the session was to be at 2 o'clock this afternoon instead of this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Proceed, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Ness, did Herman Schwinn ever discuss with you his activities or connections with the Nazi Party prior to his coming to the United States?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he did. At one time he showed me a picture of himself taken in a storm trooper's uniform. That was about 1924, in Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, he was active as a Nazi storm trooper before he came to the United States?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he proud of those activities?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he talk about it?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he was quite boastful about the fact that he had been a member of the storm troopers in Germany prior to national socialism.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now what officials of the German Government have you seen around the German House in Los Angeles, Mr. Ness?

Mr. NESS. Well, I have seen Dr. Grah and Dr. Gysling.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who is Dr. Grah?

Mr. NESS. Dr. Grah is the chancellor of the consulate.

Mr. WHITLEY. Dr. Grah was chancellor to Dr. Gysling, the consul?

Mr. NESS. That is right, the German consul.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you seen both of those officials frequently around the German House?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I have.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they confer with Schwinn and other officers frequently?

Mr. NESS. Yes; they did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they ever discuss with Schwinn, Herman Schwinn, the matter of the financial conditions of the bund and the German House, and inquire as to whether the German officials helped out financially?

Mr. NESS. Yes; one time Dr. Gysling, the German consul gave Schwinn \$145 to tide over a deficit at the German House.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that deficit a result of regular operations or from some special occasion?

Mr. NESS. That was during the time that the German battleship *Karlsruhe* was there.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it was in connection with the entertainment of the crew?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And Schwinn, Herman Schwinn, indicated to you that he received the \$145, or did you actually see the consul give that money to Schwinn?

Mr. NESS. Schwinn told me he had.

Mr. WHITLEY. That he had given it?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever have any conversation with Schwinn as to whether the German officials had to be careful in their contributions and financial aid to the bund?

Mr. NESS. Yes; Schwinn and also Dr. Gysling told me that they had to be very careful because they could not have it officially known that the money was coming from the consulate.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, they had to make their financial contributions on the quiet?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they could not let it be known that they were helping out?

Mr. NESS. Dr. Gysling once said that if there ever was an investigation into un-American activities, such as the Dies committee, that would be one of the things to be uncovered, that he had helped them.

Mr. WHITLEY. He made it known that he was concerned as to the probability of some organization or committee finding out that he had helped the bund financially?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he mentioned that to you personally?

Mr. NESS. He mentioned the Dies committee and mentioned the fact that if they ever had another investigation it would probably uncover the fact—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). You say the Dies committee. The Dies committee was not in existence at that time. You mean the McCormack committee or the Dickstein committee.

Mr. NESS. Dickstein.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the committee he referred to?

Mr. NESS. That was the committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. And said that if they ever had another such investigation it might find that out?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That he had contributed to the bund?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you there on any occasion when recordings, Nazi recordings, were played or reproduced at the German House, Mr. Ness; speeches, for instance?

Mr. NESS. Yes. I recall one incident now where Schwinn went into quite an elaborate introduction of a speaker.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. NESS. On that occasion Dr. Gysling was to be one of the speakers of the evening and after Schwinn had elaborated on his introduction of the speaker they played a record of a speech given by Adolf Hitler.

Dr. Gysling came out on the platform expecting to speak but instead he switched over to this record.

Mr. WHITLEY. And Schwinn made an introduction just as he was introducing a speaker who was to speak?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he did; that is why Dr. Gysling became confused about it. Schwinn introduced this speaker in such a way that one would believe that this speaker was coming out now to give a talk.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. NESS. And Dr. Gysling came out on the platform, on the stage, fully prepared to make a talk, but instead the record of Adolf Hitler's speech was portrayed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was put on?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Dr. Gysling maintain, especially during 1936 when you were active in the Los Angeles bund, did he maintain or have close contact with Schwinn both personally and by telephone?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you say he had very close contact with the bund's activities?

Mr. NESS. Yes. He telephoned him almost daily and he was there three or four times each week.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, impressed you that he was taking an active and personal interest in the bund's affairs?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, you mentioned yesterday, Mr. Ness, and I will ask you again today, when you first became associated with the organization in Los Angeles it was known as the Friends of New Germany, and the name was changed to the German-American Bund. Did Herman Schwinn ever tell you what that change meant, if anything, and the extent of the change?

Mr. NESS. The extent of the change was in name only.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he tell you that?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he say anything about the declared policy of the new organization, that is, with reference to its having only American citizens in the organization?

Mr. NESS. Yes; that was the policy of the new organization; it was to have only American citizens in the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Schwinn say whether the organization was following that policy?

Mr. NESS. No; they were decidedly not following that policy, because they maintained in their membership citizens of the Third Reich.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, it is not correct to say that they had only American citizens?

Mr. NESS. That is not true at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, did you ever have occasion to personally discuss with Dr. Gysling, the German counsel at Los Angeles, the financial condition of the German house and the bund in Los Angeles?

Mr. NESS. Yes. At one time I took up the financial problems of the German house with Dr. Gysling, and he mentioned then that if I could get a lease on the house, that he would support it financially.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, if you could get the lease in your own name?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That he would take care of the financing?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The idea was that putting it in your own name, he thought he could divorce the consulate and the bund's connection in some way?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he wanted to get Schwinn out of the picture at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. He thought Schwinn was doing a bad job of it financially?

Mr. NESS. Well, not only with the financing but also with the propaganda.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. NESS. He felt that a native-born American would do more good.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. NESS. In putting on the propaganda for the Third Reich.

Mr. WHITLEY. That it would not be so subject to criticism?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the idea?

Mr. NESS. That was the idea.

Mr. WHITLEY. Nor did you on several occasions discuss with Herman Schwinn the proposition of directing the platform or the program of the bund in Los Angeles?

Mr. NESS. Yes. We directed the policy, the platform, on the same basis that Adolf Hitler had brought out his platform.

Mr. WHITLEY. You used the same platform in Los Angeles?

Mr. NESS. Yes; we had the same 25 points that Hitler had.

Mr. WHITLEY. During your discussions with Schwinn concerning the platform did he make any reference to the Nazi attitude concerning the Catholics?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he did. He mentioned that we would follow the same policy and program that Hitler had followed; that is, that we would commence with the attack upon the Jews and after we had beaten down the Jews we would go after the Catholics.

Mr. WHITLEY. He mentioned that part of the program?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he say that was the same policy that had been followed in Germany?



Mr. NESS. Yes; that had been Adolf Hitler's policy; that he first began with the attack upon the Jews, and then later switched over to the attack upon the Catholics.

Mr. WHITLEY. Included the Catholics?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the religious attack?

Mr. NESS. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. During the later part of 1936, did you have occasion to meet or become acquainted with an individual called Captain Beamish?

Mr. NESS. I recall that Captain Beamish came from South Africa, and was the representative of the German Government in the World News Service.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is what is known as a German organization known as World Service?

Mr. NESS. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Captain Beamish associate or work with Herman Schwinn and the bund officials while he was in Los Angeles?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he made his headquarters at the German House.

Mr. WHITLEY. He made his headquarters at the bund house?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he wear any insignia of any kind to identify himself with any of the organizations of the German Government?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he wore one on his left arm—a band.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. NESS. That was a stripe which had an insignia of the German Nazi Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. The swastika?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was a sort of arm band?

Mr. NESS. Yes; on his left arm.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he attend the meetings or address the meetings of the bund while he was in Los Angeles?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he attended all the meetings while he was there, and he was also a speaker on one occasion.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, he took an active part?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the bund's activities while he was in Los Angeles?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he was very active while he was in Los Angeles.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, did you ever have occasion to meet Fritz Kuhn, the national leader of the bund, Mr. Ness?

Mr. NESS. Well, about November of 1936—

Mr. WHITLEY. November 1936?

Mr. NESS. Yes. He visited the Brown house, that was the German House.

Mr. WHITLEY. The German House?

Mr. NESS. And when he arrived he was given a very cordial welcome; received as the fuhrer of the party naturally; and he also gave a talk there that evening.

Mr. WHITLEY. Gave a talk to the bund?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In that talk did he encourage the bund to support this Government as American citizens, or did he urge them to support the Hitler, the Nazi regime?

Mr. NESS. Well, he spoke principally about Hitler and the regime in Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. NESS. And urged all people that were interested in a better form of government in the United States to support Hitler, because eventually the bund or the German-American group would take over the government of the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it the type of speech that a leader of America, real Americans would make? I say that because Mr. Kuhn said that it was the policy of the bund to maintain its interest concerning the Government of the United States.

Mr. NESS. No. Mr. Kuhn spoke that evening entirely as a representative of the Hitler Government in Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. NESS. And what they would do when they came into power here.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Mr. Ness, were there any representatives of any other organizations or groups present at this meeting which Kuhn addressed?

Mr. NESS. Yes; there was a representative of the Silver Shirts. And there was also a representative of the Russian Revolutionists.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was the Silver Shirt representative; do you recall?

Mr. NESS. I do not recall whether Kemp was there or not. I do know that Bruce and Tremble were there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Bruce and Tremble; both representatives of the Silver Shirts?

Mr. NESS. Yes; they were leaders of the Silver Shirts in Los Angeles.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Kenneth Alexander, who I believe is the leader in southern California, there that night?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he was there also.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Mr. Roy Zachary, one of Pelley's Silver Shirts representatives?

Mr. NESS. He was there on that evening.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did any of the representatives of any of these groups present make speeches?

Mr. NESS. Yes; Mr. Zachary made a speech on behalf of Pelley, and as a representative of Pelley's.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. NESS. He mentioned that he was the one man, the fuehrer of America, meaning Pelley was the fuehrer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Zachary described himself as the right-hand man to the fuehrer of America?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. When he was referring to Pelley?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he make any further reference to Pelley's position in this country?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he spoke of the fact that Pelley would soon be in a position to take over the control of the Government.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. NESS. And that when he did, why he would pattern the Government under the same order that Hitler patterned his in Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he compare Hitler and Pelley?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he mentioned that while Hitler was the savior of Germany, Pelley would be the savior of America.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. NESS. And that Pelley himself acknowledges the fact that he was the Adolf Hitler of the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see, and Mr. Zachary was the representative of Pelley at that meeting?

Mr. NESS. Yes; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have occasion, while associating actively in the bund in Los Angeles to become acquainted with an individual named T. K. Ferenz?

Mr. NESS. Yes. Ferenz was the head of—he owned the Continental Theater of Los Angeles.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. NESS. And he received all his films from Germany that he displayed.

Mr. WHITLEY. In that theater?

Mr. NESS. Ran in that theater.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, what was the nature of the films? Were they just for amusement purposes, or what did they show?

Mr. NESS. No; they were entirely propaganda films, they showed the development of Germany under the Third Reich, and also what Germany could do for other countries.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Mr. Ferenz a bund member?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he active in the bund?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have occasion to see some of the German films shown at the Continental Theater?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I have seen the Einer von Wielen; and also Sin in the Blood and several others.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were they purely propaganda, Nazi propaganda pictures?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were some of the pictures also shown at the German House?

Mr. NESS. Yes; they were shown at the German House and moved over to the Continental Theater.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt you there a moment?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were in the bund and closely associated with it did you have occasion to meet many German agents who came to the United States for various purposes?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have occasion to take a trip with Herman Schwinn and an agent from Germany, and when passing a golf club he mentioned the fact that the building was the proving grounds for the airships? Do you remember such an occasion as that?

Mr. NESS. I do. I might mention this: That there was one German agent who came to Los Angeles—Schwinn told me about 2 weeks before he arrived that he was coming, and when he arrived this agent wanted to see the position of the American fleet at San Pedro, and also the base at San Diego.

I suggested that we drive down in my car, so we took this agent, Schwinn, and myself, and another gentleman, and we started out to San Diego.

When we passed a golf club about 20 miles south of Long Beach, there was a C. C. C. truck driving up to this golf club, and I mentioned then to Schwinn that this place was the proving ground for our artillery unit.

When I mentioned that this agent became quite excited and he wanted to stop and take some pictures of the marine view. I stopped the car and backed up about 500 feet so I would be opposite the clubhouse and this German agent jumped out of the car and took three or four snapshots of the marine view around that point.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall what that man's name was?

Mr. NESS. I have the name of the agent in my notes but I do not have it with me.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand, your papers and files are in Los Angeles; and you were in San Francisco when you got word to appear before the committee, is that right?

Mr. NESS. That is right. When I received word that I was to appear before the committee I was in San Francisco and all of my files were in Los Angeles. I did not have time to pick them up.

The CHAIRMAN. Those will be available to the committee. Did you have occasion to see many agents that you had reason to believe came over here for espionage purposes?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was going on all the time, was it?

Mr. NESS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Agents would get off the boats and go in and about that area and were aided by bund members in carrying on that work, is that right?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any effort ever made to check up on these agents? Did you have any trouble through any enforcement agencies?

Mr. NESS. Well, at one time I recall a discussion between the chairman of the Americanization Committee of the Disabled Veterans' organization, and Schwinn and myself in which we discussed the probability of them checking up on Count von Buelow. Count von Buelow in our opinion was the head of the German espionage. He was also a very close friend of the chief of the naval intelligence in that district.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened as a result of that?

Mr. NESS. Well, all suspicion was allayed.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Schwinn tell you and other officials of the bund that they were getting information from all over the country?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. German agents were landing on the west coast; did they travel in the interior? Do you know whether they went from the west coast to New York or anywhere else?

Mr. NESS. Well, they did. This one German agent that I spoke of—I do not recall his name—he traveled into the interior. Also he went down into Mexico. He left here—that is, he left Los Angeles on a Japanese vessel bound for Yokohama, Japan.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there many such instances as the one you enumerated?

Mr. NESS. Yes; quite a number.

The CHAIRMAN. When you took those pictures, did you go on to San Pedro—I believe you said San Pedro.

Mr. NESS. San Diego.

The CHAIRMAN. San Diego. Did you get there?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he take pictures through that area?

Mr. NESS. Yes. We went into the submarine base and the destroyer base at San Diego, and he took pictures there also.

The CHAIRMAN. So that there was not any question in your mind, from your contacts with him, about the true purpose of the bund in that area, was there?

Mr. NESS. There was not.

The CHAIRMAN. And there is no question in your mind that it was an arm of the Nazi Government for espionage purposes; is that true?

Mr. NESS. Yes; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. They were constantly giving information to the agents of Germany?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And they did not take any particular pains to conceal their Nazi affiliation, did they?

Mr. NESS. Well, Schwinn did not to me. I would like to explain at this time that I have documentary evidence of everything that I have testified to before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. And you will submit that later on?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I will submit that later on.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any more questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. WHITLEY. Just two or three, Mr. Chairman. I believe you testified yesterday, Mr. Ness, that you were one of the members of the editorial staff of the official organ on the west coast of the bund, the Weckruf.

Mr. NESS. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you hold any other positions with the bund or did they suggest that you hold any other official positions on any committees, or anything of that kind?

Mr. NESS. Yes. I was chairman of the Deutsches Buhne. The Deutsches Buhne is an organization established mainly for the dissemination of propaganda on the stage and through the screen.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the bund on the west coast propose setting up an organization known as the camouflage committee?

Mr. NESS. Yes. I was chairman of the camouflage committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the function of that committee?

Mr. NESS. The function of that committee was to distribute propaganda in a way that it would not be recognized as coming from Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. How did they propose to do that?

Mr. NESS. Through newspapers, through magazines, through the stage.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Schwinn ever make any mention to you, or have any conversation with you, with reference to the manner in which the Communist Party spread propaganda through innocent or front organizations?

Mr. NESS. Yes. The camouflage committee was to function exactly the same as the Communist Party functioned; that is, we would establish cells, and from cells go into wards, and from wards go into larger units, and in the spreading of this propaganda we would begin with the cells, but we would follow the same policy as the Communist Party followed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Schwinn or Ferenz ever mention to you the manner in which the Communist Party used front organizations or innocent organizations to spread their propaganda?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they propose to follow the same tactics?

Mr. NESS. They were going to follow the same tactics as the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, use other organizations to spread their propaganda?

Mr. NESS. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they suggest any of the organizations that they might use, or were using, in that connection or for that purpose, such as the Silver Shirts?

Mr. NESS. The Silver Shirts, the American Nationalist Party, and the Revolutionary Party, and various other organizations were to be used. And Dr. Gysling, himself, arranged for talks before various groups such as the Lions' Club, Rotarians, that Schwinn would appear before and give them a talk on the New Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. And Dr. Gysling was the consul in that area, and he would arrange for those talks?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have occasion to know an individual while you were active in the bund known as Prince von Lippe?

Mr. NESS. I knew him quite well.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was he doing?

Mr. NESS. Prince von Lippe had originally come to the United States, how I do not know; but he came to America.

Mr. WHITLEY. From what country?

Mr. NESS. From Germany, and became quite active in the bund. Later on he received a scholarship in the University of Southern California. I understand that, or I was given to understand that, he received his scholarship from Count von Buelow. But Dr. Kleinschmidt and one of the other professors in the University of Southern California also vouched for him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he a member of the bund in Los Angeles?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he was a member of the bund.

Mr. WHITLEY. An active member?

Mr. NESS. An active member.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he was using his university connections to disseminate Nazi propaganda?

Mr. NESS. Well, he tried to arrange a series of lectures on the Nazi Government, through the high schools in southern California. He did get into some of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. He got into some of them?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he got into some of them, but others refused him permission to speak.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever talk with him, or did he ever talk with you about propaganda activities?

Mr. NESS. Yes. On one evening I went with Prince von Lippe to the home of Mr. Maile, who was one of the technical directors of the Manual Arts High School, and Lippe mentioned at that time that he would like to give a talk at the Manual Arts.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you acquainted with an individual named Ingraham Hughes?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was his connection with the bund in Los Angeles?

Mr. NESS. Well, it was entirely cooperative. Ingraham Hughes was the head of the American Nationalist Party, and he would cooperate with the bund in the promulgation of literature.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he prepare literature for them?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he did.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was his business, Mr. Ness?

Mr. NESS. Well, I was never able to find out how he made a living, excepting through perhaps a list of the people that contributed to him. He was the head of the American Nationalist Party, and as such received contributions from various people.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say he did cooperate closely with the bund?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he did.

Mr. WHITLEY. During your conversations with Schwimm or the other bund leaders in Los Angeles, did they discuss with you the Silver Shirt Legion or what they thought of it, or its relations to the bund?

Mr. NESS. Well, yes. We had a working agreement with the Silver Shirts that we would pass out their literature and they would pass out ours.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they attended your meetings and you attended theirs?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they spoke in your meetings and you spoke at theirs?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Very close cooperation?

Mr. NESS. It was. There was a definite working agreement between the Silver Shirts and the bund.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you testified yesterday, Mr. Ness, that William Dudley Pelley spoke at the German House about the middle of 1936?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In Los Angeles?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you meet him on that occasion?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. In that speech, did he make any reference to Adolf Hitler or the Nazi Government?

Mr. NESS. Yes. When Pelley arrived, I was introduced to him; Schwinn introduced me to Pelley, so that I was one of the fair-haired boys of the National Socialist Party in the United States. And when Pelley took the platform he spoke for some time, and mentioned the fact that he was called pro-German and he was proud of the fact that he was pro-German. He also mentioned the fact that he was called the Adolf Hitler of America and he was proud of the fact that he was the Adolf Hitler of the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. He admitted that, and boasted about it?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Henry Allen ever come to the German House or attend any meetings there?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he was a frequent visitor at the German House; also made a speech there one evening.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he cooperate with the bund and did they cooperate with him?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall an occasion on which Mr. Allen was arrested for distributing circulars, and the bund assisted him?

Mr. NESS. Yes. At one time Mr. Allen was arrested for passing our circulars on one of the main streets of Los Angeles, on Broadway. The bund took up a contribution for the defense committee for Mr. Allen.

Mr. WHITLEY. To help him get out of his trouble?

Mr. NESS. To help him get out of jail; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever have occasion to come into contact with Mrs. Leslie Fry, who was at the head of the Christian Free Press and also the Militant Christian Patriots?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I met Mrs. Fry about the latter part of 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did she ever have any contact with the bund leaders?

Mr. NESS. Yes; she had contact with Schwinn.

Mr. WHITLEY. How closely did Schwinn cooperate with the so-called White Russian organizations on the coast?

Mr. NESS. He cooperated with them as closely as the White Russians would permit him to.

Mr. WHITLEY. There was a friendly interchange?

Mr. NESS. Yes. They arranged meetings at the German House for the Russian Revolutionary Party and Schwinn also spoke at meetings of the Russian Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. And attended meetings where they were present and where they spoke?

Mr. NESS. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever meet or know of a man, while you were in the bund in Los Angeles, named Kendzia?

Mr. NESS. Yes. There were two Kendzias in the bund. One was Paul and the other—I have forgotten his first name; but Paul Kendzia was most active. Willie, I think, was the other one's name, Willie Kendzia and Paul Kendzia.



Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall an occasion when at a meeting, when the roll was called, Hermann Schwinn answered for the names of Paul Kendzia and Hans Diebl and Tony Kerner?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did he say?

Mr. NESS. When the names were called, he announced to the roll master that these men were absent on special duty in Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. He said they were absent on special duty in Germany?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether they were in Germany at that time?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I do. We received mail from them, in Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. And Schwinn explained that they were doing special duty in Germany?

Mr. NESS. That is right; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have any occasion to talk to any of these men after they returned, with reference to their activities in Germany?

Mr. NESS. Yes. I met Paul Kendzia after he returned; also Tony Kerner and they told me what wonderful work was going on in Germany, and how, according to the German schedule, we would have a Hitler government in the United States very shortly.

Mr. WHITLEY. Incidentally, Mr. Ness, did the bund members and officials, in talking among themselves, refer to the bund as the National Socialist Party in the United States, or make any references of that kind?

Mr. NESS. Well, they often referred to the fact that they would take over the Government here and become the leading organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they actually consider themselves a branch of the National Socialist Party?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean, did they so express themselves?

Mr. NESS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the greatest membership that they ever built up in that area? You said about a hundred would attend these meetings. Is that the greatest number they ever had there?

Mr. NESS. No; we had as many as about 700.

The CHAIRMAN. Seven hundred was the membership of the bund there?

Mr. NESS. Yes; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever have Hermann Schwinn represent himself to be an official of the Nazi Government, the German Government?

Mr. NESS. Yes. I recall one time there had been a Dr. Reddy; I do not know just exactly what his official capacity was insofar as medicine was concerned, but he called himself Dr. Reddy. He had given a very anti-Semitic talk at the Pacific Yacht Club, and after we learned about that we went down to see Dr. Reddy.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who do you mean by "we"?

Mr. NESS. Schwinn and myself. When we got down to see Dr. Reddy, he was not at home, but his wife was there, and Schwinn said we were representatives of the German Government and would like

to talk to Dr. Reddy about getting together on his anti-Semitic program.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, when Schwinn heard that Dr. Reddy had made an anti-Semitic speech, he immediately went down to see him, to see if he could get him to cooperate with the bund?

Mr. NESS. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. When he went to Dr. Reddy's house, he described himself to Mrs. Reddy as an official of the German Government?

Mr. NESS. Yes. When he met Mrs. Reddy, Schwinn introduced himself and myself also and said that we represented the German Government in southern California.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Schwinn and Dr. Reddy ever did get together or not?

Mr. NESS. Yes; they did. Dr. Reddy came up to the German House at one time and had lunch with Schwinn and discussed the program that they were to follow.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Schwinn ever had any correspondence with Adolf Hitler directly, or ever wrote him, or received any communications from him?

Mr. NESS. Yes. Schwinn at one time showed me a picture of himself taken in a storm trooper's uniform before he came to America, and he mentioned that he was one of the close associates of Adolf Hitler in the early days of the National Socialist Party in Germany. About the fall of 1936 we received a letter that was personally signed by Adolf Hitler, at the German House in Los Angeles, commending us upon our good work in southern California, praising us for our effectiveness.

Mr. WHITLEY. To whom was that letter addressed?

Mr. NESS. That letter was addressed to Hermann Schwinn and the German-American Bund.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was addressed to him and the bund?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you see the letter?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it was signed by Adolf Hitler?

Mr. NESS. It was signed personally by Adolf Hitler.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he was praising Schwinn and the bund in southern California for the good work that they were doing?

Mr. NESS. That is right; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Schwinn bring that letter to the attention of the membership of the bund?

Mr. NESS. Yes. We had about 150 members present on that evening, and Schwinn read the letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was a regular meeting?

Mr. NESS. Yes; that was a regular meeting. When he read the letter, he mentioned also the fact that it was personally signed by Hitler.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Mr. Schwinn knew Fritz Kuhn in Germany before he came to this country?

Mr. NESS. That, I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You never heard him mention that?

Mr. NESS. No. But I do know that at one time Schwinn was very anxious to take over the position of national fuehrer.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was ambitious to supplant or replace Kuhn?

Mr. NESS. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Professional rivalry in the organization?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe that is all I had in mind, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Just to summarize: As I understand from your testimony, when these German agents came to the United States for the purpose of taking pictures and getting information, they received the fullest cooperation from bund officials, is that correct?

Mr. NESS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. They were carried in automobiles to strategic points and were shown every courtesy and given every aid by the bund?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They were entertained at bund meetings, too, were they not?

Mr. NESS. Yes; that is right. As a matter of fact, the bund was practically turned over to them when they arrived.

The CHAIRMAN. And over a long period of time—that is, as long as you were in the bund—these agents were coming and going. As the ships would come in, they would get off the ships and drive around all over the country taking photographs of different places on the west coast, is that right?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of them would make trips to the interior, is that right?

Mr. NESS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And here were 700 members of the bund, and, so far as you know, most of the bund members cooperated with these agents, is that correct?

Mr. NESS. They did.

Mr. WHITLEY. And bund members, were they employed in various plants and factories in the interior?

Mr. NESS. Yes; they were employed in various industrial activities.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any in particular who were employed in plane factories, or any type of munitions factories?

Mr. NESS. We had one member by the name of Schnuke. He was employed by Douglas Aircraft. He was the brother to the man that had been the national fuehrer some years ago.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was when it was still the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he an active bund member?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he was.

The CHAIRMAN. Were not most of the members of the bund skilled workmen?

Mr. NESS. The biggest majority of them were; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I know that in the testimony in Chicago we were told that by the bund leaders; that most of their members were skilled workmen, and worked usually throughout the key industries in that section.

Mr. NESS. Yes. Most of them were machinists or mechanics of some kind, or shop foremen.

The CHAIRMAN. And all of them were great admirers of Hitler, were they not?

Mr. NESS. They all were.

The CHAIRMAN. There was not any question about their feeling for nazi-ism?

Mr. NESS. No. As I mentioned previously, all of our meetings were called to order on the basis of "Heil Hitler," and when we adjourned, our meetings were adjourned on "Sieg Hitler."

The CHAIRMAN. And did they say that the bund in the United States was similar to other organizations that the Nazi Government had built up in other countries, such as the organizations that they had built up in Czechoslovakia and in Poland, and in different countries of South America?

Mr. NESS. The general understanding was that the bund here in the United States was an arm of the German Government in Germany, and we patterned after the National Socialist Party in Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. From your experience in the bund and your observation of their activities, even though many of them were American citizens, would you say that their first loyalty, their feeling of loyalty, was to the United States or to Germany?

Mr. NESS. It was decidedly to Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. There was no question in your mind about that?

Mr. NESS. No question at all. No question when any of the bund members were there.

Mr. WHITLEY. From your knowledge of the bund and its members, and your observation of them, in the event there were a war between the United States and Germany, would their loyalty be with the United States or would they be actively loyal to Germany?

Mr. NESS. They would actively be loyal to Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that would include even performing espionage and sabotage, if they thought it would help Germany?

Mr. NESS. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. And there is no question in your mind about that, from your knowledge of the organization and its members, and their attitude.

Mr. NESS. None whatever. We discussed that frequently at our meetings.

Mr. WHITLEY. The bund members discussed that?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The question of whom they would be loyal to?

Mr. NESS. Yes; and as to what we would do in the event of an armed conflict between Germany and the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. And was there ever any question that the bund and its members would help Germany?

Mr. NESS. No. We always discussed what we would do toward helping Germany, such as blowing up waterworks and munitions plants and docks.

Mr. WHITLEY. Espionage?

Mr. NESS. And espionage; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, that was actually discussed at meetings, and the discussion went so far as to make plans as to what the

bund could do to help the nazi government in the event there was a conflict?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And those various members suggested blowing up waterworks and docks?

Mr. NESS. Yes. We had about a hundred members on the Pacific coast at one time that we could depend on to paralyze the defense on the Pacific coast.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the bund go to the point of making definite plans as to what could be accomplished along that line?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they actually discussed it at their meetings?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How to paralyze certain industries or activities on the coast?

Mr. NESS. Yes; we planned on paralyzing the Pacific coast from Seattle to San Diego.

Mr. WHITLEY. By sabotage?

Mr. NESS. Yes; which included blowing up the Hercules powder plant, where they make munitions, and also blowing up all of the docks and warehouses along the water front.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the type of discussions that went on, and the plans that were made in this organization which Fritz Kuln describes as a strictly American political organization.

Mr. NESS. Well, there is nothing American or political about the organization at all. It is purely an arm of the German Government. At least that was my observation.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now go into an executive session.

(Whereupon the committee went into executive session.)

(At the conclusion of the executive session the committee proceeded in open session as follows:)

#### TESTIMONY OF NEIL HOWARD NESS—Recalled

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, after Mr. Ness left the stand he told me in conversation—he gave me some information that I thought might be of interest to the committee, and should be in the record. He stated he did not mention it previously because he did not think it was important. I thought it might be important, because, to my mind, it explains further how he was able so quickly to get the complete confidence of the leaders of the Friends of New Germany and the German-American Bund in Los Angeles.

Mr. Ness, I believe you testified yesterday that you were in the Army during the war?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was your position in the Army?

Mr. NESS. Well—

Mr. WHITLEY. Your rank?

Mr. NESS. It varied. I was an enlisted man and promoted to the rank of corporal.

Mr. WHITLEY. What branch of the service were you in?

Mr. NESS. I was with an Artillery unit.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you see service overseas?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Following the war, did you remain over there?

Mr. NESS. No; I came back to the United States and was discharged here, and then I went back to Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. What year was that?

Mr. NESS. That was 1919.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did you do in Germany?

Mr. NESS. I went to school at the University of Berlin.

Mr. WHITLEY. You attended the University of Berlin?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. For how long?

Mr. NESS. For 6 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. For 6 years?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What courses did you pursue there?

Mr. NESS. I pursued engineering courses.

Mr. WHITLEY. You pursued engineering courses?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you get any degrees?

Mr. NESS. I took a bachelor of science degree and a master of science degree.

Mr. WHITLEY. A bachelor of science degree and a master of science degree?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. During that 6-year period did you learn to speak German fluently?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I learned it quite well.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you make many friends, some of whom you have seen and associated with later in the United States?

Mr. NESS. Yes. Quite a number of my classmates are now No. 1 Nazis.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have seen and had contacts with them, and because of your past association in Berlin, Germany, naturally they were more inclined to take you into their fold or into their confidence; is that correct?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you name any members of the Los Angeles Bund in particular whom you first knew in Berlin?

Mr. NESS. Count von Buelow, although he has never been a member of the bund. He is one that I strongly suspect is the head of the German espionage system on the west coast. He is the son of the General von Buelow of World War fame.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long has he been on the west coast, Mr. Ness?

Mr. NESS. I believe about 6 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you known him and been in contact with him off and on during that period?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I have.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he closely associated with the bund posts on the west coast?

Mr. NESS. Yes; he is.

Mr. WHITLEY. Even though he is not a member?

Mr. NESS. He is not a member, and all of his visits to the bund are kept secret.

Mr. WHITLEY. They do not want any one to know that he has contact with them?

Mr. NESS. No; nor does he.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what activity he is engaged in out there?

Mr. NESS. He is not engaged in any particular activity at the present time, to my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he following any occupation?

Mr. NESS. No. He married a very wealthy woman that was interested in his title. He lives at Point Loma, near the San Diego naval base.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any of his activities or connections out there that have caused you to suspect him of being engaged in espionage?

Mr. NESS. Yes. He is very much interested in the fleet maneuvers, the United States fleet maneuvers. He goes for extensive surveys of the battle fleet and the destroyer fleet maneuvers.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is a flyer, is he not?

Mr. NESS. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he not an aviator?

Mr. NESS. No; he is not an aviator; at least, not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know how he feels with reference to the Nazi regime in Germany?

Mr. NESS. He is 100 percent Nazi.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is Nazi; he is not American.

Mr. NESS. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he an American citizen?

Mr. NESS. I do not know if he is an American citizen or not.

Mr. WHITLEY. But whether he is or not, you know of your own knowledge that he is a Nazi?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I know he is 100 percent Nazi.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he has any or has had any contacts with these German agents, Nazi agents, who circulated through there from time to time?

Mr. NESS. Yes. At one time he and Schwinn and myself visited one of the German boats in Los Angeles. And he visited the German House on quite a number of occasions; and when he did, and when I became acquainted with the fact, he asked me to keep it quiet—not to mention that he had visited the German House.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do Schwinn and the other bund leaders out there look up to him as one with authority?

Mr. NESS. Yes; they do.

Mr. WHITLEY. You think that comes from his title or from some confidential mission that he is performing?

Mr. NESS. I think it comes from the position he holds in the Nazi Government.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is your best judgment, from your acquaintanceship with him and your observation of his activities, that he does hold some official position with the Nazi Government?

Mr. NESS. Yes; I think he does. That is purely a thought on my part.

Mr. WHITLEY. He has never confirmed that, but that is your opinion based on your own observations?

Mr. NESS. Yes; if I were classify him, I would classify him as an official of the Nazi Government.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was through your use of the German language, plus the 6 years you spent in Germany, plus the friends you had, such as Count von Buelow, that made it possible for you to get into the inner circle of the bund so quickly, is that right?

Mr. NESS. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Because you could speak their language; because you had been to Germany?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they took you into their confidence without any question?

Mr. NESS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I am glad to get that explanation for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will adjourn until 9:30 tomorrow.

(Whereupon, the committee adjourned to meet on Saturday, October 7, 1939, at 9:30 a. m.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 9:30 a. m., in the Caucus Room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies, chairman, presiding.

Present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee, and Mr. J. B. Matthews, director of research for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

## TESTIMONY OF ERNEST BAUMANN, SALESMAN

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where do you live, Mr. Baumann?

Mr. BAUMANN. 48 Montclair Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. BAUMANN. Buffalo.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you lived in Buffalo all of your life?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When were you born?

Mr. BAUMANN. October 28, 1895.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your present occupation?

Mr. BAUMANN. Salesman of lubricants.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Baumann, at what age did you become interested in the labor movement?

Mr. BAUMANN. On about my second year in high school, or about the third year; at about 16.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you take any active part in the labor movement at that time?

Mr. BAUMANN. The first active part I took was in the street-car union, preparatory—before the strike in 1913; I sold labor newspapers on the street.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Since that time have you been more or less continuously occupied in the trade-union matters?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes; more or less.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give some details of your connections with trade-union organizations?

Mr. BAUMANN. Well, 1913, that was the beginning, and again in—I think 1921 or 1922 I assisted in the switchman's strike.

Then in 1923 in the street-car strike, collecting—

Mr. MATTHEWS (interposing). All those in Buffalo?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. After 1923?

Mr. BAUMANN. In 1923 I was more or less in the work, helping unions, whenever possible, speaking for them, the different unions, but I wasn't directly connected with any of them until 1934.

Mr. MATTHEWS. 1934; what union activities did you have?

Mr. BAUMANN. Aircraft Federated Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Aircraft Federated Union?

Mr. BAUMANN. Of the A. F. of L.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was an affiliate of the A. F. of L.?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And how long were you engaged in that activity?

Mr. BAUMANN. Why, I had been consulted by some of the leaders prior to the strike in 1934 as to the advisability of striking against the Curtiss Airplane and the Bell Aircraft, and I advised against either and before the board pleaded for them not to strike. I did not think they were strong enough, but I was "booed" down by the radical element, called a coward, and they went on strike.

The strike lasted about 6 weeks; in March, I think, it was started, and—March or the latter part of February, because I know it was rather cold at that time. They had about 2,200 out on strike.

And all through that strike I conducted or organized public meetings through the city to get sympathy for the strike and collected money, organized soup kitchens, got religious organizations interested in collecting food for strike headquarters. We supplied—I had or supplied kitchens. There was no money in the union. That was one of the reasons I did not want them to strike. But I worked with the president of the union, who was a very intelligent man but knew nothing about trade-unionism, and he wanted to get along, and he had misadvisers who were constantly urging him to use violence in the strike, even to use dynamite. And I kept on urging them to take it easy and just have peaceful picketing, but the Communists couldn't see it my way, until sometime around the latter part of March they really started out in earnest, and they would stone the cars in front of three or four hundred policemen until the policemen started to throw tear gas; they were provoked in a different way.

I saw in one instance at that strike the thing that I was against and tried to prevent, where women would stick hatpins in policemen's horses and when they were arrested throw a fit so when newspaper photographers would be there, why, it would look as if they were being manhandled.

Then the next I was requested by the Furrier Workers who at that time were controlled by a man by the name of Lucchi—

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was in 1934?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes; that was late in the spring.

Lucchi was not a Communist; he was a right winger in the union and they were preparing for a strike. At that time he couldn't get recognition from the employers.

So, I assisted in that strike.

And then in 1935, in the summer, late summer of 1935, I was contacted by one of the vice presidents of the International Ladies' Garment Workers and requested to work for their organization and try to set up an organization in the Buffalo mills, in the cotton garment industry.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you accept that position?

Mr. BAUMANN. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What were your activities in that connection?

Mr. BAUMANN. Well, I was an organizer, trying to get the workers to organize.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long did you maintain your connection with the I. L. G. W. U.?

Mr. BAUMANN. Until the later part of the following year.

Mr. MATTHEWS. 1936?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what was your next connection with trade-union organizations?

Mr. BAUMANN. That summer I was requested by several people to take over the—I was in business at that time and I left the business—to take over the International Ladies' Garment Workers job and the Dry Cleaners who had had a union the year before and that union was broken up by strikes and they wanted a new union and didn't want any strikes, so they asked me if I would organize them, so I donated 2 months of my time to getting them organized.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was this in the summer of 1936?

Mr. BAUMANN. That was in the late summer—no, I think it started in October of 1936.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of 1936. And after that what were your next trade-union connections?

Mr. BAUMANN. Wait. I must be mixed up on my dates, because it wasn't in the summer of 1936. I was with the American Labor Party in the summer of 1936 until election, and it was right after election that the dry cleaners had me, and then we organized—I organized—the dry cleaners, and I was with the dry cleaners until the following part of February 1937, when the directors of the Steel Organizing Committee asked me to come with them.

Mr. MASON. May I interrupt for a moment?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MASON. I am wondering, since there seems to be quite a different controversy over the names of Government officials who are Communists and who are members of Communist front organizations, why we do not do something about it, Mr. Chairman, or why the committee does not do something about it.

What steps are being taken to obtain the list of names and what can we expect from this?

The CHAIRMAN. The committee obtained by subpoena the membership list of certain organizations that the committee unanimously found last year to be front organizations of the Communist Party.

Among those organizations was the American League for Peace and Democracy, and several other organizations of a similar character.

We secured their membership list, and that list is now being checked against the civil service list of Government employees, and we will have available a full, accurate, and complete list of Government employees who belong to Communist organizations, that is, organizations that this committee has found unanimously to be dominated and controlled by the Communist Party.

Now, that list was received in evidence, and the stenographer will note.

**(The list referred to was marked as an exhibit.)**

The CHAIRMAN. As to whether the list will be made public is a matter for the committee to determine at a later date.

Mr. MASON. But it will be a part of the record?

The CHAIRMAN. It is to be a part of the record.

Mr. MASON. Very well.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, so far as the Communist Party itself is concerned, a witness yesterday testified that under orders from the Communist Party all records of members were destroyed a year ago, and that witness denied that he knew more than four or five, and he could not name more than four or five.

Of course that is the situation we are met with everywhere. They have been instructed, a long time ago, to destroy membership records and none of them are going to admit to any membership except where they have been confronted with definite written records which they cannot dispute.

The witness did identify such records as containing such names and that matter will come out.

The Chair wants to make it clear that all of the names that we have secured from the records or from these organizations themselves, from their membership lists, each one of the organizations of which we have secured membership lists, are organizations which the committee unanimously found to be front organizations of the Communist Party. That is all a part of the record of this committee and it is for the committee to decide at a later date whether it wants to make it public or not.

I think that is sufficiently clear so there will be no misunderstanding.

Mr. MASON. There is no question as long as we have the list as a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Baumann, you stated the directors of the Steel Organizing Committee approached you for some work. Who was the director who approached you?

Mr. BAUMANN. Charles Payne.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he the director of the State organization?

Mr. BAUMANN. He was for western New York—not, western New York; all of New York; Utica, where the steel mills are located; and, the Province of Ontario.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what work did he ask you to undertake?

Mr. BAUMANN. Organizing workers of the steel mills.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you accept that position?

Mr. BAUMANN. I did. My work of organizing the Dry Cleaners had been completed and I had a position as business agent and I had rather be organizing workers than sitting in the office directing something, after the work is done so I took the job as I thought the job of organizing was in a much-needed field.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the year and month, Mr. Baumann?

Mr. BAUMANN. It was in February of 1937, or the early part around the 1st of February 1937.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long were you connected with the Steel Organizing Committee?

Mr. BAUMANN. Until the 1st of August 1938, when I went on leave of absence.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now what other trade-union connections have you had?

Mr. BAUMANN. Well, various. I mean just in the capacity of speaking for them at different times and in the headquarters of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The CHAIRMAN. You are still connected with union activities?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes; I am still a member of the Steel Workers' Union.

The CHAIRMAN. You are still working with them?

Mr. BAUMANN. Although I never worked in a steel plant, but I became a member as the result of my organizing activities. I still have a card.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not changed your situation except you are not active as an organizer?

Mr. BAUMANN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have made a basis, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you still believe in the right of the workers to organize?

Mr. BAUMANN. Absolutely. Absolutely I am still assisting in putting the steel workers on a volunteer basis. In the Republic Steel, I helped the Labor Board a few months ago in preparing its case against the Republic Steel.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am getting at is this: The claim is often made against the committee's witnesses that they are stooges, or somebody who has a grudge and they just come up here to hurt some union activities.

Mr. BAUMANN. My purpose—and I am still consulted on affairs in the union by rank and file members and by officers of the union, and while I am out of the union I still work for their interests.

Mr. MASON. You are still interested in the real welfare of the workers?

Mr. BAUMANN. I speak for them practically every week and I am still interested in their welfare.

Mr. MASON. That is what I wanted to bring out.

Mr. BAUMANN. The real reason I appear before you is I want the workers themselves to know what it is all about.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is sufficient. Suppose you get down to the meat of the things he knows about.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think it is important to introduce some of his connections with officials.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In establishing his credentials.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read to you a letter from the staff of the United States Department of Labor, office of the Secretary, signed by J. R. Steelman, Director of Conciliation.

Mr. ERNEST BAUMANN.

*Steel Workers Organizing Committee.*

*Underhill Building, Buffalo, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. BAUMANN: Commissioner Thomas M. Finn has told me of the fine cooperation you have given our service, and has asked me to send you some material regarding our work. I am indeed glad to do this, and hope you will find the publications of interest.

May I express my personal appreciation for your cooperation, and assure you of our desire to be of assistance whenever possible.

I hope you will come by to see me whenever you are in Washington.

That letter is dated March 4, 1938.

Did you receive that letter from Mr. Steelman?

Mr. BAUMANN. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Another letter from the staff of the National Labor Relations Board, dated March 28, 1939:

Re Republic Steel Corporation

Mr. ERNEST BAUMANN,

*84 Montclair Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y.*

DEAR ERNIE: As you have probably read in the paper, we are getting ready to go to trial on the Republic Steel case. For this reason I would appreciate your stopping in at the office some time Friday, so that I can go into this matter with you.

This letter is signed "Edward D. Flaherty, regional attorney."

Did you receive that communication, Mr. Baumann?

Mr. BAUMANN. I received it about 7 months after I was away from the Steel Workers, because they could not get any information from the Steel Workers' officials.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I have also letters from the Steel Workers Organizing Committee; one letter from the Chicago office, and another from the Pittsburgh office.

From the Chicago office, under date of March 31, 1938, which letter reads:

Mr. ERNEST BAUMANN,

*Representative, Steel Workers Organizing Committee,*

*305 Underhill Building, Buffalo, N. Y.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your letter of March 30, giving a report of the election at the Wickwire-Spencer Steel Co., Buffalo, N. Y., received.

I sincerely hope you will be able to negotiate a satisfactory agreement with this company.

Congratulations for the good work.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) VAN A. BITTNER.

Did you receive that letter?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, indeed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is Van A. Bittner?

Mr. BAUMANN. He is, was one of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee directors at Buffalo at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Another letter from the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, Pittsburgh, Pa., dated April 18, 1938.

Mr. CHARLES PAYNE,

*Field Director, Steel Workers' Organizing Committee,*

*305 Underhill Building, Buffalo, N. Y.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: This is to acknowledge receipt of your communication of April 11, regarding negotiations with the Worthington Pump & Machinery Corporation.

During my absence from the city last week, I believe you discussed the matter by telephone with Regional Director Clinton S. Golden and reached an understanding with him regarding your situation. It is my understanding that negotiations will not be started at Buffalo until after Mr. Lever has concluded his conference with the officials of the company at Harrison, N. J.

Very truly yours,

That is signed "Phillip Murray, chairman."

What position did you have at that time, Mr. Baumann?

Mr. BAUMANN. Well, I was acting director. Payne was out of town. Of course it was addressed to Payne because he was in charge of that area. And, I was acting director, and I was the one who really talked to Golden, and we conferred over the telephone as to what was going along.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Here are two letters from Alex Rose, State executive secretary, American Labor Party, both are addressed to you, Mr. Baumann. One is dated July 29, 1938, and the other November 11, 1938, both of which letters expressed great appreciation for your work in the field organizing for the American Labor Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Just let those letters go in the record.

(The letters referred to follow:)

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY,  
151 West Fortieth Street, New York, July 29, 1938.

Mr. ERNEST BAUMANN,

*Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union,  
86 West Chippewa Street, Buffalo, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. BAUMANN: This communication will serve to confirm your designation as the State Office representative for the Labor Party in western New York State. This territory will include the counties of Erie, Niagara, Chautauqua, Cattaraugus, Genesee, Orleans, and Wyoming.

Of course, you understand that my consent to your appointment was obtained after being convinced that your background, experience, and character would be suited to the pressing demands made of our field organizers. Certainly your trade-union organizational experience and the months of activity in our behalf for the 1936 campaign should provide you with advantages rarely possessed by many persons who have evinced a strong desire to perform the duties and functions assigned to you.

Be all that as it may, let me extend my best wishes for the successful negotiation of what will most certainly prove a difficult task. You are being entrusted with the all-important mission of advancing the combined cause of labor and liberalism. You are charged with the creation, the building, and the preservation of the greatest political movement in the history of New York State.

Good luck!

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) ALEX ROSE,  
State Executive Secretary.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY,  
151 West Fortieth Street, New York, November 11, 1938.

Mr. ERNEST D. BAUMANN.

*Care of Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union,  
86 West Chippewa Street, Buffalo, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. BAUMANN: I want to express my thanks and congratulations for your splendid cooperation and organizing abilities while acting in the capacity of field representative in Erie, Niagara, and Genesee Counties for the American Labor Party in upstate New York. Your fruitful efforts, in conjunction with the wholehearted support of our rank and file party workers, made possible our historic advance this last year.

For the aforementioned reasons, it becomes especially difficult for me to inform you of the necessity for financial retrenchment. Rest assured that our inability to retain you at the present time in a paid capacity is no reflection on your splendid record. As a matter of fact, I shall be very anxious for your continued leadership in your section of the State in a voluntary capacity.

You have every reason to feel proud of the part you played in helping the American Labor Party stem the tide of reaction and retain the State of New York for the New Deal.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) ALEX ROSE,  
State Executive Secretary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You received both of those communications, Mr. Baumann?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you did engage in activities in behalf of the American Labor Party at various times?

Mr. BAUMANN. Every election.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Every election since 1936?

Mr. BAUMANN. Since 1936, as regional director.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Baumann, in the course of the last 16 years it appears that you have had active connections with six or seven trade-unions in the Buffalo area?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes; that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the course of those activities did you become acquainted with most of the persons engaged in trade-union activities in Buffalo?

Mr. BAUMANN. In that time I knew practically all of the leaders.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you able, from those contacts, to identify the political connections of the various persons engaged in trade-union activities in Buffalo?

Mr. BAUMANN. Well, I was able, through knowing actually what happened, I was able to separate the disruptive element in the union, those that were using politics in the union for their own use.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you become personally acquainted with Communists who were leaders in the organization of workers in Buffalo?

Mr. BAUMANN. I do not think there was an active Communist in the trade-unions in Buffalo that I did not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, will you please state for the committee the way in which you came to enter the work of the C. I. O. in the Buffalo area?

Mr. BAUMANN. Well, as I said, I was requested by Payne to come with them. He had heard of my work in organizing unions; the dry cleaners; I organized them after everybody else had failed, and without any strike, and signed up all of the wholesale dry cleaners.

And he was having a difficult time organizing the steel workers. He had a lot of organizers that did not know what it was all about, who were more interested in the political organizations than they were in industrial, and he wanted somebody that could do some organizing and so I went with them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, when you first went to the office of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, what situation did you find with respect to the presence of Communists?

Mr. BAUMANN. Well, at that time, I got in with them and I found out that all of the organizers they had there, all but Payne and one other fellow, I think, were Communists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many were there in all?

Mr. BAUMANN. There were seven or eight. I have their names here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify them?

Mr. BAUMANN. Well, Charles Doyle. He was—and he never tried to hide the fact that he was a Communist. His name was in the list as Communist organizer, and he led the 1934 strike in the metal workers, a strike which was Communist led, a strike with no members, practically, in the union, and led to terrible results.

And there was Norman Ross.



Doyle was living in Buffalo and had been living in Buffalo for 10 or 12 years prior to that time, but not a citizen.

There was Norman Ross. He came from Brooklyn. I do not know his right name, but that could not have been his right name, because he was Polish. The name was Norman Ross, but he used to speak on the street corners for the Communist Party, and there was no doubt about him being a Communist.

And John Sobieraj; he was Polish and he had at various times been a candidate for public office on the Communist ticket.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you spell that name again, please?

Mr. BAUMANN. S-o-b-i-e-r-a-j.

Then there was a colored fellow by the name of Joseph Greene. He was a Communist organizer among the colored workers.

As soon as I got there and he described what happened——

Mr. MATTHEWS (interposing). Were there any other organizers?

Mr. BAUMANN. There was another organizer; and there was another organizer who wasn't a Communist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were there others that you were able to identify as Communists?

Mr. BAUMANN. No; there was only the one organizer besides Payne and myself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right. Now will you please give the circumstances under which you met these organizers; how did you know they were in the C. I. O.?

Mr. BAUMANN. The second that I was there we had a staff meeting; we called them all together.

In the staff meeting all of the men who were to be used as organizers were called.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What were your reactions in finding out these Communists occupied the major positions on the staff?

Mr. BAUMANN. Well, I waited until after the meeting was over and the rest had gone out, and I had been helping Payne out at times prior to that; we were actually working a short time, and I said: "Charles," I said, "you cannot organize steel workers in Buffalo with this crowd, because without Allen every man you have got here is a Communist.

"Besides yourself"—he was from West Virginia—I said, "all of these people know these organizers and have been victimized in the 1924 strike.

"And a majority of the people, the steel workers in Buffalo, are either Polish, Italian, or Irish, and they are all Roman Catholics, and they won't have anything to do with Communists."

"Well," he said, "I can't do anything about it; I didn't hire them. And I can't fire them."

So I asked him who hired them, and he told me who hired them. He said somebody who was over him, and he said, after all, these fellows are willing to work. He said, "We have got to have somebody."

So that was the reaction. He said: "As soon as I can get away with it," he says, "I am going to fire them all."

Then I said to him—I said, "Charles, I will get to work; I don't want to hang around the office here. If you want these men, well, that is up to you."

And I said, "Give me the names, all you have got, of organizers in the Republic Steel"; and I said, "I will organize, using volunteer organizers."

So he gave me 25 names of men he said who had been signed up by Greene. He was the Negro Communist.

So I went out that day and investigated the 25, and I found out that every one of them was a fake; that none of the people lived at the addresses given; some were addresses of street intersections; one was the City Music Hall; some at garages, and they were just fake names; and so in the course of 1 or 2 weeks I found out about 200 such names.

And through investigating the list, the average, taking 1 name in every 10, I saw that every one of the 500 were fakes that he had signed up, that he and Doyle had signed up.

That was the list he gave, representing that he was an organizer, and that he had a membership of over 500 in the Republic Steel, when they didn't have anybody—maybe a half a dozen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You found out that the 25 names that were given to you were phoney names?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not find a single one—

Mr. BAUMANN (interposing). Not of the first 25. The second 25 I found 1 fellow who had been working at the steel plant 3 or 4 years before.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know that I understood the effect of the testimony. How many fakes did you find?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He said when he went there to work with the C. I. O. he found that a majority of the organizers were Communists. He told the director that he could not organize with Communists. He asked for a list of names of the rank-and-file members of the union, and that list they turned over to him contained 25 fake names.

The CHAIRMAN. Out of how many?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the rank-and-file members who had been turned over by organizers as members, not a single bona fide address was in that entire list.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know how many of the total number were fakes?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes; I do. The next day I took 25; the next day I took 25; you could not handle more than 25 in a day. And they were all practically in the same locality, and we did not locate any except Pine Street.

The CHAIRMAN. So that they were all fake names?

Mr. BAUMANN. More or less; I would say practically 90 percent of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the names given you, how many names altogether were given you?

Mr. BAUMANN. There were about a hundred—about 200 names, altogether. I worked on it for 2 weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. And about 90 percent of them were fake names?

Mr. BAUMANN. Really more than 90 percent. I am estimating that 90 percent of the whole 500 were; there were probably 99 percent of those that were fake.

The CHAIRMAN. These 500 names were supposed to be members of what union?

Mr. BAUMANN. The steel workers union in Republic Steel.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Republic Steel?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How had those names been compiled?

Mr. BAUMANN. The organizers, Doyle and Green, would go around in different ways, methods that they have of organizing and contacting the workers. That is the way it is supposed to be done. But what they really did, I found out later from investigation, Green would go into a saloon and buy a beer for the crowd there of his own people, and one of them would sign three or four cards, with different names, and another one would sign three or four cards; and most of them I proved from my knowledge of handwriting, were signed by Green himself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you confront Green with that handwriting.

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes. After I got all this evidence, kept on getting this evidence, Payne called Green in before he and I, and we confronted him with it, and he denied it at first, and, when I pinned him down on the handwriting, he admitted it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Here was a Communist organizer for the steel workers organizing committee who had turned in 500 names as members of a union?

Mr. BAUMANN. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you found out by investigation that approximately 90 percent of them were phony names?

Mr. BAUMANN. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, would you like this witness to stand aside for a moment?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; Mr. Baumann, will you stand aside for just a few moments? Mr. Matthews, you may call your next witness.

### TESTIMONY OF DOUGLAS JACOBS, CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR, SPANISH REFUGEE RELIEF CAMPAIGN

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Douglas Jacobs?

Mr. JACOBS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. JACOBS. In New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your address in New York City?

Mr. JACOBS. 72 University Place.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you lived in New York City?

Mr. JACOBS. I have lived in New York City this time for about two and a half years—2 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you live prior to that?

Mr. JACOBS. In the Middle West and in California.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you live in the Middle West?

Mr. JACOBS. I beg your pardon.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where in the Middle West did you live?

Mr. JACOBS. St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the only place you have lived in the Middle West?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes. Mr. Chairman, may I just inject a remark here at this moment? I would like to say that I received this subpoena to appear late last night, and I have not the slightest idea why I am here.

I would like time, inasmuch as I came to Washington to attend a conference, to obtain an attorney. I have not any idea what my rights are, or what the powers of this committee are.

The CHAIRMAN. All we want to do is elicit some information from you. It is nothing incriminating.

Mr. JACOBS. I understand that.

The CHAIRMAN. We just want to get certain information. What conference are you going to attend? You were going to go into that, Mr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you live on the west coast?

Mr. JACOBS. In Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your occupation, Mr. Jacobs?

Mr. JACOBS. At the present time I am campaign director of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you had that position?

Mr. JACOBS. Since February of 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that an organization? Will you develop that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of the organization?

Mr. JACOBS. The Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it an incorporated organization?

Mr. JACOBS. No; it is not an incorporated organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it the Spanish Refugee Relief Committee?

Mr. JACOBS. No; Campaign; the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign is its present name. It is an outgrowth, I might say, of two other committees which previously existed in the Spanish refugee relief field and the Spanish relief field generally. One of those was called the Medical Bureau and the other was called the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. Subsequently they merged, and became the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the officers in this committee?

Mr. JACOBS. The officers, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the chairman of it?

Mr. JACOBS. The honorary chairman is Mr. Harold L. Ickes. The chairman is Bishop Francis J. McConnell. The vice chairmen are Mrs. Casper Whitney and Mr. Philip Merrivale, and the treasurer is Dr. Guy Emery Shipley.

The CHAIRMAN. What position do you hold with it?

Mr. JACOBS. I am the campaign director.

The CHAIRMAN. The director?

Mr. JACOBS. Of the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are down here on a conference with reference to it, and also to address the conference?

Mr. JACOBS. That is right. I intend to address the conference this afternoon with reference to this work.

The CHAIRMAN. I just wanted to get the background of the organization, that is all. Proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you held this position?

Mr. JACOBS. Since February of 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the organization, the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, registered with the State Department?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that it is an organization?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of the American Newspaper Guild?

Mr. JACOBS. I was. I am not eligible any longer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the name of the local organization under whose auspices you are speaking at the present time?

Mr. JACOBS. I am going to speak, intend to speak, at a national conference of the workers of this organization, the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, and a conference was called by the national office, not by any local organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy an affiliated body?

Mr. JACOBS. It is a branch of the national campaign; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who are the officers of the Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy?

Mr. JACOBS. I am sorry, I can only mention one. I am not familiar with all the officers of the branches. Mr. Leon Henderson, I believe, is the president.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Mrs. Rosalie Colby the executive secretary?

Mr. JACOBS. She has a position; whether it is exactly executive secretary, or some other title, I am not sure. She is, however, in active charge of the work in the office.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Jacobs?

Mr. JACOBS. I am not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JACOBS. No; I have not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with Miss Peggy Vance?

Mr. JACOBS. I think I am; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, don't you know whether you are or not?

Mr. JACOBS. Well, I cannot remember the name offhand. I did meet somebody called Vance in San Antonio when I was working for the Newspaper Guild there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you just have a vague recollection of the name?

Mr. JACOBS. I think her name was Peggy. I know I met a Miss Vance there. There were two sisters, I am not sure which was which.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the sister's name?

Mr. JACOBS. I cannot remember offhand; I do not remember.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You would recognize your own handwriting without any question, I presume, Mr. Jacobs?

Mr. JACOBS. I think I would; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that a letter of yours [handing paper to witness]?

Mr. JACOBS. It looks like it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that your handwriting?

Mr. JACOBS. It looks very much like my handwriting; unless it is a fine forgery.

The CHAIRMAN. A man knows his own handwriting, does he not?

Mr. JACOBS. There are cases where somebody has forged handwriting. I do not even know the contents of this letter. I think it is my handwriting; yes. That is the best answer I can give.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Glancing at that letter, it would appear that you are fairly well acquainted with a girl whom you address as Peg?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you identify Peg further?

Mr. JACOBS. I imagine it is Peggy Vance, now that you recall the name to my mind.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You met Miss Vance in San Antonio, did you?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have any extended correspondence with Miss Vance?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes; for a time I had both business and personal correspondence.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Miss Vance a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JACOBS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was her sister, Miss Helen Vance, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JACOBS. I think Helen was the name; I do not know whether she was a member of the Communist Party or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a Mr. Bob Williams?

Mr. JACOBS. Not that I recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you attend the Party Builders Congress of the Communist Party in New York a year or two ago?

Mr. JACOBS. I do not know. I have attended meetings which have been held by the Communists. I do not know what the Party Builders Congress was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have no recollection of having attended that?

Mr. JACOBS. No; I cannot identify the meeting you mention.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this letter addressed to Peg, you say:

Last night Helen and I went to the Party Builders Congress.

Mr. JACOBS. Do I say where it was or what it was?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Last night Helen and I went to the Party Builders Congress in Madison Square Garden.

Mr. JACOBS. If that is what it was, then I went to a meeting at Madison Square Garden. It may have been the Party Builders Congress. If I said so, no doubt it was. I have gone to relatively dozens of meetings at Madison Square Garden called under the auspices of dozens of groups, and when you phrase a question as you do, I could not honestly answer that I was sure of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

It was a pretty good meeting, but not as good as I had hoped for. Browder was sick, and unable to attend. No doubt you will read all about it in the Daily Worker.

Could you give some indication as to why you had hoped this Communist Party Builders Congress would be more of a success than it impressed you as being?

Mr. JACOBS. I think perhaps I can. What was the date of this conference or congress meeting?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would not know. The letter is dated February 22.

Mr. JACOBS. Well, in all probability, my hopes, expressed at that time, were in relation to my work which I had just undertaken recently, and the position of the Communist Party in regard to the Spanish situation. I would say that generally. Certainly, if there were anything else in my mind at the time, it was in relation to the published program of the meeting, and that I do not recall at all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The postmark on the envelope in which this letter was forwarded in New York, February 23, 1938. The letter is dated February 22, without the year. Do I understand that Browder was not there, and that that had something to do with the meeting not being as successful as you had hoped?

Mr. JACOBS. Well, sir, the only way in which I could honestly answer that question is to tell you that I do not honestly recall the meeting. At the time it may have made some impression on me. I may have had some expectations for it. But if you ask me today if I were disappointed, all I can say is, if I said that the meeting was not as good as I had hoped for, apparently that is so. I have not the slightest idea what the meeting was, or to what extent my interest in its existed, or what my interest was based on.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You knew of Miss Vance's interest in the Communist Party, did you not?

Mr. JACOBS. Which Miss Vance?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Miss Peggy Vance, the one to whom you addressed the letter.

Mr. JACOBS. I knew she was interested in all liberal movements, and radical movements, to some extent, too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you classify the Communist Party as a liberal movement?

Mr. JACOBS. I said radical movements also. I assume it comes under the second head.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You go on in this letter to say:

After the meeting I met the "D. O."

Who is the "D. O."?

Mr. JACOBS. As I recall the phraseology of the times, I imagine the "D. O." would be the district organizer; some district organizer of the Communist Party somewhere.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know that that is the manner in which the district organizers of the Communist Party are referred to, do you not?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes; they were at that time. I have had very little contact with them since. I might add here, if it is of any value to you, that I have not seen either of the persons you have referred to for a long time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This letter is about 18 months old.

Mr. JACOBS. I say for a relatively long time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You go on to say—

We all went to get something to eat and sat up talking half the night.

That is, with the district organizer of the Communist Party?

Mr. JACOBS. I assume so. I do not recall the meeting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you no recollection what the topics of conversation were with the district organizer of the Communist Party?

Mr. JACOBS. None whatsoever. I could not even identify the gentleman. I do not know who he was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you like to glance into this letter further?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes; I should be glad to.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Before you state whether or not you were extraordinarily well acquainted with Miss Vance [handing letter to witness].

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, as far as I have read through this, I might say that this appears to me to be a personal letter to Miss Vance. It has nothing to do with business.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you intimately acquainted with her? You said before you had a slight acquaintance and could not remember very well.

Mr. JACOBS. I said that I did not remember her first name, and I also said that I had had both business and personal correspondence with her, as I recall my testimony a moment ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, counsel is not reading any of the personal matter. He was referring to your meeting with the district organizer of the Communist Party and attending some Communist meeting. You are not reading the personal sections of the letter, are you?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not interested in that. There are just certain excerpts with reference to your activities with the Communist groups that we are interested in.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I also want to ask him, after he has read the letter, if the letter does not indicate to his own mind now that he was very well acquainted—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, there is no question about that.

Mr. JACOBS. Of course, none at all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. With Miss Vance.

Mr. JACOBS. I knew her a relatively short period of time, and I knew her quite well, I would say.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you make any efforts to have Miss Vance come to New York?

Mr. JACOBS. Miss Vance had said she would like to come to New York and I had made some inquiries about the possibilities of getting her a job, and mentioned her in the national offices as a prospect for a job.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you discussed that whole situation with her sister in New York, did you not?

Mr. JACOBS. I think I probably did, but I do not recall it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, in a letter which I have before me there are frequent references to a "Mr. J."

Mr. J., as you no doubt know by this time, has a new job as publicity manager of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

That would indicate a reference to you, would it not?

Mr. JACOBS. I cannot tell you, sir, because I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you the publicity manager of the North American Committee?

Mr. JACOBS. I was the campaign director. That was my title.



Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know anyone else who might have held the position as publicity manager of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, whose initial was "J"?

Mr. JACOBS. No; I do not recall any other such person. I might add, however, that there have been a number of persons holding that job.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you did hold the job which could properly be described as publicity manager?

Mr. JACOBS. It might; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I see further on in this letter that you are referred to as Jacobs, so the "J" undoubtedly—

Mr. JACOBS. That would seem to leave little doubt about it.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question about that, is there, Mr. Jacobs? We want you to be perfectly frank.

Mr. JACOBS. I am trying very hard to be.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question that that refers to you, is there?

Mr. JACOBS. No; as he has read, it mentions my name, Jacobs.

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand that you testified awhile ago that you had never been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JACOBS. That is right; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been very closely affiliated with them?

Mr. JACOBS. I have had just as much contact with them as I have had with dozens of other similar groups, and that contact at times has been relatively close; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Your contact at times with the Communist Party has been very close?

Mr. JACOBS. Relatively close. I do not know what you mean by very close.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you have met with the leaders and discussed the plans and things with the leaders of the Communist Party, have you not?

Mr. JACOBS. If I have ever done it, it has only been in relation to my work; not in relation to any program or policy of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Just in relation to your particular work?

Mr. JACOBS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you interested in the work which Miss Vance was doing in San Antonio, connected with the pecan workers organization and strike?

Mr. JACOBS. I knew very little about that work, but what little I knew about it, I was interested in; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you send any contribution to Miss Vance for that work?

Mr. JACOBS. I might have. I remember one time in the letter she asked me for some, and whether I responded or not, I do not know. I do not recall; honestly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were always sympathetic with that work?

Mr. JACOBS. With the pecan-shellers' strike?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. JACOBS. Yes, I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Having known Miss Vance as well as you say you did, and as well as the correspondence indicates, would you not think

it a bit extraordinary if you did not know she was an active member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JACOBS. Not at all, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did her sister, Helen, disclose to you her connections with the Communist Party or the Young Communist League?

Mr. JACOBS. Not that I recall. I know she disclosed to me her sympathies and interests in the youth movement, as I recall, and the Young Communist League. But that is a very different thing, in my estimation, that mentioning any particular connection, professional or otherwise. If you would rephrase the question, perhaps I can answer it more honestly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. No. I am asking you if you did not think it extraordinary that you would not know about the Communist affiliations of Miss Vance in view of your close acquaintance with her—Miss Peggy Vance?

Mr. JACOBS. I have just testified that I do not know of Communist affiliations. Now, maybe I do not understand what you mean by Communist affiliations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Let me ask you this question, then. Did you ever meet the State secretary of the Communist Party from Missouri?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is his name?

Mr. JACOBS. I think his name is Wagenknecht.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And with whom did you meet Mr. Wagenknecht, the State secretary of the Communist Party from Missouri?

Mr. JACOBS. I have not any idea at the moment.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Could it have been with Miss Helen Vance?

Mr. JACOBS. It might have been, but if it were it certainly would not have been in Missouri, as I did not know Miss Vance in Missouri.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I did not say it was in Missouri.

The CHAIRMAN. You certainly can remember 18 months ago whether you met the director of the Communist Party with Miss Vance. You would remember any such occasion, would you not?

Mr. JACOBS. I think I probably would. I think I probably do. You are recalling it to my mind. Was not he the person—and I ask this very honestly—who was referred to in the previous letter that you read just a moment ago?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; Mr. Wagenknecht is the State secretary of the Communist Party of Missouri and would not be referred to as the district organizer.

Mr. JACOBS. Then, if that is not the same person, I really do not know if, or whether I ever met this person with Miss Vance. That is a quite frank answer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of course, I would not want to say you did not use the title, district organizer, for Mr. Wagenknecht. You may have intended that.

Mr. JACOBS. I have not any idea and I am not familiar enough with such terms to know which would be correct or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In a letter from Miss Helen Vance to her sister, she states that she met Mr. Wagenknecht in company with you.

Mr. JACOBS. No doubt she did, then.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now that you have identified Mr. Wagenknecht as at least the functionary of the Communist Party whom you have met,

does that refresh your recollection as to the topics of conversation with him?

Mr. JACOBS. I am afraid not. I am afraid I do not remember what the conversation was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. These letters between Miss Helen Vance and her sister, Peggy, in San Antonio, are a combination of very, very personal matters, and also of frequent references to the Communist Party. In fact, there are scores of references to the Communist Party. That seems to be the major interest of these two young ladies in their relationship to each other. I think it would be entirely inadvisable to put these letters in the record in view of their extremely personal nature, and their very, very frequent references to Mr. Jacobs. But I would like to ask Mr. Jacobs again if these letters do not refresh his recollection as to the very active connections of Miss Helen Vance and Miss Peggy Vance with the Communist Party.

Mr. JACOBS. To answer briefly, Mr. Chairman, I would say they do not. I might add—and I think it is only fair I should be able to add—that I knew both of these young ladies for a relatively short period of time; one of them in San Antonio and one of them in New York. That I met them in the course of my work for the American Newspaper Guild; rather, I met Miss Peggy Vance in the course of my work. I maintained a personal correspondence with her for some time and, as a result of that correspondence, met her sister in New York. I dare say the only times I ever saw Miss Helen Vance were probably limited to a half a dozen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you see Miss Peggy Vance more frequently than that?

Mr. JACOBS. When I was in San Antonio; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long were you in San Antonio?

Mr. JACOBS. I think it must have been for a period of approximately a month.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was your mission in San Antonio?

Mr. JACOBS. I went there as an organizer of the American Newspaper Guild to negotiate a contract with the San Antonio Light, and the local branch of the American Newspaper Guild.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was the head of the American Newspaper Guild union or local in San Antonio?

Mr. JACOBS. At that time it was a person called Mr. Howard LeBaron.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Miss Peggy Vance join that union?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes. She was a member of the staff of the San Antonio newspaper, and as such was a member of the Newspaper Guild.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was she the organizer of the union?

Mr. JACOBS. No; not to my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did she have any position in the union?

Mr. JACOBS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Other than a rank and file member?

Mr. JACOBS. Not to my knowledge; she did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In organizing the American Newspaper Guild in San Antonio, how many members of the union did you have personal contacts with?

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to mention again that I did not organize the newspaper union in San Antonio. I went there to negotiate a contract.

The CHAIRMAN. Between the two?

Mr. JACOBS. Between the two.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you negotiate a contract?

Mr. JACOBS. I started negotiations. The contract was not signed while I was there. It was later signed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the course of your presence in San Antonio for the purpose of negotiating a contract, how many members of the union did you meet?

Mr. JACOBS. I cannot give an accurate answer, but if you want an estimate, I can give you that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right, please.

Mr. JACOBS. I should say I probably met as many as 10 or 11, 12 perhaps.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many of those were known to you as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. JACOBS. None of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the subject of Communist Party membership ever come up in the course of your work?

Mr. JACOBS. It might have, but I do not recall it. I might add that every union, almost every organization which might be called liberal, has at one time or another been accused of being Communist or of having Communist membership. And that is the reason I say it might have. I really do not know beyond that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Chairman, the communications here leave no doubt whatsoever about the Communist Party membership of the various members of the American Newspaper Guild at San Antonio. They are not letters to or from Mr. Jacobs personally, but the letters discuss in great detail whether or not the Communist Party membership list has been obtained by the authorities; whether or not Miss Vance and her friends should be alarmed over the disclosure of their names as members of the Communist Party. These things were discussed in great detail in these letters, so that absolutely no doubt is left about their own membership in the Communist Party.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, may I ask, is this supposed to be correspondence either to or from me—this correspondence to which you have just referred?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is correspondence to and from a young lady, Miss Peggy Vance, with whom your own letter indicates you had extremely close connections.

Mr. JACOBS. But it is not my correspondence you are referring to at the moment?

The CHAIRMAN. Part of it is your correspondence, I understand.

Mr. JACOBS. What I would like to know, Mr. Chairman, if it is within my rights—you can correct me if it is not—is whether or not this gentleman is implying or asking whether I knew of the membership in the Communist Party of the San Antonio Newspaper Guild. Now I have testified I did not, and I testified honestly that I did not. Now, if he is saying I wrote it in a letter, I want to know whether he is saying that.

The CHAIRMAN. No; he is asking you if you knew of the Communists who were in the guild in San Antonio. You say you don't know?

Mr. JACOBS. Correct.

THE CHAIRMAN. That you met with none of the Communist leaders while you were down there, except the director of the Missouri Communist Party?

MR. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, there seems to be some confusion. I am quite sure I did not meet the director of the Missouri Communist Party at any time in San Antonio. If I met him anywhere——

THE CHAIRMAN. But you said you met him?

MR. JACOBS. I said in New York.

THE CHAIRMAN. But you are sure you do remember meeting him?

MR. JACOBS. Yes; but not in San Antonio. I understood you to believe just now that I met him in San Antonio.

THE CHAIRMAN. No; but you met him somewhere?

MR. JACOBS. Somewhere; yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. Now, do you know whether or not you met any of the Communist leaders in San Antonio while you were there?

MR. JACOBS. No; I don't recall meeting any.

THE CHAIRMAN. And you did not?

MR. JACOBS. I may have. I met dozens of people, in connection with the entire campaign, from labor unions.

THE CHAIRMAN. But you did not attend any Communist meetings while you were there?

MR. JACOBS. No; I did not.

THE CHAIRMAN. Is that right?

MR. JACOBS. That is correct.

MR. MASON. Mr. Chairman, the witness is very definite and clear that he did not meet Mr. Wagonknecht at San Antonio, but he is strangely lacking in clearness and definiteness as to where he did meet him, under what conditions he met him, and what conversation he had with him. Those two things do not coincide. You cannot be clear on one thing and definite, and so obscure on the other thing, in connection with the same person.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is true; but the witness very frankly admitted that in his work in these various organizations he has been closely or relatively closely associated with the Communist Party, that he has conferred with party leaders and attended party meetings, but he says he himself is not a member. Is that correct?

MR. JACOBS. That is correct.

THE CHAIRMAN. That your association with the Communist Party has grown out of mutual interest in certain other things?

MR. JACOBS. Yes; and my work.

THE CHAIRMAN. And your work?

MR. JACOBS. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. But you yourself never joined the Communist Party?

MR. JACOBS. That is correct.

THE CHAIRMAN. He has also frankly admitted, as I understand, he knew Miss Helen Vance was a member of the Young Communist League.

MR. JACOBS. No; I did not say that.

THE CHAIRMAN. That she was sympathetic?

MR. JACOBS. I assume you want me to answer here as to what I do know and not what I think. I do not know she was a member of the Young Communist League; I have testified I knew she was interested in it. That is all I know.

The CHAIRMAN. That is as far as you know?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. But, as far as Peggy Vance, you don't know?

Mr. JACOBS. No. I knew she had an interest in all kinds of organizations and groups, including the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever discuss the Communist Party with her, and the question of communism?

Mr. JACOBS. I do not recall. No doubt I did sometimes, but I do not recall discussing it with her. If you ask me where, when, and what I did discuss, I really would not be able to answer, honestly.

The CHAIRMAN. What other organization, aside from this Spanish relief campaign, or whatever it is, are you affiliated with?

Mr. JACOBS. None at the moment.

The CHAIRMAN. None at all?

Mr. JACOBS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the only one you are affiliated with?

Mr. JACOBS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And this grew out of the previous organization you have testified about?

Mr. JACOBS. I say it grew out of the committee. I was offered a job with them.

The CHAIRMAN. I see—the committee?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. It grew out of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, and so on, and so forth?

Mr. JACOBS. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you did say, Mr. Jacobs, that you contemplated having Miss Peggy Vance come to New York to obtain a position. What was the position you had in mind?

Mr. JACOBS. I thought she might be a secretary in the office.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In which office?

Mr. JACOBS. In the office of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, which was then arranging an American committee to aid Spanish refugees.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that when Miss Helen Vance writes to her sister about this job, that is the one she refers to? I will read you what she says:

Mr. J. is quite sure of being able to Sing a Song of Sixpence; in other words, of getting you a job as his personal secretary at not less than twenty-two a week and perhaps twenty-five. No doubt he has written you already about it. However, if he cannot get you this one, he is quite sure of getting you one at any rate. So that he suggested I write you, so that if some day you get a telegram it won't be too much of a shock to your plans and system and friendships, and Emma.

This was the job you talked over with Miss Helen Vance for her sister?

Mr. JACOBS. There is no doubt at one time I felt she could obtain a job as my secretary. I needed a secretary at that time, and I knew she was a capable girl.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Emma?

Mr. JACOBS. I have not the slightest idea who she is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have been in San Antonio and you must know something about the labor leaders in San Antonio, inasmuch as you were down there to negotiate a contract.

Mr. JACOBS. I did meet some of them there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Don't you know who Emma was?

Mr. JACOBS. No; I don't recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Miss Peggy Vance ever speak to you of her very close friendship with a certain Emma?

Mr. JACOBS. She might have; I don't recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would it refresh your recollection if I tell you the name was Emma Tenayuca?

Mr. JACOBS. I believe it does refresh my recollection to this extent, that Emma Tenayuca, as I recall, had something to do with this pecan workers' strike. In what official capacity, I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know Emma is one of the most active leaders in the Communist Party of the State of Texas, don't you?

Mr. JACOBS. I am afraid if I should not know it, I am very dumb, because I do not know it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did not you know she was the wife of Homer Brooks, secretary of the Communist Party of the State of Texas?

Mr. JACOBS. I knew she was married, and I think at one time I met him, but I am not positive about this.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you meet Emma Tenayuca while you were in San Antonio?

Mr. JACOBS. I probably did. I do not recall the circumstances. As I said, I have met at least a dozen or so persons in all ranks of life.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you learned at the time you met Emma Tenayuca that she was a very close friend of Peggy Vance—so much so, if you asked Peggy Vance to go to New York as your personal secretary it might disrupt the friendship between Peggy Vance and Emma Tenayuca.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, I think, without being naive about this, that the gentleman who is cross-examining me, I do not know his name, I am sorry to say, is implying I wrote this letter in which reference is made to Emma.

The CHAIRMAN. No; he is just asking you if the statement in the letter is correct or not. That is the substance of his question.

Mr. JACOBS. How would I know; I did not write the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. You know, for instance, if you know Emma?

Mr. JACOBS. I said I did not recall Emma; then he said Emma Tenayuca, and I said I had heard of her in connection with the pecan workers' strike. Then he asked if I met her, and I said I doubtless had, because I had met dozens of leaders; but I have not the slightest idea whether or not she was in any position to exercise any influence on Miss Vance.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it Miss Vance who introduced you to Emma Tenayuca?

Mr. JACOBS. That I don't recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The only point I was trying to bring out is that this letter was written at your suggestion.

Mr. JACOBS. Which letter?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The one from which I have just read. The author of the letter, Helen Vance, says that you suggested that she write her sister Peggy and in the same sentence she says Peggy Vance may expect any day to get a telegram from you and she hopes it will not be too much of a shock to Emma, whom we have identified.

Mr. JACOBS. She hopes, but I am not responsible for what she says. I really do not understand and perhaps I am rather stupid about this, Mr. Chairman—what Miss Vance has got to do with the line of this questioning.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you—you do not like that line; let me read this paragraph to you:

Last night Helen and I went to the Party Builders' Conference at Madison Square Garden. It was pretty good, but not as good as I had hoped. Browder was sick and unable to attend. No doubt you read about it in the Daily Worker.

Why were you hoping this meeting of the Communist Party would be a much better meeting?

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, I have already testified I do not recall what meeting that is at the present moment. My guess at this time was it was in connection with the work I had just undertaken.

The CHAIRMAN. What work?

Mr. JACOBS. For the Spanish Refugees, and what was then the North American Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What could that have to do with the Communist Party meeting being a success in Madison Square Garden?

Mr. JACOBS. It would have a great deal to do with it from my point of view. If the Communist Party told 22,000 people, or whatever the number present was, that the Spanish issue should be supported regardless of politics, obviously it would have some effect on the work of the Spanish campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you were anxious to secure the active support of the Communist Party; is that correct?

Mr. JACOBS. I don't recall. If that letter indicates that—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that indicates, does it not, that was the reason you were in New York at that time?

Mr. JACOBS. I say that would be my guess at this time, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Further on in this letter in which Miss Vance says you suggested that she write her sister in San Antonio relative to coming to New York, Miss Helen Vance writes:

The big problem is not New York, or getting here, as I see it, but the question of getting out of San Antonio. If you think it worth while to come up here, well, then, go to work on arrangements, possibly working in someone to take your place in the guild work.

Now, does that mean just the general rank and file of guild work in Texas and San Antonio?

Mr. JACOBS. I don't know, Mr. Chairman, what was meant at that time. I left Texas in the fall of 19—I think—37. Before the contract for which I had been negotiating was signed, there were changes in the local guild situation. Subsequently Miss Peggy Vance may have taken a more prominent part than she was taking at the time I was there; she may have held some position. I really do not know. I suggest that the League of the American Newspaper Guild could tell you that.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading further):

Could you leave and be assured of the guild's following the right policy—

And so forth. Now, you know that a Communist Party member working in trade-unions has very definite and explicit instructions to carry out a certain policy?



Mr. JACOBS. I have heard such.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is undoubtedly what this refers to, is it not?

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, as I understand it, I am—and I hope you do not think me evasive—I am trying very honestly to give you such information as I can.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know what that means?

Mr. JACOBS. I do not know what it means; and, what is more, I think it is quite clear I could not know what it means.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read the next sentence, then:

You see, Jacobs wants you up here so bad that when I mentioned such to him—

that is whether or not the guild does have a definite policy to be carried out—

he laughed in my face.

Now, what were you laughing at? Did you laugh at what Miss Helen Vance thinks about the importance of having Miss Peggy Vance to carry out the right policies of the American Newspaper Guild, whose contract you went to San Antonio to negotiate?

The CHAIRMAN. The point is, do you know what that is referring to?

Mr. JACOBS. No; I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. That is somebody else's statement?

Mr. JACOBS. I have no idea what it means.

The CHAIRMAN. The question he is asking you is if you know what that is referring to.

Mr. JACOBS. No; I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. What does this section refer to that I see right here in your letter,

Heard Homer was here for last night.

What Homer did that refer to?

Mr. JACOBS. It might refer to Homer Brooks, as this gentleman mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

Heard Homer was at last night's meeting, but neither Helen nor I saw him. Too bad Helen did not know in time. She was disappointed.

That would refer to Homer Brooks?

Mr. JACOBS. It might; I cannot be sure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know Homer Brooks, don't you?

Mr. JACOBS. I think I met him in San Antonio; yes. I think perhaps I have seen him once in my life, if that is of any interest.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did not you know he was State Secretary of the Communist Party of Texas when you met him?

Mr. JACOBS. I think I did; again I cannot remember having met him. He may have had other connections, in some position.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean by your campaign would include a tour of a Spanish delegation and raising at least half a million bucks? What do you mean by "Spanish delegation"?

Mr. JACOBS. At that time, obviously there must have been coming to this country, or planned to come to this country, some Spaniards to go on a lecture tour. Several such groups have come, and I do not remember which one was referred to there.

The CHAIRMAN. Would make a tour of the Spanish—what you meant was you had to go to see the Spanish delegation with reference to the raising of this money?

Mr. JACOBS. No; that is not saying here—not what you think. I meant, in my capacity as campaign director, I had to arrange for tours, among other things, which would raise money for refugee relief in Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. No; you say you are trying to arrange for a new plan for a 3-month national campaign that will include a tour of the Spanish delegation.

Mr. JACOBS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That meant that you were going to arrange to have this Spanish delegation tour the United States?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In behalf of raising this half million dollars; is that correct?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is "Victor" mentioned by you in the letter?

Mr. JACOBS. Victor was a personal friend of Miss Vance.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know his last name?

Mr. JACOBS. I don't know his last name; no. I may have known it at one time, but I do not recall it now.

The CHAIRMAN. It says here [reading]:

I hope you and Victor will make a go of things.

You do not remember who you were talking about when you said "Victor"?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes; a personal friend of Miss Vance, of whom she was very fond. I hoped they would be successful and quite happy together. I think that is quite clear from the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not recall his last name?

Mr. JACOBS. Not now; no, sir. I don't think I ever met him.

The CHAIRMAN. You mentioned his name several times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, the remainder of this correspondence also very frequently mentions "Vic" and mentions "Vic" as being very much involved in matters of interest to Mr. Jacobs.

Mr. JACOBS. Personal matters, would you say?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not know what they are.

The CHAIRMAN. He says he doesn't know what matters they are. He says here [reading]:

I was surprised, though, to learn Victor had something to do with it.

Mr. JACOBS. I can assure you, Mr. Chairman, they were purely personal matters.

The CHAIRMAN. Personal matters?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, you would know his last name, would you not, if they were personal matters?

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, I do not know his last name. I probably knew his last name at the time, but I have forgotten a thousand names, as you or anybody else has.

The CHAIRMAN. Surely. Is there anything further?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Stand aside; you are excused.

## TESTIMONY OF ERNEST BAUMANN (Resumed)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Baumann, you have outlined the manner in which you received the list of names of the so-called rank-and-file workers of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee and how you discovered that those names were almost all phony, with phony addresses. Will you please detail for the committee the various tactics of the Communist Party organizers in trade-union work which came to your first-hand knowledge in your associations with the trade-union movement in Buffalo?

Mr. BAUMANN. Well, they have numerous sorts of technique. One of them is the strike technique that they use—is to get into a union. If they have a union, say, of 3 or 4 hundred members, there is very seldom, in a union of that many members, that more than 50 or 60, or maybe 75, will attend a meeting. They will have 3 or 4 members, either members or fellow travelers, that is, undercover workers, in this meeting who are members, and these people make motions to a certain extent. If the leadership of the union is against the Communists, and they want him out, they will oppose the actions of the union leaders in every way possible.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you give some illustrations of the tactics?

Mr. JACOBS. Yes. I have some in my letters here that were written by a Communist by the name of Wilds. I made him admit that he had written these letters sometime later.

The CHAIRMAN. How in the world did you ever get him to admit it? You are better than this committee, because we cannot get them to admit it.

Mr. JACOBS. Well, I met a fellow in his house who matched up the typewriter he had in his house, an old typewriter. I will show you this, and you can easily see how. I did investigation work at one time myself for the unions; that is, in order to prevent the employers from putting stuff over on the unions—

Mr. MATTHEWS. How do you spell this man's name?

Mr. BAUMANN. W-i-l-d-s. That is the name he goes by. I don't know whether it is his right name. Very few of them use their own names.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Describe the tactics which he employed.

Mr. JACOBS. Well, I don't care about giving the name of the officer of this lodge, because he is a very reputable man whom they tried to villify. He is an American Legion leader, a World War veteran, and a man who is very reputable. He really is responsible for organizing the union of this Worthington Pump organization.

Mr. MASON. Well, I do not think that is essential, is it?

Mr. BAUMANN. No; but it is in the letter here, anyway.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BAUMANN. And this man opposed Wilds' tactics within the union. He was always disrupting; that is, every motion, for instance, if it was only a bill to be paid, why, Wilds and his group would take exception to it and did not want to pay it. They claimed the financial secretary was crooked, and so on, and so forth. As a result of that, sometime later, or rather in the big lay-off at the company plant, Wilds was laid off according to the regular seniority. Wilds came to me while I was acting director and told me his story, and I imme-

diately called in the chief steward, whom I speak of here, of the union—called him into my office and questioned him to find out if Wilds was really laid off according to the union contract; that is, on the ground of seniority. He not only told me he was, but he showed me the company's books. We had access to the company's files; I mean that was the close relation we had with them. I mean they trusted the union, so they gave us access to their employment files, so that we could check it. We found out that Wilds was laid off according to the contract, in spite of the fact of Wilds' claim that Stevenson was a stool pigeon working for the company. There was no reason for him being a stool pigeon there, because the company cooperated in every manner, and he was permitted to collect dues on their own property, which was against the contract, but they allowed us to do it, because they figured by cooperation with the union they could get the men to work better, and all. In spite of that fact, he did everything to get Stevenson and a friend, who was financial secretary, out of the office—writing those anonymous letters which we tracked down and found to be absolutely untrue, and things of that sort, and finally did succeed in getting one of the other officers out, because they claimed he was stealing funds of the union—which, of course, he was not. I mean that is just one little instance.

Another instance they used, and I understand they used against me personally, is villifying the personal character of a person, even to a man's domestic affairs. They have even gone in and tried to disrupt my own domestic affairs, because of the fact that they knew I was against them, and the only reason I was against them was the fact I knew they were trying to break up these unions. It was a case of either rule or ruin. And I have always maintained and always sympathized with and did everything I possibly could for the advancement of trade-unions, and I still will do so as long as I live, but one thing I realize is that this disruptive stuff must be eliminated in our organized unions.

For instance, to go back to the days of the aircraft unions, in there they had their people who, in a party meeting that I organized and knew, as a matter of fact, one of their members was on it, and they said unless the Curtiss Airplane gives up, we are going to blow up the powerhouse by such and such a day. Now, that was nothing but disruptive. I mean to say you had people—this speech was given in the Y. M. C. A., and a man that will do a thing like that is either just trying to disrupt the union or he is an agent of the company—to suggest such an idiotic thing as blowing up the powerhouse in a trade-union strike, which would probably have the adverse effect on the public from what is really intended it might be. And I was not financially interested at all; I was in business at the time.

I mean those are some tactics they use. They will do everything they possibly can to pack a meeting. For instance, they had complete control of the Buffalo C. I. O. council, the president they elected, and everything else.

The CHAIRMAN. What council?

Mr. BAUMANN. The C. I. O. council at Buffalo.

The CHAIRMAN. The labor council?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes. Like the Federation of Labor has their council, the C. I. O. has their council.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean they completely controlled the council?

Mr. BAUMANN. They did at that time, yes. And a few of the leading in it knew it, but at that time they completely controlled it from the president down.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us go on and get the main things.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Let me ask you, Mr. Baumann, about some of the constituent unions of the C. I. O. council in Buffalo.

Is the Office and Professional Workers' Union affiliated with the C. I. O. council at Buffalo?

Mr. BAUMANN. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know, from firsthand experience, whether or not the Communist Party controls that union?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes; they do. There are practically no members except Communists; that is, it is sort of a pseudo union, with the exception of the youngest workers—they have a branch, but they are influenced by the Communists, or influenced by the salesmen that belong to it. Now the rank and file, you understand, of these unions are not Communists, but the leaders working in with the novices in the trade-union movement, with green people, are able to sway them one way or another, and the people don't know it—they don't know what it is all about. I mean if they come in and want to pass a resolution to give so much money to Spanish democracy, or the League Against War and Fascism, or the Workers' Alliance, the people in there don't know enough about it to refuse to go with them; but their organizer, that is, the man who works out of the national office, is a Communist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is he?

Mr. BAUMANN. Herman Clott.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How do you spell his last name?

Mr. BAUMANN. C-l-o-t-t.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the American Newspaper Guild one that is affiliated with the C. I. O. council?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir; that is a very small unit.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the political situation in that unit?

Mr. BAUMANN. There are two of them in there that practically organized it in here, one of whom was in from the inception, but both of them are Communists. There are two newspapers in Buffalo at the present time, or two dailies. The others are small weekly advertising papers. The Times, which was a Scripps-Howard paper, went out of business 3 or 4 months ago; and they were strongest in the Times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who were strongest?

Mr. BAUMANN. The guild. Subsequently the Communist Party—both of those organizers are both in the guild, are in that work as organizers for the C. I. O. That is since they have been discharged from the Times, or since the Times went out of business.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the Coal Workers' Union affiliated with the C. I. O. council?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the political connection of that organization?

Mr. BAUMANN. Their leaning, I think, is perfectly Communist. Their organizer was a Communist worker for the party in the steel

union in Rochester. In 1937 they had to discharge him because of his Communist activities. He was passing the Daily Worker out when strikes were on.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was his name?

Mr. BAUMANN. Leo Lewis. I do not know whether that is his right name or not, nor do I know his nationality.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What about the Leather Workers' Union? Are they affiliated with the C. I. O. council?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir; they have the same organizer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Lewis?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The union is controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. BAUMANN. It is controlled by the Communist Party, although the rank and file are not Communists. They do not know communism from rheumatism.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What about the Optical Workers Union?

Mr. BAUMANN. The organizer in Buffalo is a Communist. Whether, or not, the members are, I do not know. I do not think that probably they have more than 25. I think they claim 500, but I know for a fact that when I attended one of their meetings they had only 17 people present. The organizer is a Communist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is he?

Mr. BAUMANN. His name is Regovin. I think his first name is Morris.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are the Quarry Union Workers affiliated with the C. I. O. council?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does that organization have a Communist organizer?

Mr. BAUMANN. No, sir; the organizer is not a Communist. It is quite a small local in the Oakland area, in the gypsum industry. They had one man planted in there for that one purpose. I do not recall his name. It is some Croatian or foreign name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is a union of the automobile workers in Buffalo?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that affiliated with the C. I. O. organization?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How are they lined up politically?

Mr. BAUMANN. I do not think the automobile workers are lined up any way politically. There are a few Communists who have been trying to get control, but what members they have left, I do not think have any political leanings to any extent. They are non-descript. Of course, everything is somewhat disrupted because of the fight in the body. They do not know where they stand. The organizer is not a Communist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Steel Workers' Organizing Committee is associated with the C. I. O. council, is it not?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What are its political affiliations?

Mr. BAUMANN. The man in control is not a Communist. I do not know his political affiliations. In the Buffalo branch—there are two different branches. They have been trying to organize in Buffalo, and there are three organizers that are Communists, but they were not hired by the man in charge of the Buffalo area.

The CHAIRMAN. They were sent by the national office?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir. A man by the name E. J. Lever was charged with organizing the Buffalo area.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Lever personally?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know him to be a Communist Party member?

Mr. BAUMANN. I do not know him to be a Communist Party member but would tag him as a Fellow Traveler. Nobody is very good at that. I judge people by the company they keep, and when I was at a workers' convention in 1937 the faithful were always around Lever. At that time there was one Communist organizer, Doyle. I think he was the only one on the staff at the time who was a Communist, because Paine and I had weeded them out. He was kept there simply because of financial reasons. His family was in bad condition, and the local priest asked us to keep him in because of the fact that he knew the family, for humane reasons. They all stayed at the Penn Hotel, so that they could have meetings at any time they wanted to, but after the Communist, Leo Lewis, was out in 1937, they immediately checked out of the Penn Hotel and went to another hotel, where they held caucus meetings. Paine told me to go over and find out who was in the caucus meetings. I found, by walking into the meeting, a crowd of different Communists from different cities. They were all in this one caucus meeting. They were all together there. I looked at the people, turned around, slammed the door, and walked out.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is E. J. Lever the man who organized the cooperative distributors several years ago?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are there any other unions at Buffalo affiliated with the C. I. O. council that are known to you to be Communist controlled.

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir; the Maritime Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the National Maritime Union?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir. The Maritime Union is headed by a man named William Morrison. Most of the Communist members of the union live in lodging houses in Buffalo. I will tell you how that is. I think I have an advertisement of the program of a meeting that was held for the unemployed at Shea's Theater in the fall of 1938. The Communists marched into the theater carrying red flags. It was the Workers Alliance. I would say that they were 50 percent of the audience.

The CHAIRMAN. What other information do you have on that line?

Mr. BAUMANN. There are the Transport Workers. They were controlled by Communists, and the secretary was a C. I. O. regional director. She is the spearhead which coordinates the activities of the Communists in all the unions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean a regional director of the C. I. O.?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In the city of Buffalo?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of the secretary?

Mr. BAUMANN. Lillian Brill, from Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. From this city?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir. She was sent from here to be the secretary. She was working for communism in the unions.

The CHAIRMAN. She consolidates the Communists in that area in the trade-unions?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir; not only in the labor unions but in the political organizations. For instance, when I was director of the labor party she turned the mailing list of the labor party over to the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What else do you have there as to any other union in or about that section being controlled by the Communist Party?

The CHAIRMAN. I understand from your testimony that the way in which they obtain control is for Communists to gain strategic positions in the unions locally, as officials, secretaries, and so forth?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. While the majority of the rank and file are not Communists, and do not know what they are about?

Mr. BAUMANN. No, sir; they would fight it if they knew it.

The CHAIRMAN. And you think that the Communist leaders will not divulge the fact that they are Communists unless they have to?

Mr. BAUMANN. No, sir. I can give you instances to show that the rank and file are against it. In June—I will go back further than that, to the spring of 1938, when the C. I. O. council was controlled by the Communist members, through Lillian Brill being secretary of the C. I. O. council and also of the C. I. O. Paine, who was the director of the steel workers, and myself, who was his assistant and director of the Amalgamated Clothiers Workers, which was very definitely against the Communists, called a meeting and decided that we would purge the council of the Communist element. So we looked over the records and found out about it. We had a meeting where a Communist president, secretary, committees, organizers, were elected. Only Communists were elected at the meeting, in which a great number of those present did not have credentials. I discovered that, and through that technicality I had the meeting declared illegal, and they were put out of office. Since the meeting was public, for the election of officers, we showed them what the tactics of these Communists were. We let them know who these people were. The result showed that the rank and file were not Communists. We decided to put up an entirely new slate, with no Communists, and at all those meetings, I led the fight against the Communists.

Mr. MASON. Is it not true that, after showing the rank and file that those who were in power were Communists, they were glad to get rid of them?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir; that is right. That is what I have always been desirous of doing. When we defeat them, or can cut out one leading Communist, they would not vote them back again. There were three others who stayed in. Those three said, "We will get you and Paine." Paine was out within a month. He was removed, and in order to remove him, they changed the Buffalo Council, or the Buffalo district of the Steel Workers under its direction. It was headed by Van A. Bittner, of the Chicago region, who was a friend of Paine as director in Buffalo. It was changed to the Pittsburgh area and put under Clinton Golden. The first act Clinton Golden did as director was to remove Paine, and put in a man by the name of Albert J. Marsh, a well-known Communist. He has several aliases, but that is the name he goes by. He was director in Syra-



cuse. He was taken out of Syracuse and was brought into Buffalo. He had at Syracuse a well-known Communist by the name of Gaten Haas as his secretary. She had been at one time organizer for the Communist Party in Syracuse. As soon as he came to Buffalo, the Communists started coming into the office with the Daily Worker.

Now, the Secretary could tell them to purchase the Daily Worker if they wanted to, if they would move it from the office. We had every kind of Communist, that did not belong to the union, coming to the headquarters and contacting him whenever they wanted to. He immediately took an antipathy against me, and was very cold about everything. He went to Pittsburgh and came back a few days afterward. The secretary showed me a letter from a Mr. Hellzman, whom I found out to be a Communist attorney without portfolio. He had offered him the job of organizer in Buffalo; in face of the fact that they had ordered the staff reduced because of financial reasons. So, as I was saying, he went to Pittsburgh, and when he came back from Pittsburgh, or the day after he came back from Pittsburgh, I heard that he was calling up a man by the name of Rutenberg, who was an assistant to Golden, and also a research director of the Steel Workers Organizers' Committee. He called him up on the telephone, and when I heard that he was trying to get a long-distance call, I went to another station and listened in. He said, "Hello." I think I can give almost the exact words. He said, "Is Clint there?" The answer was, "No; he is out of town." He said, "Is it all right to 'phone?" The answer was, "Yes, sir." He said, "Well, I just saw Frank Herron."

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. BAUMANN. A district organizer for the Communist Party. He said, "He tells me that if we are to get anywhere we must get Baumann out of the way." I was the only assistant director at the time in the national council left who knew the situation of the steel workers. He went to Pittsburgh the next day after the telephone conversation, and when he came back from Pittsburgh he said, "They have had to lay off somebody, and I see it is you. Your name is the very last." He said, "That is all I can do about it." I said, "I can do something about it." So I got in touch with some of the leaders in the unions, and immediately they started a campaign against Marsh because of the fact that he was a Communist and they wanted him out. As a result, within a week's time, we had started it. I have copies of letters and telegrams sent to Pittsburgh, and also letters I got from Golden. About a week after that, we started the campaign. Then I got a letter from Pittsburgh saying that it was all a mistake, and that I was not off the pay roll; that I was on the pay roll right along, and would not lose any pay. They said it was a bookkeeping error. Now, the fact of the matter was that the Communists were out to get me, and they did get director Paine, after 25 years with the United Mine Workers. He was a man who had given his entire life to the labor movement. He was taken out and sent back to the W. P. A. as an organizer. I was out in 3 months, or less than that, but I came back because of the fact that the men put up a fight for me. I came back later on through my influence with the workers. I have the signatures of leaders in the different unions who petitioned him to put me back on the pay roll. Mr.

Valle was one of them. He was anti-Communist, and knew the people in the trade-unions. Valle came in and consulted with me. That was after I had gone and left the business, and they had taken over the reins. He got in touch with me, and I went to a hotel room and told him the whole story. As a result of that, Marsh was removed from office and sent to the Pittsburgh area as an organizer. That shows that the rank and file of the labor unions are really against the Communists if properly led in the fight against them.

The CHAIRMAN. What help did you get from the national office of the C. I. O.? That is what I cannot understand—why it was that they wanted organizers and officials of this kind to do that sort of work in behalf of the Communist Party?

Mr. MASON. Would it not be correct to say that it was only through the efforts of the rank and file of the local unions that he was taken back?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir. It is either one of two things: We have Harry Rutenberg, who is assistant regional director in the northeastern area and who is also research director, and Lee Pressman. Those two, at least, are Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Lee Pressman is general counsel for the C. I. O., is he not?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir; Lee Pressman is the general counsel, and Rutenberg is assistant regional director. I have a letter here from Clinton Golden where he refers to the matter of putting a lot of people out and putting them in again, saying that we have to tolerate these elements in the unions.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the letter and let us see what he says about that.

Mr. BAUMANN. This letter is from Pittsburgh, dated June 21, 1938, and addressed to me by Clinton S. Golden, director of the northeastern region. The letter reads as follows:

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: This will acknowledge receipt of yours of June 20 together with copy of letter sent to the officers of several lodges in the Buffalo territory in response to a telegram sent to this office.

I appreciate the position you have taken. I want to point out, however, that we have done everything humanly possible to prevent factionalism of any kind arising in our organization. We are conscious of the fact that we have a great number of people harboring a variety of opinions on political, economic, religious, and racial matters.

It is evident that we cannot have a union consisting only of people entertaining one point of view with respect to these matters.

I had never inferred that they should.

The letter continues:

We have got to find the common ground on which the greatest possible number of people can meet and work together regardless of their personal viewpoint with respect to these matters particularly. We hope that it will be possible in Buffalo to find such a common meeting ground so that we may put forth our best joint efforts for bringing the greatest good to the greatest possible number of people.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he have in mind there?

Mr. BAUMANN. That is the only thing I had complained about.

The CHAIRMAN. You had not raised any racial issue?

Mr. BAUMANN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That letter was written in response to your protest?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir; that was written after I had been taken back.

The CHAIRMAN. From your contacts and experience, are you in a position to say that the C. I. O. leadership encouraged the Communist infiltration and control of the unions?

Mr. BAUMANN. I do not think they encouraged it. I think they tolerated it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think they ever made any effort to get rid of it?

Mr. BAUMANN. No, sir.

Mr. MASON. I think that in the case of Marsh it was more than tolerating it. It was encouraging them to put out a good man and to put in a Communist.

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MASON. That was more than toleration. That was encouragement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please tell us about Gertrude Hessler?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir; Gertrude Hessler came out of nowhere. She just happened. The Steel Workers' Council was organized sometime in the summer. It may have been late in the summer or fall of 1937. I am not sure of the date, but I can find it here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Never mind; go ahead.

Mr. BAUMANN. Shortly after that the Office and Professional Workers were organized, with Lillian Brill, who was sent from Washington——

Mr. MATTHEWS (interposing). You say she was sent from Washington?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir; I understand at the request of Brophy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the request of John Brophy?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir. Lillian Brill came in, and they organized the Office and Professional Workers. They sent my wife an invitation to come to the meeting. They knew she was interested in trade unions. She refused to go. She said they were Communists, and that she did not want to have anything to do with it. I went, and there were 12 people present, or just enough to get a charter, which requires 12. All but one of them were Communists, and this one was a naive person whom I happen to know is in honest God's truth, a unionist. So Lillian Brill was elected president, and Gertrude Hessler was there. It was the first time I ever saw Gertrude Hessler. I never saw her before, which was a coincidence, because after that I saw her at every meeting. When the C. I. O. Council was organized shortly after that, Lillian Brill was elected secretary, and Gertrude Hessler was elected chairman of the education committee. I immediately started to investigate, and I understand that she had been mixed up with the automobile workers' union.

Mr. MATTHEW. This Gertrude Hessler was the wife of William Weinstone, was she not?

Mr. BAUMANN. That is what I have learned since then.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he is the secretary of the Communist Party?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir; but she did not go by the name of Weinstone. However, very few of them go by their right names. I know, or understand, that she is the sister of someone who is con-

nected with a Communist paper, or the Communist organ of a Communist workers' union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that Carl Hessler?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir; I think that is the name, but I am not sure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say Gertrude Hessler was made chairman of the education committee?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What responsibilities did she have in that connection?

Mr. BAUMANN. She was to designate what books were to be studied in the different unions, and she spoke at different unions on the educational program.

Mr. MATTHEWS. After she took charge of the speaking program at Buffalo, was there not a noticeable drop-off in the number of non-Communist speakers, and an increase of Communist speakers?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir; they were the only ones who got a break. Later on, when we removed them, with Kinzie, who was president, she was taken out of that work and assigned to adult educational work in the W. P. A. She was made an educational adviser.

Mr. MASON. In other words, she was taken on by the W. P. A. when she lost the union job?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir; I understand through the recommendation of the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know that, but you just heard that?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir; but she is still in there.

Mr. MASON. She is still with the W. P. A.?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes, sir. In fact, she and one other Communist are the only ones left since the others were laid off because of financial reasons or because the Budget had been cut.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you tell us something about the tactics employed by members of the Communist Party in making their contacts? I think you have some information on that from first-hand experience.

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes. There are a lot of different ways they use. They use all kinds of socials. They have for years been holding dances at different places. They hold dances and invite people to come whom they want to interest. Usually they use certain militant trade-unionists, those who are known to be susceptible and gullible. They invite them to dances. And, they will invite anybody to come, but certain people are invited. I have gone to certain of them just to look it over.

They are supposed to be very, very liberal affairs; no race chauvinism, anything like that. They will have white girls who dance with colored men, but nobody dances with colored women, and so on and so forth.

And that is the tactics they use. They want to show what a wonderful time they will get if they join the party, the Communist Party.

Recently—I can state one occasion, where a young lady whom I happened to know very well, connected with the trade-union movement, was a very militant worker and was really responsible for organizing the hosiery workers in Buffalo. She was a very intelli-

gent Polish girl, but she didn't know anything about Communists, but she did want to do organization work regardless of anything else. She is a Miss Brill; she was invited to one of these meetings by one Cody who was one of the party members. And, they got to this party and it was a party where considerable drinks were served, and most everybody was getting near the time where intoxication sets in, and particularly this girl, and then they passed around the applications to those who were not members. They told her at that time, "Don't sign your right name."

She said, "What is the matter; what am I joining; something that I am ashamed of?"

"No; but that is what they would not do."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was it told her that?

Mr. BAUMANN. One of the party members who was there at that time, I think Kinzie. And, so she signed the paper and she did not know until the next morning that she was a full-fledged member of the Communist Party.

And later on one of the officials, Doyle, who was the organizer of the steel workers in that locality, came to the house to collect dues, and, of course, she wouldn't join—that is, she wouldn't pay the dues.

And then later she consulted me as to what to do and I told her to go ahead and stay in the party, for obvious reasons.

She stayed in the party, and as a result of that, I found out a lot who were members who were in the party that I did not know were members before that. She is still in the party.

But that is one of the methods that they use.

Of course, in strikes, during strikes, they give them cards, and immediately on the strike start passing out propaganda on picket lines.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What about the bringing up of issues, questions which have no direct relationship to the strike or the trade-union?

Mr. BAUMANN. Well, in the trade-union and in the C. I. O. council they bring up those matters; someone will bring a matter up and make a motion that they go on record to donate \$5 or \$10 or \$50 for Spanish relief, or to the League Against War and Fascism, or for the Workers' Alliance.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that always the Communist Party member in the council?

Mr. BAUMANN. It is usually either a party member or a fellow traveler; they are undercover people.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the C. I. O. councils you have attended meetings where they have introduced such motions as support of Spanish—

Mr. BAUMANN (interposing). Yes; or the Chinese aggression.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Japanese aggression, you mean.

Mr. BAUMANN. Japanese aggression of China; they will take up a collection.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How about the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. BAUMANN. Peace and Democracy, Anti-Fascist, and so on.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How about the Workers' Alliance?

Mr. BAUMANN. And the Workers' Alliance—they have helped them right along.

And then they have another thing, another issue they will use. They will bring it out in order—for two reasons, to popularize or to bring things up to get publicity.

For instance, there was a case here a few years ago where a couple of colored fellows had assaulted a girl in Niagara Falls. They simply took up the cudgel to assist these colored men; spoke on street corners and all through the city. The Niagara police arrested some of these people; some of them were put in jail, but they got plenty of publicity through it.

Then they will bring up questions that have no significance whatsoever. For instance, there was the case of a man by the name of Sam LaCatta, who was the organizer for the Market Workers' Union, who was a racketeer, an outfit controlled by a racket. And that outfit used to tip over trucks and demand tribute from the truckers if they did not pay so much to LaCatta, why, they would tip over the trucks; and after a time LaCatta was brought to trial and convicted and sentenced to 2 years in prison, and his lieutenant was sentenced to 5 years because he had a previous conviction.

And, the Communist Party in order to try to get into the A. F. of L., would send one of its members over to the A. F. of L.; they would send him over there to make a collection, to bring about the release of LaCatta. The A. F. of L. would not fall for it, did not fall for it. They are older people. The A. F. of L. does not take to those things so easily as the C. I. O., a newer organization, with greener people. The A. F. of L. would not fall for it. The new people would fall; they would not know what it was all about, but the A. F. of L. would not.

LaCatta was a known racketeer in Buffalo.

But that is one of the things that they bring out, use, to try to make some sort of a tangible connection with the workers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What about the raising of facts, issues, in connection with organizations and strikes which the Communists make use of; do they adopt any tactics like that?

Mr. BAUMANN. Oh, yes. They picket. For instance, they will send up their pickets to the German, the office of the German Shipping Line—all of this was before the wedding of Stalin and Hitler—would send pickets to the German Shipping Line, or if Italian music was being played—music is international in character, and ought to be—but they would picket against Italian music, for instance, on the ground that it was Fascist, that they were playing music inimicable; music from Italy, because it was Fascist.

It is different things like that. And, they used intimidation. I have been threatened by them, that they were going to blow up my house, and different things like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not pass a resolution overwhelmingly the other night to throw the Communist out?

Mr. BAUMANN. We did that 3 months ago in Buffalo.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand.

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes; and that is not all we did; but we are holding up the application. I look over the applications to know whether they are Communists or not.

The CHAIRMAN. If the C. I. O. national leaders wanted to get the Communists out of their organization they could do so, could they?

Mr. BAUMANN. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. What is keeping them from doing so; they know who they are, do they not?

Mr. BAUMANN. Surely, and if they do not know they can find out.

The CHAIRMAN. You have attended a good many national conventions, have you not?

Mr. BAUMANN. Oh, several.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are pretty well acquainted with the C. I. O. members?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And those who are Communists?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar with the situation with reference to the Communists in the C. I. O., and elsewhere, other places; is it similar to the situation in Buffalo?

Mr. BAUMANN. Well, some other places. The only places that I know about are Cleveland, Rochester, Syracuse, and Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. And the same situation prevails there with reference to the Communist?

Mr. BAUMANN. It did at that time. I do not know—I understand that they are trying to get some of them out.

The CHAIRMAN. They are now?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a question of finding who they are; you cannot get them to admit it, in the C. I. O., but nevertheless it is my understanding that they are trying to put them out.

Mr. BAUMANN. That is what I understand, but I have not seen any tangible evidence of it in Buffalo.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not seen any tangible evidence in Buffalo?

Mr. BAUMANN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. The Communist Party members have been increasing?

Mr. BAUMANN. They have been on the up.

The CHAIRMAN. They have been putting on more?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes; recently I understand in the last 3 months.

The CHAIRMAN. And that would all be with the knowledge of the national C. I. O. officials?

Mr. BAUMANN. Well, they might not know that they are Communists, but the regional director in the Buffalo district knows, because I told him so, but evidently he doesn't believe me.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you that if he was convinced they were Communists he would?

Mr. BAUMANN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You judged from the letters you got that the policy is one to get rid of them on account of the fact they are Communists?

Mr. BAUMANN. I think they are afraid to get rid of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Why?

Mr. BAUMANN. Because of the disruptible result. For instance, I know that when I testify here they are going to try to get me, but I am not afraid of them.

The CHAIRMAN. You think the Communists in the C. I. O. have the leadership intimidated to the point they are afraid to?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes; because the organization itself is so weak that it is like a house that is put up on a foundation that is not solid, and,

of course, if it was a foundation that was really solid, they would not have any difficulty about a brick falling out of it. But if the foundation is weak and a brick begins to fall out of it, why, they have got to go in and do something about it, fix the mortar or something else.

The CHAIRMAN. What about their organizers; how did they get the Communist organizers in the first place in the C. I. O.; was it because they did not have enough trained organizers?

Mr. BAUMANN. That is it; there were not enough available people.

The CHAIRMAN. Browder testified, I believe, that they had several thousand trained Communist in the union work; they had trained them in workers' schools.

Mr. BAUMANN. They do.

The CHAIRMAN. And for that reason the trained organizers were able to get into the C. I. O. in the beginning and take over these key positions.

Mr. BAUMANN. That is true; of course. And not only that; they were trained by experience—experience as organizers in the trade-union movement—and up until the new line and with every new line they change their attack.

With the new line, some 2 years ago, when they were undertaking to organize dual unions in order to wreck the American Federation of Labor, they did that because they did not believe the trade-union movement should succeed, because the trade-unions made it better for the workers, which meant putting the revolution further away.

The CHAIRMAN. They had all of that experience in the trade-unions prior to the formation of the C. I. O.?

Mr. BAUMANN. That is right. As a matter of fact, Doyle was the leader of the 1934 strike in the Steel and Metal Workers' Union in Buffalo. Solbieraj was another one in the Steel and Metal Workers' Union. And they got plenty of experience in that in pulling that strike without any members, or with very few members, experienced in trying to pull a strike in a big plant without members, or with just a few members, and they are certainly going to have some experience.

Most of them are good organizers.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are good speakers as well?

Mr. BAUMANN. They are exceptionally good in the movement. I have, for instance, through my training been able to tell, when attending a meeting within 5 minutes after a motion is made, been able to tell who is the Communist in that meeting. I can tell who the Communists are.

The CHAIRMAN. How can you tell that?

Mr. BAUMANN. They are the most aggressive people. When a motion comes on the floor they are the first ones to get up and speak on the subject. When a debate comes along they are the first to take part. When I go into a meeting if I want to find out who is a Communist I will usually introduce some subject, make a motion and I can ascertain who the Communists are by their response to the subject. If you say something against the Communist Party they lose their composure. That is the method I have used.

Well, if I want to find out who the Communists are that is what I do in most conventions.

And when they come into a meeting they never sit together; they usually sit separately.



The CHAIRMAN. They are very much like some of the Communists who come here, with their twentieth-century ideas saying they were very patriotic and loyal Americans. Yet every Communist, and we had three of them up here yesterday, says, when confronted with the question as to whether they would support the United States in the event the United States got into the war on the side of France and England, that they would refuse to support the United States under those circumstances.

They refuse to go contrary to the Comintern in Moscow; they say they would refuse to go contrary to the party.

Mr. BAUMANN. That is right; and that is the experience we had. Now of course I am not a "red" baiter. I believe everybody has a right to believe what they want, but when they want to come into the trade-union movement with a political party which is nonunion and use it as a basis for disrupting a trade-union movement then I will take the opposite side.

The CHAIRMAN. As the result of the control they have in Buffalo in the union did the membership fall off?

Mr. BAUMANN. To about one-third. Whether it was from that reason or not I do not know, but the members did just about one-third in the C. I. O.

In the American Federation of Labor it has increased; but about one-third of what it was in 1937 in the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words largely due to Communist control, Communist infiltration?

Mr. BAUMANN. Either directly or indirectly.

The CHAIRMAN. Directly or indirectly?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Since they know or should know what is it that keeps Mr. Lewis and the national directors of the C. I. O. from getting rid of the Communists from key positions in the party? Is it on account of the fact that they know that the union would take a position, possibly, against the Communists who were organizers?

Mr. BAUMANN. That is a problem that I am trying to figure out as well as you.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that your best judgment?

Mr. BAUMANN. Oh, yes—No: I cannot feel so sure about it. Let me call your attention to this instance. I do not know why they do not do something about it. Here is a man, recently, who was in Erie, Pa., which is under the jurisdiction of Buffalo, a man by the name of Harry A. Albins, who was, I think, the president of one of the locals of the Steel Workers—lodge, I think they call it—with the Erie Forge and Steel Workers.

His picture was in some sort of a program, some affair that was being put on—I do not know what—a dance, or something, and a man recognized this man as a former employee of the Railway Detective Co.

This man was also a member of the Communist Party, Albins, and a very active Communist.

So, Paul Nuyns was the organizer of the Steel Workers in that locality, so they sent down one of the organizers to get him out, and Paul said to Albins, he told him, "I understand that you were employed in this detective agency and now I want you to resign your office."

He said "I am not any more." He was at one time, but not any more.

And, he refused to resign. So, they got a committee together shortly after that, of the Steel Workers Lodge and sent the man over to Pittsburgh to see Golden to discuss the facts in the case.

The result of that was instead of Albins resigning, why Nuyns was out.

I mention that fact to show that here was a man who learned that Albins was an employee, and that whereas they wanted him to resign, he refused to do it and the next thing I heard Nuyns was out and Albins was in his place as the organizer.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not quite get that. Was Albins working in this railway express agency?

Mr. BAUMANN. Not in the Railway Express Agency; the Railway Audit Co., a detective agency.

The CHAIRMAN. And he was a Communist?

Mr. BAUMANN. He was a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. How was he able to get into the group as an anti-labor worker?

Mr. BAUMANN. That is always considered a good thing; the Communists always try to get such a man in the labor movement; it is considered very smart. They feel that a Communist would not be expected to work for a detective agency, and if it fools the more intelligent, how about the rank and file? So, when Albins was exposed, instead of being repudiated and Nuyns being rewarded, Nuyns was discharged and Albins was put in his place.

Now, I can't figure that out any more than anybody else can. That is the sort of thing will happen.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I was going to ask about another subject.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to know about the national directors.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. Are you acquainted, Mr. Baumann, with the various directors of the C. I. O.?

Mr. BAUMANN. Not so much of the C. I. O. as I am with the Steel Workers.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the Steel Workers, if you can.

Mr. BAUMANN. I have here a report of the Steel Workers' Convention, and on page 28 is shown the details; reports of the names.

David J. McDonald. This gives a schedule of the directors in the Northeast—all the area. In the Northeast area is Golden. And in that area I find the name of Jack Lever.

The CHAIRMAN. Jack who?

Mr. BAUMANN. Lever.

Phil Clowes. Also M. Grecula, of McKeesport.

And John Mayo. He was a person I do not know; not very closely associated with.

And another fellow by the name of Clowes; he is a brother of some relation to the other fellow.

Taffees; Marsh—I told you about him—A. J. Marsh.

Mr. MATTHEWS. These men were directors?

Mr. BAUMANN. They were directors.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not mean to say that all of the men shown on that list are Communists?

Mr. BAUMANN. Those that I read; I am able to say those that I read.

MR. MATTHEWS. About half of them are Communists?

MR. BAUMANN. I would say about half that number; yes.

But in other areas I could not say. I know among the trade-unionists are very definite anti-Communists, because I have had a lot of talks with them.

I understand in the Chicago area there were 10 organizers who were discharged. One was Fantocechio.

THE CHAIRMAN. Well, one of the big arguments is that no Communist, until it is proven by his membership card, will admit membership, and they destroy the lists of the members.

MR. BAUMANN. It would not make any difference if they did not destroy them, because most of them do not use their right names.

THE CHAIRMAN. You know that to be a fact?

MR. BAUMANN. I certainly do.

THE CHAIRMAN. Was it not denied by Browder here that they use false names? The membership list from Chicago, subpoenaed a few days ago, of the Communists, show they have used phony names.

MR. BAUMANN. I had an instance here that happened in the labor party where a woman, the wife of one Frank Allen, tried to get into the American Labor Party by using the name Kelley, and it would seem like no one would take an Irish name of that kind to be a Communist. But we turned down her application because I knew her.

THE CHAIRMAN. What about these front organizations? The Communists say they have front organizations. Every time the party changes its line these front organizations change their line. Now, would not that be very good evidence that these front organizations are under the control of the Communist Party?

MR. BAUMANN. There is no doubt about that but it is a difficult thing to bring that before the rank and file.

The rank and file have been so trained, and rightly so, that where there is an exposé made of such a thing why they usually dub the person a stool pigeon; if anybody exposes a Communist, why immediately they cry out that he is in the pay of the employers; that he is a stool pigeon; that he is a detective, and they throw out the individual that discloses that fact.

Now in that way they can take the workers—take, for example, the Workers' Alliance, the militant ones in the Workers' Alliance. And the Marine Union is one and the same thing; the Marine Union came out of the Workers' Alliance. And the Marine Union—the marine people, probably all of them are potential sailors, probably were sailors at one time, and they sit down around the lodginghouse, and they claimed that the lodginghouse where most of them were was filthy; that the meals were inadequate; that they were abused.

And we brought this matter before the C. I. O. Council and I got up and made a motion that if such were the case an investigation ought to be made and a committee be appointed. And a committee was appointed of two men and myself. One was Thompson and another was Haynes, the organizer of the Radio Workers Union.

They met, those two, met down at the house when I could not be there, but Haynes and Thompson went down to the house and inspected it; saw the superintendent and were invited to a meal. They sat down, inspected the entire place, and came back to the C. I. O. and made a report that the place was clean. As a matter of fact, Haynes

said it was as clean as his own house, and that the meals were as good as his wife cooked.

Immediately the hall—these men were smeared, were called yellow, and they hissed him down. There were only four or five of them down there that night, but that illustrates how they do the thing.

The CHAIRMAN. You are able to tell us, are you, that the Communist Party controls the Workers' Alliance?

Mr. BAUMANN. Oh, definitely; they do not even try to deny it.

Charles Doyle was the organizer; Charles is the district organizer of them and is a well-known Communist.

Kenzie was a former steel organizer—I eliminated him; I did not put him down as a steel organizer before. But Lloyd Kenzie is now district organizer.

They do not deny or try to hide the fact that they are, because too many know them.

The CHAIRMAN. And do they pretty well control, or do they have a lot of people in the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Communist Party pretty well control that?

Mr. BAUMANN. Oh, definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question about that?

Mr. BAUMANN. Oh, no. There are some people who are members who do not even know anything about the Communists, but they usually are people whose husbands are in business, who have money that they do not know what to do with and would like to be popular and they join something, so they join the front organization instead of a card club.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been at the meetings of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. BAUMANN. Oh, several of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they ordinarily composed largely of Communists or non-Communists?

Mr. BAUMANN. I think the bulk of them is non-Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. How do the Communists control such organizations?

Mr. BAUMANN. They do that because they are the progressive ones. Usually the others just listen, and the Communists are the speakers and they say usually that he is a fine type of man; he is against Fascism; against Nazism; or is in favor of Negro rights, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. And what about other front organizations; do you know anything about other front organizations of the Communist Party in and around Buffalo?

Mr. BAUMANN. I told you about the Spanish organizations. Of course, that has disappeared more or less recently.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the American-Spanish Committee?

Mr. BAUMANN. Of course these have some very good people in them; they have some very good labor people; and some of them are in the American Labor Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They are in a rather embarrassing position at this time.

Mr. BAUMANN. I have not heard so much of them since the debacle a few weeks ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As a result of the Russian-Nazi pact?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. These front organizations are in a very embarrassing position.

Mr. BAUMANN. They seem to have hibernated.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have people in the American Students Union?

Mr. BAUMANN. No; we did have, but we do not have now.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that controlled by the Communists?

Mr. BAUMANN. Oh, definitely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What about the International Labor Defense?

Mr. BAUMANN. It is very strong; the International Labor Defense and the International Workers Union and the Workers Order, that is composed mostly of the Ukraine, the Czechs, the Slavs; fraternal organizations like this are dominated by them. Usually the organization is not strong; they have Russians or Ukraines, and they tell them what they can get; usually some insurance benefits or something of that kind.

Mr. MATTHEWS. These organizations are known as Communist fronts?

Mr. BAUMANN. They are just known by the insiders as fronts, but the rank and file do not know this. But the International Workers Order is not—it has a strong membership among the foreign-speaking people, and for that reason it does not take to the English-speaking people; I mean, there is just that distinction there, that racial distinction.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is there a branch of the National Negro Congress in Buffalo?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes. That is controlled by them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is controlled by the Communists?

Mr. BAUMANN. Definitely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And known to be such?

Mr. BAUMANN. Oh, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The American Youth Congress, are they operating there?

Mr. BAUMANN. Oh, yes; the American Youth Congress? Yes—is that the Government organization—no; the American Youth Congress—no. They are not in operation any more. They were about a year ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the National Youth Administration in Buffalo?

Mr. BAUMANN. I certainly do.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the Government? You don't mean that the Communists control it.

Mr. BAUMANN. They do not control it, but they have got a group of people in there, teachers, something like that—the Sobieraj I spoke of, that used to go out to organize the steel workers—

The CHAIRMAN. Do they hold positions in that administration?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What positions do they hold?

Mr. BAUMANN. I do not know—teachers or something—teaching manual crafts or handcraft.

The CHAIRMAN. From your long experience in the trade-union movement, and especially your connections with the C. I. O., to what

extent do you think the Communists in the C. I. O. control its policies and its activities?

Mr. BAUMANN. I could not say that. In Buffalo they have a very good control of several of the unions and of the C. I. O. in general because of the tie-up of Lillian Brill being the secretary to Thompson. And, as you know, in a great many cases the secretary to an executive is very often the executive sub rosa.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the same thing true in reference to Syracuse?

Mr. BAUMANN. I do not think it is any more. It was—Syracuse? Well, it is not, because there is no movement left to amount to anything.

In May 1937 I went to a steel workers' meeting in Syracuse to speak. I had to journey from Rochester. I got to Syracuse that night, and I could hardly get through the hall, it was so crowded. And it was one of the largest halls there. March left there to come to Buffalo—the Communist director. I saw his record, I saw his files, and he had 17 dues-paying members. That is what it came to in less than a year, from 1,000 down to 17.

The CHAIRMAN. But does the C. I. O. still claim the same membership?

Mr. BAUMANN. It is the same as it was in 1937, or more.

The CHAIRMAN. They do not take into consideration the tremendous loss of members?

Mr. BAUMANN. Oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you say that the C. I. O. in your territory had lost two-thirds of its membership?

Mr. BAUMANN. I would say about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that is true largely over the country?

Mr. BAUMANN. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know that?

Mr. BAUMANN. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you say, Mr. Baumann, that the Communists were of such significance in the C. I. O. that if they withdrew or were put out, there would be a real danger of the collapse of the C. I. O.?

Mr. BAUMANN. No. If they were put out, it would be the best thing that could happen, or if they withdrew. But they will not. There would be absolutely no danger if every Communist was to resign or be expelled from the C. I. O. tomorrow; I think there would be 3 people join for every 1 that left. I know that in the Bethlehem Steel works, which is in Lackawanna, if I were permitted to be an organizer for the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee and got up on a soap box in front of the gates of the Bethlehem Steel and denounced the Communist Party and say that we have fired the 3 Communist organizers there because of the fact that they are Communists, and for no other reason, I could sign up 500 men on the spot and get their dollar.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, the Communist Party has obstructed the organization of these workers?

Mr. BAUMANN. Absolutely. That was one big block, the reason why people would not join the C. I. O.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many members did the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee have in the Republic plant in Buffalo when the strike was called?

Mr. BAUMANN. One hundred and sixteen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Out of how many employees?

Mr. BAUMANN. Three thousand three hundred.

Mr. MATTHEWS. With 116 members they called a strike in a plant employing 3,300?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How in the world did they manage to get the others to go out on strike?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; what tactics did they use for such a thing as that?

Mr. BAUMANN. Well, of course, I was in charge of the strike. They put me in charge of the strike although I was against the strike. But it was a strike, and you have to make it a strike when it is called. Well, you see, the majority of the people see a lot of pickets out in front, and they do not like to go through a picket line, a lot of them. I think at one time we had 1,200 out.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that you could taken only 117 men and call an organization out on strike, and they would influence the balance of the workers in the plant?

Mr. BAUMANN. I do not have to have any of the 117 men.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you do not have to have them?

Mr. BAUMANN. I do not have to have any of them there—well, maybe half a dozen or so. I get others, outside pickets.

The CHAIRMAN. You get outside pickets?

Mr. BAUMANN. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean you import pickets from other territory?

Mr. BAUMANN. No; from the same city, but from other unions.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that frequently done?

Mr. BAUMANN. I would not say that—well, sometimes it is.

The CHAIRMAN. And the members who are not on strike will go out on strike because they do not want to pass the picket line; is that right?

Mr. BAUMANN. That is right; or in some cases, where they have not joined the union, they have not joined it because they are afraid. In the *Republic Steel case*, there were cases that came to my attention that that was the reason they did not join the union, because they had 65 armed police on the floor at one time.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that the Republic Steel Co. had 65 armed police?

Mr. BAUMANN. Sixty-five armed police on each shift. They would examine every person; if you passed leaflets out in front of the plant, they would search the man and take the leaflets right out of his pockets, right in front of the people, right in front of the organizers.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the Communists really feed on just complaints. They really thrive on just complaints of the men. In other words, conditions in some plants are bad and they take advantage of that situation to agitate.

Mr. BAUMANN. And add a little to it.

The CHAIRMAN. They would not get very far if conditions in the plants were satisfactory, would they?

Mr. BAUMANN. Oh, no; of course not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But they add to the complaints, as you say?

Mr. BAUMANN. Oh, yes. I have had occasion—you see, this is a difficult thing. It is one thing to sign a contract with a company and another thing to keep amicable relations with the company when there are a lot of Communists in the union, because they are constantly criticising, as I showed you here, in the tactics of the leaders, in order to discredit the leaders.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you found in your experience that the Communists proceed on the principle that if you have no grievance—

Mr. BAUMANN. Make one.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You can still complain about the soap in the toilets?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes; make a grievance. But that is not what a good organizer does. He just tries to keep amicable relations with the company. I have a clipping here, an editorial, about our relations with this Worthington Pump Co., from the leading Buffalo newspaper, commenting on the wonderful conditions there. There was a dinner given where there were the leaders of the union and the leaders of the company and the company employees. This is the union that the Communists tried to disrupt.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you found it possible in your experience to organize trade-unions and still retain amicable relations with the management?

Mr. BAUMANN. I organized and had a part in organizing some 35 unions in and around Buffalo, and I never had occasion, to get a contract, to pull the men out on strike. I signed at least 30 contracts without calling the men out on strike. I organized them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean the relations were sufficiently amicable that you did not have to plunge the men into strikes?

Mr. BAUMANN. That is right. If I go in and lay my cards on the table, and I say to the manager of the plant or the owner of the plant, "Here, I have got 51 percent, or 60 percent, or 75 percent of your men organized, and I want a contract, and I want to discuss contractual relations with you, in only one or two instances—oh, I will say half a dozen instances—have I had to go to the National Labor Relations Board because they were stubborn and would not do it. In the average case I can get into conference with them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you found that Communists are opposed on principle to negotiating contracts on an amicable basis?

Mr. BAUMANN. I have not found that so much, because of this fact: I know the Communists, and I never allow them to get into any union that I have jurisdiction over. I never allow them to get on my committee, my contracting or negotiating committee. I see to it that they do not do that.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you this question: As a man who has had quite an active part in union work, what, in your opinion, is the greatest thing that the unions, both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., could do in the interest of the laboring people?

Mr. BAUMANN. The first thing they have got to do is to get together.

The CHAIRMAN. Can they ever get together with the Communists in the C. I. O.?

Mr. BAUMANN. Not until they purge them.

The CHAIRMAN. The C. I. O. has first got to purge the ranks of its members of Communists before there is any hope of getting together?



Mr. BAUMANN. Yes. It is like this, for instance. If I have this glass here half filled with water, and if I were to pour some water into it that is contaminated, that is not fresh water, no matter how much water I added to it, still it would be contaminated water.

The CHAIRMAN. So as an experienced trade-union organizer and official, especially with the C. I. O., you think the C. I. O. has got to purge its ranks of the Communists and get rid of the Communists who are organizers and officials before there is any hope of any settlement of the differences between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O.?

Mr. BAUMANN. Yes; if the A. F. of L. are discreet. They would have to do that, or else accept the consequences. The only union in the A. F. of L. that—

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean that it would be indiscreet on the part of the A. F. of L. to accept the C. I. O. without the purge?

Mr. BAUMANN. It would be indiscreet; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were about to say that the only union in the A. F. of L.—

Mr. BAUMANN. That is controlled by the Communists—

The CHAIRMAN. What is that union?

Mr. BAUMANN. The teachers.

The CHAIRMAN. We had testimony before the committee that 11 of the national organizations affiliated with the C. I. O. are under the control and domination of the Communist Party.

Mr. BAUMANN. It is possible, but I do not happen to come in contact with them; I mean, that is not within my experience in Buffalo. I know that the teachers' union is, but it does not amount to much.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it not seem to you that those who are so anxious to bring about this unity between the two organizations would say something about the Communists who occupy these key positions?

Mr. BAUMANN. Well, they would and they would not. You see, it is an admission if they do.

The CHAIRMAN. If the situation is—and that is undoubtedly the view of many trade-union leaders right now—that there can be no unity until this Communist question in the C. I. O. is settled, if that is accepted among the union leaders, and there are so many people anxious to bring about unity, it would seem to me that those who are anxious would come right out—be outspoken—and recognize the situation, and say that they ought to get rid of these Communists in the C. I. O.

Mr. BAUMANN. They would have to discredit the past in order to make the future better.

The CHAIRMAN. What difference would it make, if they admitted a mistake?

Mr. BAUMANN. If it were me, I would.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the point. I have never been able to understand why people have so much pride that they will not acknowledge what is true. You have an instance of that—several instances of that—in which they would rather do almost anything than acknowledge the truth of something that is almost common knowledge, the Communist penetration of the C. I. O.

Mr. BAUMANN. They have always denied it, and in order to admit it now, they would have to admit that they were wrong before.

There might be something to that. There are a lot of other things that a person has to consider in these situations. Here is a point.

The rank and file of the trade union, particularly in new unions like the steel workers, the automobile workers, are very mobile. I mean, they are moving around. They do not know where they are at. They might be in favor of one thing today and another thing tomorrow. You can get a contract for them—for instance, I have gone in and gotten contracts, where they got a raise in pay and all kinds of good conditions, and as soon as they got the contract, they stopped paying dues. They figured, why should they pay dues, when they had gotten what they wanted. That is as far as they can see. They do not look to tomorrow. These very same people, if you were to come out and say, "We are going to purge our ranks of Communists," you are admitting that they have Communists in the ranks, and they are liable to drop out of the union. And then you could never get them back in again. You see, it is a very ticklish proposition, and it is very difficult to handle a situation like that, to know just what to do under the circumstances.

The CHAIRMAN. You think, in other words, that there is a fear on the part of the C. I. O. leadership that if they admit the truth of these charges and proceed to purge their ranks of these Communists that it will discredit the whole organization and they will lose what members they would have left.

Mr. BAUMANN. That is it, because if the thing were really sound, if it had been built up over a long period of years, like the A. F. of L. is, it would be different. You see, it is a case of the survival of the fittest. The best are left. The weak ones have dropped out. You have not got that situation in a new union. I am not trying to discredit the union by saying that. I am looking at it from their own standpoint and really defending their position to a certain extent. If I were in the same position I admit that it would be difficult to handle.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not believe the A. F. of L. would be wise or would be acting in the interest of the trade-union movement to settle its differences with the C. I. O. as long as the Communist question remains unsettled?

Mr. BAUMANN. No; for several reasons. If I were a general in an army I would not attack a city and lose some of my men in attacking the city if I knew that I would get it eventually by starving them out. Eventually they know, if they hang on long enough, they are going to get the C. I. O. The C. I. O. will either disintegrate or come over to them. If the same conditions prevail in it that prevail now, they will not. The A. F. of L. will never destroy them. They will destroy themselves, and they are rapidly doing that, unless somebody is allowed to come in and wake these people up. But the thing is this. I would not be allowed to get up in a union meeting and say what I am saying here. There would be enough Communists in there, they would probably hit me over the head with a chair before I said 10 words. And the rest of the people would not defend me. Your friends do not come to your defense at a time when you need them, but your enemies work against you. They just follow the lines of least resistance.

The CHAIRMAN. We will adjourn until Monday morning at 10:30.

(Whereupon, an adjournment was taken until Monday, October 9, 1939, at 10:30 a. m.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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MONDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Dies (chairman), Voorhis, Mason, and Thomas.

Present also: Mr. Whitley, counsel to the committee, and Mr. J. B. Matthews, director of research for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Mr. Voorhis has a statement to make.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, I just want to say, in connection with this report on communism in the District and as it affects the teachers—

The CHAIRMAN. You are speaking of the report that we got at Communist headquarters?

Mr. VOORHIS. That is right.

I have unmistakable evidence and information that neither of the locals mentioned in that report are locals of the public-school teachers, and, on the other hand, that the public-school teachers in this District who are in the Federation of Teachers' local have been very active in combatting communism and were indeed responsible for a resolution in the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1935 asking an investigation of communism among the teachers. And ever since that time they have been very active in those directions.

I just want to say that so that the record would be complete.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Now, here is a telegram also, which I was asked to read, from the San Antonio Light, San Antonio, Tex.:

Douglas Jacobs testified to correspondence with Miss Peggy Vance, whom he identified as being employed by the San Antonio Light. Miss Vance has never been employed on this newspaper, but was employed on another newspaper in this city. In case the witness appears again, may we have this correction entered for the record? In case witness does not appear, will you enter this message in the record?

That is signed "Dwight Allison, managing editor, San Antonio Light."

Now the committee will have to go into executive session for a few moments. Will everyone please vacate the room except the witnesses and Lieutenant Lineberger?

(The committee thereupon went into executive session.)

(At the conclusion of the executive session, the committee proceeded, at 10:45 a. m., in open session, as follows:)

### TESTIMONY OF OLIVER KENNETH GOFF

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand. You solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GOFF. I do.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your full name, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. Oliver Kenneth Goff.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your address?

Mr. GOFF. Rural Route 3, Delavan, Wis.

Mr. WHITLEY. How old are you, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. Twenty-five.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born?

Mr. GOFF. In Darien, Wis.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your occupation?

Mr. GOFF. Salesman.

The CHAIRMAN. What does he sell?

Mr. GOFF. For the McNess Products Co. at Freeport.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Goff, are you a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you join the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. In May 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. May 1936?

Mr. GOFF. That is the second day of May.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did you join?

Mr. GOFF. In Milwaukee, Wis.

Mr. WHITLEY. And under what name did you join the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. John Keats.

Mr. WHITLEY. John Keats?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it suggested to you at the time you joined that you join under an assumed name?

Mr. GOFF. I was asked by Gene Dennis and Fred Keller to take this name for the records.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that a general practice of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; that is carried out both in the Young Communist League and the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. The same day I joined the league, I joined the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you were recruited into the Young Communist League and into the Communist Party itself both on the same day?

Mr. GOFF. That is true.

Mr. WHITLEY. And under what name did you join the Communist Party?

**A Y.C.L. Member is . . .**

a loyal supporter and active builder of the labor movement; a true fighter for the cause of the people.

a constructive worker in behalf of his trade union or mass organization.

a booster and builder of the Young Communist League. Therefore, a good Y.C.L. er pays his dues regularly each month; attends all branch meetings; participates actively in the work of the Y.C.L.; and studies to train himself for leadership.

a good comrade and friend to his fellow members and to the young people with whom he works.

1936

OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
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*West Allis*

Branch or Unit  
of the

**Young Communist  
League, U.S.A.**

Name *John Feate*

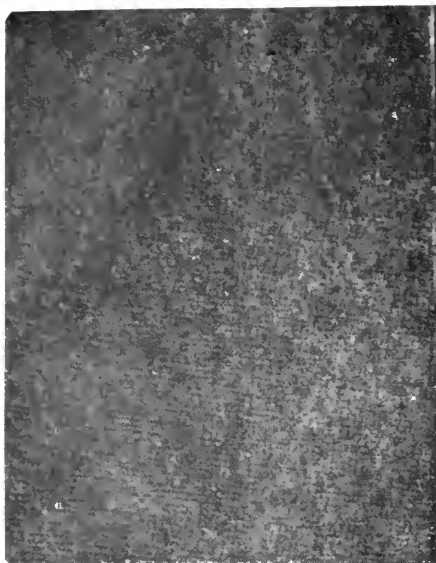
Date Joined

City *W. 7.* State *Wis.*

*Paul Henry*  
Signature of Secretary

MEMBERSHIP BOOKS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A., AND YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, U. S. A., MADE OUT TO JOHN KEATS, PARTY NAME OF KENNETH GOFF.





**Communist Party of the U. S. A.**  
(Section of the Communist International)

1937  
Membership Book 77453

for

Name *John Keats*

State *Wis.* County.....

City..... Dist... Section....

This Book was issued on *1/1/37*  
(date)

Initiation  
Stamp  
*36*  
No.

*James Dennis*  
Signature of District  
Organizer and Party Sec'y

Co Party Members'ip Book valid unless it  
has Party Seal stamp; Issued by the  
Central Committee, U.S.A.  
20.

**A Y.C.L. Member Is . . .**

... a loyal supporter and active builder of  
the labor movement; a true fighter for  
the cause of the people.

... a constructive worker in behalf of his  
trade union or mass organization.

... a student of all the cultural achieve-  
ments of man, devoting himself es-  
pecially to the study of Socialism and  
to training for leadership.

... a booster and builder of the Young  
Communist League. A good YCL'er  
pays dues regularly, attends all branch  
meetings; participates actively in the  
work of the Y.C.L.

a comrade and friend to his fellow  
members and to the young people with  
whom he works.

Y.C.L. U.S.A. National Office DUES	Y.C.L. U.S.A. National Office DUES	Y.C.L. U.S.A. National Office DUES
APRIL	MAY	JUNE
JULY	AUG.	SEPT.
OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
ASSESSMENT		ASSESSMENT

Name *Keats*  
Date Joined *April-1936*  
County *Milwaukee* State *Wis.*  
*Kron Kefler*  
Signature State Sec'y





Mr. GOFF. John Keats, also.

Mr. WHITLEY. The same name?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And for the same reasons?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. What type of membership do you hold in the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. Well, it is a member at large; it is a special membership. In other words, I don't have to meet with any unit or branch of the party, so that I can work in front organizations and work in church groups and not be known to the members of the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. That is to keep your membership very secret?

Mr. GOFF. That is true.

Mr. WHITLEY. And were you instructed not to contact any local or associate with the rank and file members in public places?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. So that there would be no way of identifying you with the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have here Mr. Goff's membership books both in the Young Communist League and in the Communist Party. His membership book in the Young Communist League is under the name of John Keats and the signature of the secretary is Paul Herve. The book shows that he joined the Young Communist League at Milwaukee in April 1936. Mr. Goff says that date April 1936 is a mistake; that he actually joined in May 1936.

Also his membership book in the Communist Party under the name of John Keats, signed by the district organizer, Gene Dennis.

Now, Mr. Goff, what positions have you held—let me ask you this question first: Are you still a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. A member in good standing?

Mr. GOFF. Well, you would not say "good standing," because I have been at outs on certain things; but I have never been brought to trial and have never been removed from the league as yet; that is, I have been in their offices as late as 2 weeks ago.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you still a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What positions have you held, both in the Young Communist League and in the Communist Party, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. Well, I have held lots of different committees, and then I was a member of the State board of the Young Communist League for the State of Wisconsin, and a member of the plenum committee for the western district, and a member of the national committee of the Young Communist League.

Mr. WHITLEY. A member of the national committee of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if you can develop—I think it is important for you to develop why he joined and that it was bona fide. In other words, he did not join for any purpose of testifying?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right. I will get to that in just a minute, Mr. Chairman.

In other words, Mr. Goff, you have been a very active member of both organizations since you joined in 1936 and have held positions of responsibility?

Mr. GOFF. That is true.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, are you also a member of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; a member of the National Administrative Committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are a member of the National Administrative Committee of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And when did you join the American Youth Congress?

Mr. GOFF. In the latter part of 1936, just before the Congress was held in Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, will you tell the committee, Mr. Goff, how you first became interested in the Young Communist League and the Communist Party and why you decided to join those organizations?

Mr. GOFF. You mean from the very beginning, going clean back?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; go back and show where your first interest was aroused and under what circumstances.

Mr. GOFF. Well, I had been working in youth organizations in the State of Wisconsin, both in the church and political field. I was a member of the executive committee of the Young Progressives and acted as State secretary for a considerable length of time of the Young Progressive Youth of the State of Wisconsin and at the time the depression broke out I was socially minded, along with the rest of the young people who were out of school and did not have a job, and along about that time an organization came to our town called the Workers Committee, later known as the Workers Alliance. That was around 1934.

In 1935 I received a letter from an office in Milwaukee addressed to me as a member of the workers' committee, granting me the right to attend a workers' school for unemployed workers, to be held in Madison, Wis. The money was contributed by the United States Government from one of their funds. I do not know whether it was the F. E. R. A. or exactly which fund, but it was a Government school, which we were to attend for 6 weeks, and all expenses would be paid by the Government.

During this period of time we were taught material that was rather of the leftist view. Some of the teachers in the school, especially the director of the school at that time, the director of teaching, was Lucille Cohen, who was a left-wing Socialist from New York, and is in Miss Dillings' red network. At this school about 80 percent of the young people there were either Communists or leftists; either Communists or fellow travelers.

Mr. WHITLEY. What percent?

Mr. GOFF. About 80 percent.

Mr. WHITLEY. Eighty percent of the members who attended this school were either party members or sympathizers, is that correct?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many did attend the school in this group?

Mr. GOFF. Between 60 and 70. While we were there at the school, there was a lot of leftist literature passed around. Different ones would bring it in, and we got a view of how strikes are carried on and different things like that in the classes. This was held at the Beta House at Madison University.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is Madison, Wis.?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. Then they also put on leftist plays. Now, during this period of time different young Communist people would take some of us over to different homes in Madison and show us Communist literature and give us some talks; tell us how they worked, how they were a powerful organization, and so on. One day they told us that there was going to be a meeting in town that they wanted us to attend, and a group of us boys were led by another fellow all around town, so we would lose the route, to the basement of a home. Then a fellow by the name of Cohen from New York City gave us a report on the Seventh World Congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; of the Communist Party. Then in this room there were a lot of Communists from the Madison branch, and they explained to us how the Communist Party was the real party; it was the vanguard of the workers; that we might be fighting for the workers and trying to do our best, but that we had better realize that we needed generals in the battle; that we were not doing a great deal; that we had to concentrate our work and carry out a definite program; that the Communist Party were the generals, and they had the plan of attack, and they had the program that we could carry through.

They tried to recruit some of us that night. I was getting irritated by their attacks on La Follette, being a Progressive, and started a terrible argument with them, and I did not join up.

But after we left school, a few months later—

Mr. WHITLEY. Just a moment, Mr. Goff; let me interrupt at that point. While you were attending this workers' school did they sing Communist songs?

Mr. GOFF. That is right. They sang the Comintern, the Internationale, and sang such songs as—

Blow the bloody bugles,  
Beat the bloody drum boys,  
Blow the bloody bourgeoisie  
To bloody kingdom come.  
  
Build a big bonfire,  
As high as the biggest church spire,  
And blow the bloody bastards  
Higher one by one.

Mr. VOORHIS. Where were these attacks on La Follette made, in the school?

Mr. GOFF. Not in the school, but at this Communist meeting.

Mr. VOORHIS. They did not like him?

Mr. GOFF. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you continue, after you left the school, Mr. Goff.

Mr. GOFF. After I left the school, I received a letter from the Communist Party in Milwaukee. They must have gotten my name from the files of the school. They told me that Earl Browder was going to speak at a meeting there and give a report on the Seventh World

Congress. I hitchhiked into Milwaukee and attended a meeting at the auditorium, and there were a lot of students from the school there, an awful lot of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Apparently the Communist Party was following up the list of students who attended that workers' school?

Mr. GOFF. That is right. And then they tried to recruit us that night. They had a long talk with us and tried to convince us that it was the best thing to join up, to carry on work in the Youth Congress and the progressive youth movement. I did not join up that night. I went back to Delavan. The W. P. A. situation began to be worse and worse, and at last the Workers Alliance in the Fox River Valley planned a march on Madison. I took a group of men from Delavan and we went up there to see whether we could get in on the march, as far as raising the wage scale was concerned. They were asking a wage scale from \$40 to \$48. That was the minimum wage scale paid in our district at that time.

When we got to Madison we siezed the assembly chamber of the capitol. We knew that the law read that only the State police could drive us from the capitol. So we thought we would camp there, and we camped there for 10 days. We held the capitol during that period.

I was in charge of the finance committee and was one of the three heads of the strike at the time. I obtained Salvation Army quarters for them and collected money for them. The first day we collected \$30 from Governor La Follette. After that he did not contribute any more money. I guess he thought we were going to leave right away.

Then during this period of time we met the strike committee, which was made up of six or eight people. We met in the lobby chamber of the senate, and six of these people, or at least every one of them except myself, were Communists, members of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, six of the members of the strike committee were Communist Party members?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. You met with them and you were a member of that committee yourself?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were the only member that was not a Communist Party member?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Go ahead.

Mr. GOFF. We met sometimes in the Vanguard Book Store in Madison, while we were carrying on our strike tactics, and we were under the leadership—well, he was not a member of the strikers, but he came from the student group in the university, a fellow by the name of Bernie Siegel, from New York City. He was a student there at the time, at the University of Wisconsin.

So, after the strike was over, and we went home—the strike was in March; and around May Day, different organizations in different towns invited me to speak before their May Day demonstrations. I spoke in Sheboygan, Wis. Before I left, I got a letter from Lyle Olsen, who was the head of the strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. Let me interrupt, Mr. Goff, to show you some newspaper clippings under a date line, Madison, Wis., having to do with the strike that you have just referred to [handing papers to witness].

Mr. GOFF. Yes; these are the ones.

Mr. WHITLEY. The pictures accompanying those three articles, Mr. Chairman, have Mr. Goff's picture in there as one of the group that was leading that strike at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. That was from what newspaper?

Mr. GOFF. The Capital Times. It is either the Capital Times or the Wisconsin Press.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not believe you have offered in evidence his membership card, have you?

Mr. WHITLEY. I did not; no. I had them identified. Will you continue, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. I received a letter from Lyle Olsen, who was the head of the strike, and he told me that when I arrived in Milwaukee he wanted me to come over and talk to Gene Dennis.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was Gene Dennis?

Mr. GOFF. District organizer of the Communist Party for the eighteenth district.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Gene Dennis now the legislative representative of the Communist Party located here, in the city of Washington?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. Then, when I arrived in Milwaukee, I was kind of afraid to go up to the office there, so I went down to Sheboygan and gave my address, and while I was there, Dennis was in the crowd, so I gained courage, and when I got to Milwaukee I went up to the office, and they explained to me that if I would join the Communist Party I could keep up my activities in these other fields; that it would unify my activities.

I discussed with him the possibility, the thought that I was religious minded, and had had intentions of becoming a minister, and I did not like to lose my religious ideals. They told me that I would not have to lose them by becoming a member of the party. All that they would request of me was that I would continually read—read continually—the material that they gave me. They told me that even though I was connected with the party, I could carry on my other activities on the q. t.; that I would be of value to them. And then they gave me this assumed name of John Keats, and from that time on I was a member of the Communist Party in the Y. C. L.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Goff, do you plan to resign from the Young Communist League and the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. I do.

Mr. WHITLEY. Following your testimony here?

Mr. GOFF. I have my resignation there [indicating document].

Mr. WHITLEY. You have your resignation prepared?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is the resignation which Mr. Goff has prepared.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it would be well to have him give his reasons for testifying.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is incorporated in this resignation.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will read this resignation of Mr. Goff's.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

*To the Young Communist League and the Communist Party:*

Three years ago, like many other young Americans, I entered your party and movement, believing that your aims were for the bettering of America,

both economically and socially, and that you were the true defenders of democracy.

After 3 years' work in your movement, I have come to the conclusion that joining your party was the greatest mistake of my life. You have proven to me by your teachings and actions that your aims are not for the bettering of America, but are for furthering your own selfish ambitions and those of your fatherland in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Had your aims been true and for the best interest of our Nation, you would not have had to call upon your father and high priest, Joseph Stalin, for every move you make but would have found your leadership here in the United States of America.

Many of your members have come from foreign shores to our land to escape oppression and like termites do not become members of our household but gnaw at the pillars of our democracy with hopes that it will crumble and you might profit by its fall.

You shout to high heaven your praise for the bill of rights and all it stands for, yet in your own party, you pry into every member's private life, and see to it with all your power that he cannot live a life of his own.

Yes, your speakers rave for hours about the mad dogs of fascism and how your fatherland the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its leader, Joseph Stalin, is the greatest bulwark against fascism and the defender of democracy, and while these words are yet wet upon your lips the great Red Army of the fatherland and your beloved peace leader, Joseph Stalin, join hands in accord with Adolf Hitler, one of the biggest Fascist leaders, and one of the greatest enemies of democracy in our times, and together they destroy Poland and bring little Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania to their knees. Yes, all this your fatherland does in the name of peace and democracy. But do you who have the protection of a democracy tell your fatherland the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, that you do not approve of the action taken by the Red Army in its conquest of Poland? No! And by these and many other actions you prove that you and your organization are no more than puppets dancing on the strings pulled by Joseph Stalin and the Comintern.

Because of your un-American ways and your lie of your so-called defense of democracy, I hereby submit my resignation from the Young Communist League and the Communist Party, to take effect immediately. I shall take my stand with those who are fighting for real Americanism and democracy. I know that this is a long and bitter fight and I am enlisted for the duration of the war.

Yours truly,

KENNETH GOFF.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Goff, will you explain to the committee the relationship between the Young Communist League in the United States and the Young Communist International?

Mr. GOFF. Have you a copy of the Communist International constitution?

Mr. WHITLEY. The program?

Mr. GOFF. The program of the Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is the program of the Communist International, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Goff, is this the program which has been adopted and is used by the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are very positive of that?

Mr. GOFF. I am sure of that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, this is the program which Mr. Browder in his testimony stated, I believe, was not the official program of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. GOFF. This is the official program, and under section 35 it reads:

The International League of Communist Youth, Communist Youth International, is a section of the Communist International with full rights and is subordinate to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

That is the Executive Committee of the Communist International. It differs from the Communist Party in that the Communist Party is directly affiliated with the Communist International, while the youth group here in America is affiliated with the Young Communist International, which is affiliated with the Comintern.

Mr. WHITLEY. Which, in turn, is affiliated with the Comintern?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. But insofar as the actual control and direction of the Young Communist League in the United States is concerned, it is through the Young Communist International, subject to the domination of the Communist International.

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Goff, what are the relations between the Young Communist League in the United States and the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. GOFF. To become a member of the Young Communist League you do not have to be a member of the Communist Party. But to become a member of the national board, or the national committee, or any of the committees or boards in the local units, you must be a member of the Communist Party. No one can hold office in the Communist youth organization without being a member of the Communist Party. All the leadership of the Communist youth organization take all the material to the Communist leader, the district organizer for the district, and discuss it with him before they bring it before the members of the units.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the Communist Party in the United States exercises complete control over the policies of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. They made us realize one thing, that we make a mistake in saying that the Young Communist League is the vanguard of the youth. We are not. There is only one vanguard of the working class, and that is the Communist Party, and all the other organizations are subject to that one vanguard.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is my interpretation correct from your testimony, that the Young Communist League, insofar as policies are concerned, is completely subject to the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you say that although a person can be a member of the Young Communist League without being a Communist Party member, he cannot hold any office in the Young Communist League unless he is a member of the Communist Party also?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Goff, from your experience in the Young Communist League, is it right to say that its policies are decided at the world congresses which are held from time to time in Moscow?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. There the line is laid down for international work and we follow that line.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the Young Communist League in this country does make its reports to the World Congress?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; and then we pay the international dues stamp, the solidarity stamp.

Mr. WHITLEY. You pay dues which go to the international organization in Moscow?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand, Mr. Whitley, you have some other business to attend to at this time, and Dr. Matthews will conduct the examination from this point on.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think it would be well, Mr. Chairman, for the record, to have Mr. Goff give us the words of some of the songs which are customarily sung by the members of the Young Communist League in this country.

You quoted a portion of one stanza, I believe. Would you give us the full wording of that?

Mr. GOFF (quoting) :

B'low the bloody bugles,  
Beat the bloody drum, boys,  
B'low the bloody bourgeoisie,  
To bloody kingdom come.  
Build a big bonfire,  
As high as the biggest church spire,  
And blow the bloody bastards,  
Higher one by one.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What other songs were customarily sung?

Mr. GOFF (quoting) :

Fly higher and higher and higher,  
Our emblem the red Soviet star,  
While every propeller is shouting,  
"Red" front,  
Defending the U. S. S. R.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have another one in mind?

Mr. GOFF. You know the Comintern; I imagine you have the International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a Christmas greeting. Did you receive this [handing to witness]?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is that from?

Mr. GOFF. I received that from Gil Green, who up to a couple of years ago was national secretary of the Young Communist League. Now he is a member of the Communist International. He sent this to me from Mexico.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the importance of that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a Christmas greeting from the head of the Young Communist League to Mr. Goff, to establish his various connections with the Young Communist League.

Mr. GOFF. I show you a communication dated December 2, 1937, addressed, "Dear Comrade," and signed by Henry Winston, administrative secretary. Who is Henry Winston?

Mr. GOFF. He is a Negro boy who lives in New York City. He is the administrative secretary of the Young Communist League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For the whole United States?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; and the national committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the top of this communication, Mr. Goff, there is a sticker attached with the date December 6 on it, and then there appears to be a code number, 18 B. Will you please explain the significance of that sticker?



Mr. GOFF. 18 B-1 appears on every one of the letters that I get from the national committee. That is my code number. My letters come on this type of paper always folded up and sealed, so in case anyone investigates the mail and breaks this seal, immediately I have to report it, so that they know the Federal Government has been snooping through our mail. This little sticker at the top I send back as soon as I receive the letter, so that they may know I have received the letter. I have an address outside of the party office to send this to. Then they know that I have the report. Up in the corner are the words, "Please destroy after reading." I am supposed to destroy the material at that time so that it will never be brought to light. This sticker happens to remain on my papers, because there were two national committee members in the State of Wisconsin, Leon Kaplan and myself, and he usually reported back that I had received my material from the national office.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Goff, will you please identify the communication which we have here. For what purpose did you receive it?

Mr. GOFF. I received it to attend a meeting of the national committee which was supposed to be held in New York on January 14, 15, and 16, beginning at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 14th. The place in New York was to be announced later. That is, upon our arrival at the party office, we would be told where to go.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was this meeting held in New York City?

Mr. GOFF. No. It was later held in Chicago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I offer this for incorporation in the record, the entire communication.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything in it that ought to be read at this point?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think not. He has given the substance of it. It is an official notice to Mr. Goff to attend a meeting of the national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

Postoffice stamp: Brooklyn, N. Y., December 7, 1:30 a. m.

Mr. JOHN KEATS,

818 North Marshall Street,

Milwaukee, Wis.

DECEMBER 2, 1937.

DEAR COMRADE: The Resident Board has decided to call a full meeting of the National Council for Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, January 14th, 15th, and 16th, beginning at 10:00 a. m. the morning of the 14th. The place, in New York City, will be announced later. Besides members of the National Council, District Organizers and a number of leading comrades are being invited to attend this Plenum.

We are giving six weeks notice in order that in every District the District Organizer and National Council members can immediately begin to make preparations and to raise the necessary finances for the trip to New York. The responsibility for transportation must rest upon the Districts themselves. From a number of Districts it should be possible to organize transportation by cars.

The full agenda for the meeting has not yet been prepared and will be finalized on the basis of the opinions and proposals made by members of the National Council. The Resident Board Board proposes that there shall be one main report on "The 1938 Elections and the Tasks of Winning the Youth for the People's Front." In order to prepare the discussion properly, material will be sent to all comrades in advance of the meeting so that everyone will be fully

prepared to participate in the discussion. We ask that the comrades prepare in advance to stay during the entire session.

Comradely yours,

HENRY WINSTON,  
*Administrative Secretary.*

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16cio

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Goff, you stated that you were known as a member at large of the Young Communist League and of the Communist Party, by which was meant that you were not to be identified with a local branch?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a card, a delegate's card, for the Eighth National Convention of the Young Communist League, made out to you, Kenneth Goff, City, Milwaukee, State, Wisconsin, and beside the word "branch" appears the word "special." Does that "special" signify that you were a member at large?

Mr. GOFF. At large, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you attend this Eighth Convention of the Young Communist League in New York City?

Mr. GOFF. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On the back of the card I notice there are some autographs. How did those autographs happen to be on the back of your card?

Mr. GOFF. While we were at the convention, I asked a few people that were sitting around to autograph the card because I was going to take it home.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was one of those autographs that of Joseph Curran?

Mr. GOFF. It was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this Joseph Curran's signature [indicating on card]?

Mr. GOFF. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it written in your presence?

Mr. GOFF. It was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Joseph Curran the head of the National Maritime Union?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please tell us, Mr. Goff, as regards other members at large occupying the same status that you occupied, with whom you frequently came in contact in the course of your work in the Young Communist League in the Communist Party; what were their names?

Mr. GOFF. William Hinckley.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is William Hinckley?

Mr. GOFF. Chairman of the American Youth Congress.

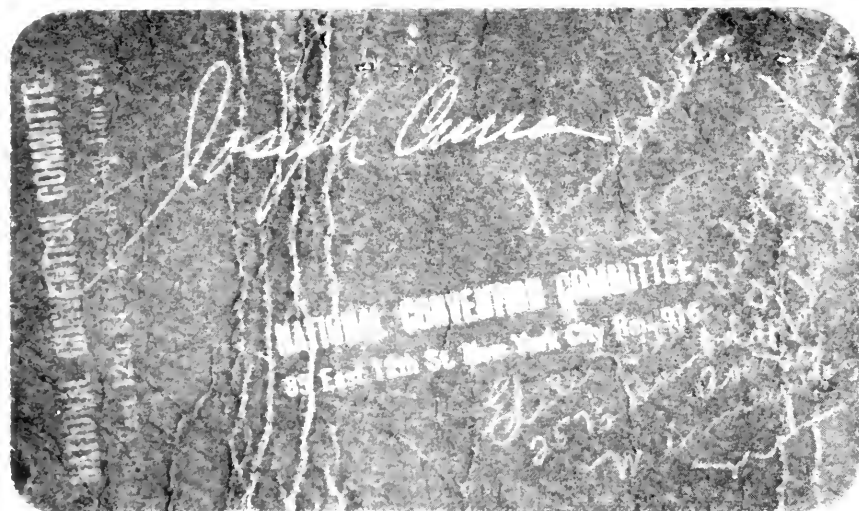
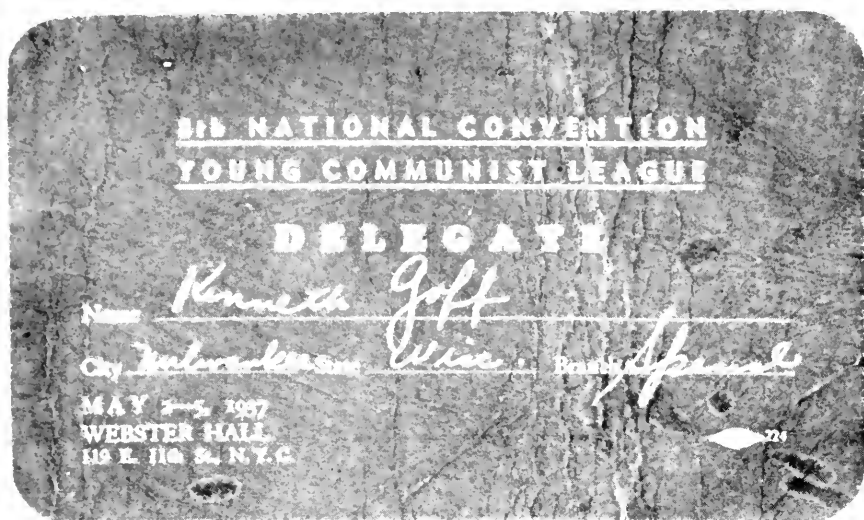
Mr. MATTHEWS. National chairman of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; up until this last time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Up until this last year?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. Joseph Cadden.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was Joseph Cadden?



FRONT AND BACK OF DELEGATE'S CARD, FOR THE EIGHTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, MADE OUT TO KENNETH GOFF.



Mr. GOFF. He was executive secretary up until last year of the American Youth Congress. He is national chairman of the American Youth Congress.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is national chairman of the American Youth Congress and formerly executive secretary?

Mr. GOFF. And executive secretary of the World Youth Congress, too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you meet him at the Eighth Convention of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him there as a member at large of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall some other individuals who were known to you in that capacity?

Mr. GOFF. Abbott Simon.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was Abbott Simon?

Mr. GOFF. He was in charge of the legislative committee for the American Youth Congress. He is working here in Washington.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Joseph Lash?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was Joseph Lash's position?

Mr. GOFF. National executive secretary of the Student Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The American Student Union?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him at this convention as a member at large of the Young Communist League of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; he was there in that capacity.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know James Lerner?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him in that capacity as a member at large?

Mr. GOFF. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What position did James Lerner occupy at that time?

Mr. GOFF. He was secretary in charge of the youth work for the American League—

Mr. MATTHEWS. The American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. GOFF. The American League Against War and Fascism, it was called at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the last name?

Mr. MATTHEWS. James Lerner, secretary in charge of the youth work of the American League Against War and Fascism.

The CHAIRMAN. Now the League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Edward Strong?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was he?

Mr. GOFF. He was in charge of the Christian youth work for the Negro race, and he is also head of the National—

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Southern Negro Youth Congress?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him as a member at large of the Young Communist League at this convention?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Miriam Bogorad?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what connection did you know her?

Mr. GOFF. She was the secretary for the Youth Congress. She carried on all the writing for the Youth Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. She was the secretary for the Youth Congress?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was any instruction ever given you by the officials of the Young Communist League of the Communist Party to the effect that you should not under any circumstances address these members at large publicly in such a way that their membership would be known to others?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. In 1937 I was in charge of the American Youth Congress when it came to Milwaukee. I was in charge of all the arrangements there. Cadden and Lerner and Bill Hinckley had arrived early to do work, and we were told not to let them associate with any member of the Y. C. L., nor should we address them as members of the Y. C. L., nor in conversation bring up anything that would put them on the spot.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see what organizations you tie up. Are these the organizations that comprise this National Conference of the Civil Liberties Union that will be held in New York in a few days, in which, I understand, the American Students' League, the Young Communist League, and many other Communist-front organizations are comprised?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; some of them are doubtless listed in the public press.

The CHAIRMAN. They will hold a national convention, at which a number of prominent people are invited to speak, and they will speak to them despite the fact that this committee has pointed out the fact that these organizations are nothing but Communist organizations. I make that point so we may get over the idea that they are encouraging these organizations by lending their prestige and names on such occasions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will show you a letter dated New York, March 26, 1937, addressed to you, Kenneth Goff, Milwaukee, Wis., addressed to you as "Dear Comrade"; and the letter is signed, "Yours for a successful convention, Joe Clark, National Convention Director." Of what was Joe Clark the national director?

Mr. GOFF. Of the Young Communist League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was this communication received by you just prior to this national convention of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the substance of this letter, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. They thank me for a preconvention article that I had written, which was to be published in the Daily Worker, and that would be published sometime in April. He explains here that it is difficult to state on what date it would be published because there are already so many articles on hand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does this letter clearly acknowledge you as a member of the Young Communist League and as one who has written a preconvention article, in regard to the convention, which is to be published in the Daily Worker?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And a few days later, did you receive this communication [indicating]?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is dated April 27, 1937, and is signed by Angelo Herndon, national chairman, and Gilbert Green, national secretary, of the Young Communist League.

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What does it say?

Mr. GOFF. They tell me that I am invited to attend the convention of the Young Communist League, and say they are sending invitations to a few hundred prominent people.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you read the letter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This letter is dated March 26, 1937, in which it is recognized that Mr. Goff is a member of the Young Communist League. And a few days later he received this last one, on their stationery, in which he is not called a member, but is invited as a guest to the coming Eighth National Convention of the Young Communist League, in spite of the fact that he has in his possession credentials as a delegate to the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose of that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Explain it, Mr. Goff;

Mr. GOFF. The purpose is that if anyone asked if he were a delegate to the convention—he may act as a delegate for an organization such as the American Youth Congress—he can say he is not a delegate to the convention. They can say that they have invited him along with other prominent leaders.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he may produce this letter as evidence that he is not a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But that he is simply invited as a guest?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The letter reads as follows:

We wish to extend to you a personal invitation to be present at our coming Eighth National Convention of the Young Communist League, as our guest. This convention will open in New York City, on the morning of May 2, and will continued through to May 5.

We are inviting a few hundred prominent leaders of youth organizations to be present at our national convention as observers. You are one of those invited and we hope you will take this opportunity to get a first-hand picture of what the Young Communist League is doing and what our plans are for the immediate future.

While the convention will open on the morning of May 2, we wish especially to call to your attention the fact that on the evening of May 2 a mass rally greeting the convention will be held in Madison Square Garden, which will be addressed by William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Angelo Herndon, and Gil Green. We feel certain that besides being present at the general sessions of the national convention, you will especially want to be present at this gigantic mass rally.

We hope you will find it possible to be present at our national convention, and we would like to have you inform us in advance as to whether you will be there so that we can make the necessary arrangements. This is essential, as the convention hall has only a limited capacity.

You say that you already held credentials as a delegate to the convention at the time you received this letter?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Those credentials have been introduced already, Mr. Chairman.

I show you this document, Mr. Goff, and will ask you to please identify it.

Mr. GOFF. This is a document of the Milwaukee Young Communist League. This is our publication for that district.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify this paper? This is from the State executive secretary of the Young Communist League of Milwaukee?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Whose signature is that?

Mr. GOFF. Leon Kappy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read a portion of this news letter:

We ask that each branch act on the following emergency proposals immediately and inform us of your plans:

1. Make a list of every contact that any member of the Y. C. L. has. Organize special recruiting committees whose function it shall be to visit these contacts and sign them up. This is the only work of the committee for the month. They should work with the member in getting the recruit. In addition, every member of the Y. C. L. should devote his main work to signing up at least one other member.

2. Every branch should immediately organize a party, outing, dance, etc., for the 16th anniversary of the Y. C. L. (See April review.) These can be called "sweet sixteen parties" and should be used for recruiting.

Does that represent an effort on their part at recruiting members for the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you act upon that communication?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please describe the effort of this organization to do that?

Mr. GOFF. Some unit of the Y. C. L. would hold a party—not a Y. C. L. party, but a preconvention party—for young people who are first voters. It would be a "sweet 16" party, and at that party we would ask several youths to speak, and among those that would speak would be the D. O. of the Young Communist League, explaining how they were working. It would be really a Young Communist League party. The people would be sitting around the room, and then we would be working on the person sitting next to us. They were doing that all the time in recruiting the Y. C. L. Girls were very useful in doing the recruiting work.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you another communication now, and will ask you to identify that.

Mr. GOFF. That is a communication received from Henry Winston, secretary of the Young Communist League.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the title?

Mr. GOFF. Administrative secretary of the Young Communist League. I will read it:

DEAR COMRADE: It is of the utmost importance that you pay immediate attention to securing new addresses for receiving mail. This is a matter that must be taken care of in the next 2 weeks, otherwise we will have to cease sending you material until a new place is found.

You may continue sending mail as you have in the past until you are informed otherwise.



Mr. MATTHEWS. They wished the members to change their mail addresses?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For what purpose?

Mr. GOFF. So that people would not get wise to the fact that we were receiving this literature all the time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or minutes of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you receive the minutes of the national board of the Young Communist League regularly?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were a member of the national board of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; for 2 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From May 1937, to May 1939?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a questionnaire. Was this sent out by the Young Communist League to Young Communist League members?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; it was sent out about the fall of 1936.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you receive this?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The document contains two pages, and, instead of reading it, I ask that it be incorporated in the record. The particular purpose is that it indicates quite clearly to what extent the Young Communist League goes into the private lives of its members with a view to controlling them.

The CHAIRMAN. Read a few questions to illustrate that point.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read some of them:

Have you had military service? In what branch? Reason for enlistment? Rank in service? What is the extent of your military knowledge?

If you are married, give brief biography of your wife (or husband), social background, political status, economic position, field of work, when married, etc. If divorced, state when and for what reason. If married more than once, give details.

State number of brothers and sisters still living. Their occupation, economic position, political affiliation, economic position of wife or husband, number of children in each family, etc.

How many children have you? State age and sex. Are they members of the Pioneers? State whether or not in school or working. If working, state details, kind of work, place, etc. Are they members of any other organizations? If so, what kind.

(The questionnaire in full is as follows:)

#### QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE LIFE AND ACTIVITIES OF LEADING Y. C. L. FUNCTIONARIES

The following questions must be answered in full detail, point by point, in order that a full and complete picture of your life and activities shall be given to the party.

Every effort must be used to give correct and exact information. No vital points must be omitted.

Use separate letter-size sheets, the first of which shall start out as follows:  
(Date)

Y. C. L. Party and Life History of-----  
(Real name in full)

-----  
(Main office or function in the Y. C. L. at the present time)

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## A. SOCIAL POSITION AND ORIGIN

State date and place of birth. Date and place of birth of parents. If not born in the U. S. A., state when they came to this country, and whether or not naturalized.

Is father living? If so, what is his age, occupation now, and what was his occupation in the past? (Answer in detail.) If dead, how old at time of death, and what was his occupation?

Is mother living? If so, what is her age. What is she doing at the present time? State social background of mother, whether or not a worker, what category, did she work after marriage?

What was economic status of family? What sources of income did it have? Describe your home environment. How many children in family, your place in family? Did you have a religious training? Do you have any religious affiliation? To what political parties did your parents belong?

When did you begin work? At what kind of work? Give complete history of the various jobs you have held, length of time at each job, etc. State name of company for which you worked, where located. State why you changed jobs; if you were fired from jobs, state reason. Have you ever had any other income except your wages? If so, from what source?

Have you had military service? In what branch? Reason for enlistment? Rank in service? What is the extent of your military knowledge?

If you are married, give brief biography of your wife (or husband), social background, political status, economic position, field of work, when married, etc. If divorced, state when and for what reason. If married more than once, give details.

State number of brothers and sisters living. Their occupation, economic position, political affiliation, economic position of wife or husband, number of children in each family, etc.

How many children have you? State age and sex. Are they members of the Pioneers? State whether or not in school or working. If working, state details, kind of work, place, etc. Are they members of any other organizations? If so, what kind?

Are any members of your family sympathetic to the Communist Party and Y. C. L.? State details, whether or not they read the party press, vote the party ticket, etc. Have any of your relatives (parents, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins) ever worked for the Government in any capacity? Have you ever traveled outside of the U. S. A.? If so, for what purpose?

## B. INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

Give full details about your education (nonpolitical). When did you enter school? How many years did you attend? Did you finish grammar school? High school? University? How many years in university? Have you attended evening classes or taken correspondence courses? State reasons for leaving school. What party education have you had? Evening classes? Independent study? Y. C. L. or party schools? What literature have you read? In answering this question, differentiate between what you have read and what you have studied. What propaganda work have you done in the Y. C. L. or party? What agitation? What have you written? With what languages, other than English, are you familiar? State extent of your knowledge, i. e., can you read, write, speak?

## C. POLITICAL LIFE

When did you enter the revolutionary movement? Where? State fully your activities. Were you a member of the Y. P. S. L. Socialist Party? The I. W. W.? The Socialist Labor Party? Give full details. To what youth organizations did you belong? When did you join the Y. C. L., Communist Party? Where? Under what circumstances? Who was the district organizer? With what recommendation did you join? With whom were you associated in the Y. C. L. and the party at the time you joined? State fully your activities from the time you joined until the present date. What mass work have you done? Where? What factory work? Where? What offices have you held in the Y. C. L. party? When? How long? Where? (Answer this question in the fullest detail.) Have you ever been out of the Y. C. L. or party? Under what circumstances? For how long? When were you reinstated? State full details. What conventions, conferences of the Y. C. L. and party have

you attended? Give full details. In what districts have you been a member? In what cities, sections, units? What work did you do in each place? How many workers have been recruited into the Y. C. L. and party through your efforts? What position did you take in the chief period of Y. C. L. and party life? State fully your position on the inner struggles of the Y. C. L. and party. Have you at any time associated yourself with an opposition group outside the party? If so, state details, length of associations, etc.

#### D. PARTICIPATION IN TRADE-UNIONS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

To what trade-union have you belonged? Name of local? When did you join? Where? How long in union? What offices did you hold in union? What paid positions? Present status in union? Date and extent of membership? What have been your union activities? What is your present union status?

To what other workers' organizations have you belonged, and what offices in them have you held? Give dates, whether paid or voluntary services, other details. Give the same information as of the present time.

Have you ever participated in government bodies? Give dates, description of posts, other details.

#### E. REPRESSIONS AND PERSECUTIONS

Have you taken part in strikes and demonstrations? Give dates, places, and other details. Have you ever been arrested? When? On what occasion? For what cause? Have you ever been convicted? When? On what charge? What prison sentences have you served? Length of time in jail? Where? Were you tortured while in jail?

#### F. SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

State chief paid positions in party or mass organizations and places of work. Who can confirm the truth of the above statements? Name responsible party and Y. C. L. members familiar with the various phases of your activities as stated above.

Return this questionnaire with your answers promptly.

Sign the statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if you know why they were so anxious to find out if they had military training, or not.

Mr. GOFF. I have another statement that will bring that out later.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a pamphlet entitled "Resolutions of the Executive Committee, Young Communist International on the report of the National Executive Committee Young Communist League of the U. S. A. on the immediate tasks in the factor for the working youth."

Do you identify this pamphlet?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; it is published by the Young Communist League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read from page 12 of this pamphlet, including instructions to the Young Communist League in the United States. These are instructions for Young Communist League members:

(d) It is necessary to achieve a decisive improvement of the work in the Army and Navy. Special papers, leaflets, and letters should be used to explain the nature of the present events. It is necessary to lead the struggle for partial demands, to strive for the organization of strikes against shipments to China, and actions by the workers. Where we do not succeed in blocking shipments it is necessary to establish contacts with individual soldiers, sailors, and marines, instructing them as to their tasks and work. Soldiers and sailors should be recruited into the Y. C. L. and groups should be formed together with the party in the armed forces.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is the date of that document?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The document is not dated. I think it is about 1935. Do you know that is the purpose of the Young Communist League and of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir. I think later on you will find some minutes that will support it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a document dated March 26, 1938, entitled "Minutes of national resident board meeting, Young Communist League, U. S. A."

I will ask you to identify this paper.

Mr. GOFF. This document contains the minutes of the national resident board meeting of the Young Communist League, U. S. A., and is dated March 26, 1938. The words "Please destroy after reading" appear on the left.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Those words appear in the upper left-hand corner—"Please destroy after reading." Did you receive that document as a member of the national committee of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 5 of this document appear the following paragraphs:

Progressive anti-Fascist students should not permit this to continue; they should avail themselves of the opportunities for securing military training and becoming commissioned in the Officers' Reserve Corps of the U. S. A., and thus from within fight against the reactionary officers in the R. O. T. C. who carry on propaganda against the labor movement, to demand their removal and their replacement by officers sympathetic to labor. Progressive students should heed the lessons of Spain and take advantage of this opportunity to become acquainted with and to be educated in military science and not allow the bourgeoisie to have the monopoly on the knowledge of military science.

Every available opportunity must be utilized to get progressive students to join the R. O. T. C., at the same time fighting against compulsory attendance, against reactionary officers, thus to liquidate the R. O. T. C. as an instrument of reaction. The knowledge of military sciences is of inestimable value to working people, particularly in view of the efforts being made in this country by Fascist-minded men to win over large sections of the Army for support of fascism.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those official minutes?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; official minutes of the national resident board.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further you want in connection with that document?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir: in this particular document there is a section that deals with a publication known as the Champion. I would like to introduce some copies of that publication, but at this time I think it would be well to have this entire copy of the minutes incorporated in the record. It contains five pages.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it deal with political Communist activities?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The agenda reads:

May 30—C. Ross; Champion—B. Steinberg; Literature—F. Franklin; Review—J. Starobin; Mexico—(discussion continued); R. O. T. C. memorandum.

(Said minutes in full are as follows:)

PLEASE DESTROY  
AFTER READING

MINUTES OF NATIONAL RESIDENT BOARD MEETING, YOUNG  
COMMUNIST LEAGUE, U. S. A., MARCH 26, 1938

- Agenda: 1. May 30th, C. Ross.  
2. Champion, B. Steinberg.  
3. Literature, F. Franklin.  
4. Review, J. Starobin.  
5. Mexico (discussion, contd.).  
6. R. O. T. C. Memorandum.

1. *May 30th.*—Most peace actions thus far have been carried through by the student movement and have not involved trade-unionists and Negro young people. May 30th should bring the struggle for peace into all areas and groups.

The Student Strike should not be limited to the students alone. There should be solidarity actions in the trade-unions, stoppages in shops, student solidarity speakers to trade-unions, neighborhood meetings in the evening among Negro youth, etc.

Plan adopted for May 30th by N. Y. District can indicate a line for other Districts to follow. The Youth Congress will organize a peace festival, not militant in character. The same day there is to be a Y. C. L. parade in the city bringing forward our program, acting for peace in a militant fashion. In New York it will be the last day of the Party Convention and we should show the delegates from out of town what the Y. C. L. looks like in action. Similarly in other parts of the country there should be Y. C. L. actions or peace demonstrations for collective security in addition to whatever Youth Congress festivals may be run.

2. *Champion.*—Circulation very low outside of I. W. O. which takes 14,000. The magazine costs about 5¼¢ a copy and they pay only about 3½¢ per copy. The April issue is at the printer and we are trying to get money for it.

The costs of the magazine are \$1,010 per month and the income \$910. Unless the comrades in the larger districts and the comrades in the trade-unions assume responsibility for the circulation it will not go over. Such a magazine is needed and can play an important role in the growing progressive movement.

We have to have some organ through which to speak to the masses of youth. The only objection that I have to liquidating the *Champion* is the fact that we are trying to liquidate the problem in an easy way. If we liquidate it today, then the problem is still before us that we have to have something with which to speak to the masses of youth.

It is difficult to sell a magazine for 10¢. We should cut down the size and costs so that the magazine pays for itself and where what the I. W. O. pays will cover the costs. There is only one way to get the unions to buy the magazine, and that is to have one person as an agent to sell it at local union meetings. New York County must take certain steps to see that the magazine, on the basis of 5¢, with interesting and important material for trade-union youth, is brought into the trade-unions.

The magazine has to be tied up more closely with the youth movement and organizations. It should run series of articles like the *Daily* did on the Y. M. C. A. and push the magazine in those organizations when the features appear.

Proposal: Proceed to cut down on expenses until they equal or come below the actual monthly income. In accordance with an increasing income, we should first spend money on promotion, sending somebody into the field, get out posters, leaflets to specific organizations, and after that, as the income increases, consider the increase in staff and size of the magazine.

Motion: The comrades should meet later to cut down the expenses of the magazine to meet income.

3. *Literature.*—Proposals for a long-range program and for apparatus.

Immediate proposal: Recruiting drive pamphlet written by Carl Ross to be out by Apr. 1.

Pamphlets to be written with perspective of having them ready in next 3 or 4 months:

1. Recruiting Drive—Carl Ross.

2. R. O. T. C. and militarism in education—Bert W.

3. Miss America Faces the Future (problems of girls)—Claudia Jones.

4. Jewish question (zionism, antisemitism, etc.)—Joe Starobin.

5. July 4th (not for an immediate campaign but of permanent value)—Joe Clark.

6. Lincoln the Emancipator—Francis Franklin.

7. Polar Explorations—Joe Starobin.

8. America—the Melting Pot (national traditions)—Max Bedacht.

9. Farm Youth—Harlan Crippen.

A series of booklets to sell for about 25¢ of about 100 pages each, written by authorities on the subject. A fund has been set aside to assure publication.

Meeting to be called with Comrade Trachtenberg and the various writers to discuss the plan. Subjects to be written up:

1. History of America.
2. Science—rise of modern natural sciences.
3. History of mankind.
4. Evolution—organic evolution, origin of man.
5. Negro culture—history of Negro people and cultural background.
6. Religion.
7. Human behavior.
8. Education.
9. Race theories.
10. Rewrite 12 weeks' course in form of booklet.

Have conference with Trachtenberg and arrange for calling of conference of professors and discuss perspectives and have 3 or 4 booklets ready by next September.

Joe Starobin should be responsible for publications in general. To have perspective of N. Y. district and N. O. apparatus to be combined.

Get apparatus and definite funds for literature in districts and branches. Each branch should start with a fund of \$5 by the end of April. The party is having a school for literature agents and the P. B. consented to having 5 Y. C. L. comrades attend. One of these should be Comrade Mitchell and four other leading comrades in literature work in the major districts. Nationally, we should do what New York did and have a pamphlet a month for concentration. It may be a party pamphlet. It should be taken up at one meeting of each branch every month. Perhaps, the first meeting of the month should be devoted to the Review, and the second meeting to the pamphlet for the month.

One thing to be settled: We have to make a radical change in the manner of distribution and the attitude of the league toward literature. We need the cooperation of every district and first of all New York. We should start on "the pamphlet a month." New York and the N. O. should select the pamphlet, send out leaflets, posters, etc. We could also use party pamphlets. By the end of the year if Comrade Mitchell makes the grade, there will be room for a full-time person in charge of distribution and promotion.

We are lagging in the student field. Someone should be called into the Buro to discuss how we are bringing Marxist literature into the schools. We should try to open book stores near the colleges or have a trailer sell books at a different college every day.

Every branch, section, county, district, must have a literature fund. And we have to find the proper people whose main responsibility should be literature.

The District and N. O. should work together more closely with perspective of merging them when the comrades in New York have established the work there. Joe Starobin to be in charge of publications in the N. O.

Instruct the districts that all funds for literature be kept separate.

4. *Review*.—March issue: printed 5,000, distributed 4,650, \$60 outstanding, \$60 owed to National Office. Districts which have not paid for March issue will not get April issue. Cost of March issue, \$410. April issue cost \$335 and \$60 worth of ads secured. Should make \$60 on April issue. Cost was cut at expense of quality of magazine.

Proposals for May issue: May Day theme—technical work to be improved: quality of cover and paper to be heavier.

5. *Mexico*.—Gil: On developments since the last meeting: The taking over of the oil industry by the government represents the further development of the whole struggle by the anti-fascists, and the Administration of Cardenas representing the people of Mexico foreign imperial interests. However, we should understand that the struggle in Mexico has assumed sharper proportions entailing tremendous dangers for the whole peoples movement in Mexico and for the whole continent and for us in the U. S. Now the foreign interests are going to keep Mexican oil out of the international market if it's the last thing they do. At the same time, the first wages have come out of the government treasury and the government will not be able to maintain payments without making arrangements for distribution and sale of oil.

The whole perspective is one of tremendous internal difficulties and as they increase they will increase those elements in the government who are following Cardenas today, because they have no other alternative, but they are beginning

to vacillate and oppose Cardenas in regard to the oil, and they will do so in regard to everything else, and will link up with the fascists and foreign imperialist interests and sabotage and work for the destruction of the whole program.

In a discussion with Sanchez we worked out what steps should be taken for Mexico and agreed on the following: (1) At the People's Front Congress, opening the 31st of March, a Youth Department should be established for the new party and this department attempt to bring about unification of the existing organizations of youth and the organization of large masses of youth not yet organized. (2) Before the calling of a national conference of unification a committee of collaboration of all existing organizations of youth be set up on a minimum program bringing in such organizations as the university students and sections of the Catholic students. (3) To call a special congress of the J. S. U. M. and C. J. U. M. before the unification congress. To promote this plan when Comrade Sanchez goes back to take up with the Mexican Party the calling of a special conference of the Central Committee of youth cadres throughout the country to discuss perspectives, tasks, and development of the youth movement.

Then we dealt with what we are to do in the U. S. for Mexico. (1) We should publish a pamphlet written by someone of the Mexican comrades. This pamphlet should make a direct appeal to the youth of the U. S. (2) Representatives from the Mexican youth movement to the Youth Congress on July 4th. (3) There should be official communications between the Mexican youth movement and the A. Y. C. (4) We should send a delegation to the Congress of the J. S. U. M. to include non-Communist youth. (5) Harry Robinson to be responsible for contact between our bureau and all Latin-American countries. (6) Sanchez should be our Mexican correspondent for the Review.

Wilson: There should be a specific pamphlet on the question of the Catholics in Mexico. Also explain the line-up of forces on the oil question. Draw parallels between Spain and Mexico.

Harry Robinson: There should be delegations from all Latin-American countries to the World Youth Congress. In our educational work we should bring out facts about fascist penetration in Mexico and other Latin-American countries.

Carl: We must connect the situation in Spain with the possibility of the same thing occurring in Mexico. In the July 4th Congress there should be special panels and discussion on our relationship with young people of other lands. We have the responsibility for working in the states bordering on Mexico. We should develop cultural and educational activities among the young Mexican people there. We should see that the Party in those areas pays proper attention to this problem. We should have a delegation to investigate conditions in Mexico including young people from as many organizations as possible.

Sanchez: The oil interests are seeking to gain U. S. intervention against the decision of the Cardenas Government. If Roosevelt does not support this there will be a campaign against Roosevelt. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that all proposals made here should be carried out and the question of Mexico should receive important consideration in the U. S. It is necessary that the Y. C. L. of the U. S., in a combined campaign with the Youth Commission of the Mexican Party and also the youth organizations of Mexico, realize the necessity of an intensive campaign to organize the Mexicans in the U. S. In the U. S. it is necessary to carry on propaganda and education of the true situation in Mexico. The delegations should be arranged and attended to. This coming summer Joe Lash assured me that there will be a strong student delegation. Invitations for these delegations can be extended and if not from the President of Mexico from other important people.

Proposals adopted: (1) Communicate regularly with the comrades in Mexico, publish a pamphlet appealing to the youth of the U. S. with special emphasis on the Catholics. (2) The A. Y. C. should establish closer relationship with the Mexican youth. (3) Delegation to investigate conditions in Mexico. (4) We should send an official letter from the National Committee of the League to the J. U. Y. M. expressing agreement with the action of the President and solidarity with them and determination to do everything in our power in this country to see that the imperialist interests do nothing to destroy the Mexican government and leadership and at the same time to do everything to help them emerge victorious in the struggle against the imperialist interests.

6. R. O. T. C. memorandum.—The Reserve Officers' Training Corps was established as a result of the National Defense Act of 1916 as amended in 1920.

The R. O. T. C. provides reserve officers for the United States Army. A student at any college where an R. O. T. C. exists, after completing the four-year course, will be commissioned as a 2nd Lt. in the Army Reserve. The courses at the college are under the direct control of Army officers who are assigned to this duty by the War Department.

The Y. C. L. is opposed to compulsory military training in the R. O. T. C. which now exists in many colleges and universities. We believe that this procedure is un-American and undemocratic and has no place in our country. The Y. C. L. is for the Nye-Kvale Bill, which abolishes the compulsory R. O. T. C.

Because of the strenuous and militant struggles against the R. O. T. C., many progressive students have come to the erroneous conclusion that the best thing to do is to boycott the R. O. T. C. This practice is most disastrous for progressive students. The net result of this idea has been that only the reactionary and bourgeois students have become versed in the knowledge of the use of arms. Reactionary college administrations and fascist groups have used R. O. T. C. groups on the campus to attack progressive student organizations physically, break up meetings, and violate civil liberties generally.

Progressive anti-fascist students should not permit this to continue, they should avail themselves of the opportunities for securing military training and becoming commissioned in the officers Reserve Corps of the U. S. A., and thus from within fight against the reactionary officers in the R. O. T. C. who carry on propaganda against the labor movement, to demand their removal and their replacement by officers sympathetic to labor. Progressive students should heed the lessons of Spain and take advantage of this opportunity to become acquainted with and to be educated in Military Science and not allow the bourgeoisie to have the monopoly on the knowledge of military science.

Every available opportunity must be utilized to get progressive students to join the R. O. T. C., at the same time fighting against compulsory attendance, against reactionary officers, thus to liquidate the R. O. T. C. as an instrument of reaction. The knowledge of military sciences is of inestimable value to working people, particularly in view of the efforts being made in this country by fascist-minded men to win over large sections of the army for support of fascism.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Mexico?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under the heading "Mexico" there is a report by "Gil." That is Gil Green?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a lengthy statement on Mexico. The purport of it is that at the People's Front Congress a youth department should be established. It shows the extent to which this organization would go in Mexico. This would correspond to the youth organization in Mexico, so as to make a united front across the international boundary line.

I show you some copies of the publication *Champion*, which was mentioned in the minutes, or resolutions, adopted at the Minnesota State committee meeting of the Young Communist League, held in Minneapolis on November 28 and 29, 1936. There is a brief paragraph on this publication *Champion*, which reads as follows:

The appeal of the *Champion* is so broad that not only the Y. C. L. but every youth organization should be supporting it and getting bundle orders and subscriptions in the present drive. United committees to support the *Champion* should be set up wherever possible, based on the elected agents of all youth groups that support the *Champ*.

Do you recall that document?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You received that?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of your own personal knowledge, can you say that the *Champion* is a publication of the Young Communist League?



Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; I was agent of the Champion in the Milwaukee area for 2 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it true that the publication conceals that fact?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Like the front organizations in New York, they will hold meetings, but conceal themselves from view, for the purpose of getting prominent people to come and give prestige to the organization. Is that a fact?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. What do you refer to, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. The so-called Civil Liberties National Convention, with representatives from the American League for Peace and Democracy, the International Labor Defense, and so forth. This committee went on record unanimously in stating that they were all Communist Party front organizations. We found that to be the fact from the testimony of witnesses and from documentary proof. Yet outstanding leading people will go there and continue to lend encouragement to this Communist movement by making speeches at those meetings.

Mr. THOMAS. Who are they?

The CHAIRMAN. The program shows that.

Mr. MASON. The newspapers will announce the outstanding speakers.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the date of that meeting?

Mr. MATTHEWS. October 13-14.

Mr. THOMAS. Where is it to be held?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not know.

Mr. Goff, can you identify the members of the managing board and of the editorial board listed in Champion as members of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. I can identify the managing board. I can identify Francis Franklin. As to the editorial board, right off-hand, I cannot say, but I can identify of the contributing group Edward Strong, James Wechsler, Angelo Herndon, Abbott Simon, Al Levitt, and there may be some others. On the advisory committee, they have some other people who are not Communists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The advisory editors are also listed there, and that is a pretty fair indication—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Read the list of advisory editors.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The names listed are as follows: Senator Lynn J. Frazier, Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, Prof. Jerome Davis, Oswald Garrison Villard, Frank Palmer, William Ziegner, C. Hartley Grattan, John R. Tunis, Kenneth M. Gould, Harry Elmer Barnes, Rose Terlin, and Robert Morss Lovett.

Mr. THOMAS. You mentioned a man named Lindeman. What are his initials?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Eduard C. Lindeman.

Mr. THOMAS. Before you get away from that in the record, I think we should know something about Mr. Lindeman, or what his activities are. Do you mind bringing that up now, or will you do that a little later?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the witness know?

Mr. THOMAS. I am asking Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am not testifying now.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you bring that up later?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Subsequently Mr. Lindeman will be identified as on an important committee of the national organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Lindeman served on the national committee?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to say this: Naturally, there are lots of people in the United States who are interested in civil liberties and many different causes of that kind, and it is perfectly natural and understandable that many people who are interested in civil liberties, will try to do whatever they can to advance that cause. They may be utterly mistaken about them. When you seize upon something that is fundamental in the American system, we sometimes make the thing confusing.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question about that, but as to these organizations, this committee has unanimously found them to be front organizations of the Communist Party, and that finding was widely published. You could say, of course, that a year ago a great many good people were absolutely deceived on that point, but when we continued from day to day, with testimony from the most competent witnesses to establish that fact, so that not even the radicals could attack the testimony, showing the manipulations and workings of the Communist Party, and showing how they are using these various organizations to carry out the Communist program, or the program of foreign governments, and yet these people continue to make addresses to them, that raises a serious question to my mind. I am willing to concede that for a long time they were deceived, but not after these disclosures were made. That is the point I am raising now. We are not trying to embarrass those people, but it looks to me when this committee finds these organizations to be Communist front organizations, and prominent Government officials appear before them next week and lend them their support, it raises a serious question.

Mr. THOMAS. They are not only lending their support, but they are encouraging them.

The CHAIRMAN. Nobody has accused them of being Communists, but the point I call attention to is that they are giving them support in carrying out the Communist program in the United States. There must be some way of having those people realize what they are doing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The witness has already testified to his official connection with the national committee of the Young Communist League, and I would like him to identify this document with reference to the meeting of the State committee of the Communist Party. Do you identify that communication?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is this communication?

Mr. GOFF. It reads:

DEAR KEN: You are invited to attend the meeting of the State committee. Please try to be present.

Comradely,

N. SPARKS.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is signed N. Sparks, State secretary, and F. B. Blair, State organizer.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that the State committee of Wisconsin?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you attend the meeting?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So you have attended State meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was your official connection with the American Youth Congress?

Mr. GOFF. I was a member of the national administrative committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you had an official connection of any sort with the American Youth Congress?

Mr. GOFF. From about 1936. I was State chairman of the American Youth Congress for Wisconsin for a year and a half.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you in charge of the arrangements for a meeting of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; I was in Milwaukee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify this document, addressed "All Units, District 18, Young Communist League; How to Get Delegates for the American Youth Congress Committees"?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; I received that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From the district organizer of the Young Communist League for the State of Wisconsin. It is addressed "To All Units, District 18, Young Communist League; How to Get Delegates for the American Youth Congress." [Reading:]

*To all units, District 18, Young Communist League:*

#### HOW TO GET DELEGATES FOR THE AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS COMMITTEES

The C. I.—

that is the Communist International—

in the Seventh World Congress places squarely before us the central task of the day—the United Front. At this time when the bourgeois authorities are minimizing the danger of world slaughter and telling the youth that the European war situation has nothing to do with us and we must keep our noses out of it—at this time the Y. C. L. must press forward to organize the youth into united action. We must develop among the youth the consciousness of the danger of war and what it means to all the youth.

The CHAIRMAN. That was before Russia got into it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They were very much opposed to isolation prior to Russia getting into the war and that shows what it was.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

And when we speak of a United Front against war, we have the instrument of the United Front in the American Youth Congress.

The concrete results of our work in organizing a United Front among the youth depend on the quality of our work—upon our understanding of what the Youth Congress is and what it can accomplish.

The most immediate results in organizing for the Youth Congress is in the building of Youth Councils in the neighborhoods, where the program of the Congress will be carried out. This is especially true in Milwaukee, since a city committee without a base in the neighborhoods to take up the local issues will not be able to penetrate very deeply among the youth. In Madison, for example, it is possible to organize a Youth Council of the campus organization, and another council among the youth of the city. Both of these councils will work separately in dealing with their own local problems, but will act together through a broad

city committee on common issues. In smaller towns where we do not have a separation of neighborhood interests, a city committee is sufficient—in the farm sections county committees can eventually be built to tie the city committees together. A strong State committee can be built only after the American Youth Congress develops locally. This is our perspective for the structure of the United Front of youth in Wisconsin, but we cannot be mechanical on any of these points—the structure will vary according to the community. But it is important to remember that this framework must be filled in with activity in order to maintain its life for any length of time.

The Y. C. L. units will have the responsibility of visiting organizations in their neighborhoods to get delegates for youth councils, but this work must be spread out—it must not remain in the hands of Y. C. L. members alone. The comrades must do everything possible to involve non-League people in visiting organizations—perhaps getting some non-League youth to go along with a Y. C. L'er, etc. This principle must be continued in the work of the councils. The first step is to see that every League member joins a mass organization (Y, church, trade-union, Workers Alliance, student group, etc.). The next step is to gain the interest of individual members of this organization and of others. Then, with support from the floor, the question of building a Youth Council can be brought forward with greater confidence.

I should like to ask Mr. Goff a question right here: It is stated here that the first step is to see that every league member joins a mass organization, such as a church, a Y. M. C. A., a trade-union, Workers Alliance, student group, and so forth. Now, Mr. Goff, the purpose of that is to enable the Young Communist League members to go as delegates from churches or other organizations than the American Youth group and appear to represent churches, and so forth, instead of the Young Communist?

MR. GOFF. That is true. At one congress there were too many Y. C. L'ers, and they had to send some home—

MR. THOMAS. You mean they had more than were authorized as delegates.

MR. GOFF. Yes.

MR. THOMAS. And had to send some home?

MR. GOFF. Yes. A Y. C. L'er is no good at a Y. C. L. convention.

MR. THOMAS. What convention was that?

MR. GOFF. That was at Cleveland.

MR. THOMAS. The Cleveland congress?

MR. GOFF. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I have not read all of this, but I think the entire document should be in the record.

THE CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(The matter referred to follows:)

In appealing for delegates, we must come armed with copies of the Declaration of Rights and of the American Youth Act. Mimeographed copies of this Act will be distributed, but the units must use the collection list which will also be issued and raise money to send for printed copies of both documents. These may be ordered through the district office at \$1.25 per thousand plus postage.

We must come prepared to answer such questions as—

What is the American Youth Congress?

Who is behind it?

What local organizations belong?

Where are your local headquarters?

The essential facts about the 2nd American Youth Congress are to be found in the proceedings of the Congress itself. The delegates have already received copies of this which should be made immediately available to every other Y. C. L. Member, to be read individually or in the units. Those units which have not already had a discussion on the Congress must arrange one as soon as possible. If there is no comrade in the unit who was a delegate at the Congress, the unit buro can arrange with the District to supply a comrade who was at the Congress to lead the discussion.

The events leading up to the 2nd American Youth Congress are to be found in the pamphlet "The Truth About the 2nd American Youth Congress," which sells at 5 cents. The unit buros must see to it that every League member who has not read this pamphlet must order it at once. These can also be ordered thru the District office.

The credentials report of the Congress shows that groups of practically every political opinion—every church affiliation were represented at the Congress. We must make it very clear that the Congress is nonpolitical and nonsectarian—that its purpose is to deal with the problems of youth, in the matters of social security, of opposition to war and fascism, of the lack of educational and recreational opportunities, etc. We must popularize the slogan—"Peace, freedom, and progress." We must emphasize the fact that the Declaration of Rights represents the principles on which the Congress stands, that this document contains in it the minimum on which the many youth organizations have united.

Our Wisconsin delegation of 35 came from the following organizations: Epworth League (1st Methodist Church of Milwaukee); Presbyterian Church (south side Milwaukee); Y. M. C. A.; Filling Station Operators Union (A. F. of L.); Wisconsin Youth Assembly; Young People's Socialist League (Milwaukee County); Young Communist League; Polish Youth Club of Milwaukee; International Workers' Order of Milwaukee; Young Progressive League of Janesville and of Delevan; Y. W. C. A. of Madison (Student Council National Observer); Student League for Industrial Democracy of Madison; National Student League of Madison; Yritis Athletic Club of West Allis; United Farmers' League of Polar; Independent Students of Oshkosh; Finnish Youth Federation of Superior.

One comrade was asked where the local headquarters are and gave a very confused answer. The proper answer at present is the truth, that we are trying to get a headquarters, and we need suggestions and material help for this. In the meantime the comrade should give his own name and address.

We must avoid a mechanical approach to individuals and organizations. Instead of just describing the Congress itself, we must tell how important it is and which it can accomplish. On the question of war, we can gain the most immediate response, so we must connect up the question of building the American Youth Congress and the Youth Councils with the struggle against war. We can immediately propose some local action, such as a mass meeting on the war situation, protests to the Italian ambassador, collective activity on the Herndon lists; or on such an issue as overcrowding of schools or the N. Y. A. projects.

It is best to arrange a time beforehand to speak before the membership of an organization. Speaking to officials alone is fine but not enough. This means seeing the officials first to make certain of the meeting time and place, and then being there to present our case. Try to get an immediate discussion on the Congress, on the Declaration, on the American Youth Act. If it is possible, try to get a delegate elected by the membership at once. If not, we must follow up very closely, possibly arranging for further discussions on the American Youth Act and the National Youth Administration.

If the organization hesitates about affiliation, we can at least ask them to endorse the Declaration of Rights and the American Youth Act. We must not neglect such details as getting the name and address of individuals who show especial interest, and of delegates elected, so they can be notified of council meetings, and so that we can keep in touch with them between meetings. And we must not commit the social error of just walking in, making our little speech, and walking out again. It is best to come early, sit through the entire meeting, and then mingle with the members afterward.

There is a natural tendency to elect as a delegate the person who brings up this question from the floor. When a Y. C. L. member presents this question for discussion as a member of a mass organization, he must try to get someone else elected as a delegate. We certainly do not want to see councils made up mostly of Y. C. L.'ers. In fact, we must go out of our way to convince everyone that we do not want to see the initiative taken by every organization.

There is also a sectarian tendency among the comrades to neglect to contact the other council members between meetings. League members working on Youth Councils must consider this their most urgent Y. C. L. work, and must maintain close contact with non-League youth on these councils. They must establish the most friendly of relationships, in addition to activitizing the youth between meetings. Also the activity must be spread from the Council members back to their organizations. Every issue confronting the Councils must reach the memberships of these organizations and as many more as can be reached.

What is the relation between the Youth Councils and the American Youth Congress? This is a very important question. The Youth Council as means of

carrying out the program of the Congress locally, dealing with local problems, is not a form of organization as yet officially planned by the National Council of the A. Y. C., but it may become so. It is our task to bring this about by proving in Wisconsin that the neighborhood councils are necessary to reach the masses of youth, and that they are the most effective organ of carrying out the program of the Congress.

Neither the Youth Congress nor the Youth Councils are actually organizations as such—but are delegated bodies. A question was asked in the 6th Ward Youth Council of Milwaukee, whether anyone can join who is not a member of any organization. The answer is no. It is not our intention to set up any organizations within the American Youth Congress that will recruit in competition with organizations now affiliated to the Congress. But that does not mean that the Councils will not invite everybody to its open hearings and meetings. It must be remembered that although the councils consist of delegates from organizations, that the program of the Congress must be spread and reach all the youth, organized and unorganized.

We must especially approach branches of the Young Peoples Socialist League. The officials of the Y. P. S. L. are playing a waiting game, hoping to let the American Youth Congress die a natural death, thus being saved the embarrassment of united action with the Y. C. L. The only thing which will prevent this, which will force them into active work in building the Congress, is the existence and activity of the Youth Councils, organized on the broadest possible scale. In such cases the membership if the Y. P. S. L. will bring pressure will also come from other organizations. In the meantime, we must exert every effort on the leadership and membership of the Y. P. S. L. to bring them into action.

This outline is not by any means the last word in methods of work—new and better methods will be developed in our experience. In the meantime, the comrades should apply these instructions in work, and keep continuous contact with the District office, informing us of result, criticisms, and new experiences.

The CHAIRMAN. The plan is to get the Y. C. L. members to join the other organizations?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In order to get elected as delegates, to represent a church or to represent other organizations when they go to a convention. Then, they get outside socially minded people to come to the convention, invite them as speakers?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Under that arrangement the Communists control the convention and they are able to extend invitations to prominent people, through this front, to address the convention, people whom they otherwise would not be able to secure.

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Not only that, Mr. Chairman, but when you have issues that come up in which the Communist Party is interested in one of these meetings, when they have representatives of some churches or some other organizations, when voting in that way, they can be put in position of speaking for those organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Goff, do any individual members of the Young Communist League or of the Communist Party have representatives in religious organizations or in these other groups?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; people like Elizabeth Scott; Rose Troiano; and Rose Terlin, who was a national leader of the Y. W. C. A.; Bill Hinkley.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. Mr. Chairman, the two young women, Rose Troiano and Rose Terlin, are on the national board of the Y. W. C. A.

Mr. GOFF. Waldo McNutt.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Waldo McNutt?

Mr. MATTHEWS. We will identify him a little later.

All of the persons you have identified are persons you have known personally as members of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Having met with them?

Mr. GOFF. Having met and worked with them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Over a period of time?

Mr. GOFF. Who were national delegates; two of them are on the board.

The CHAIRMAN. On the board of what?

Mr. MATTHEWS. On the Y. W. C. A. board. And they are also listed frequently under activities that will come to the attention of the committee as we go along in Mr. Goff's testimony.

Mr. Goff, were you yourself ever assigned to a non-Communist organization to get into it and to get elected from it to another organization?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; I was assigned to the Townsend movement.

The CHAIRMAN. The what?

Mr. MATTHEWS. To the Townsend movement.

Mr. GOFF. To get into it, to get to be a delegate to the Youth Congress.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go into the Townsend movement?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To become a delegate from the Townsend movement to the Youth Congress.

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, we will introduce documents to show that Mr. Goff was the representative of the Young Townsend movement in this Youth Congress, and at the same time that he was a member of the Communist League and was instructed to get into that organization for that purpose.

Mr. VOORHIS. You don't think Townsend was in sympathy with the Communists, do you?

Mr. GOFF. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. I was just going to say that would be rather ridiculous.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no attempt to indicate that the Townsend movement was Communist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. I understand that.

Mr. GOFF. I think it would be more antagonistic than it would be sympathetic to the Communists.

Mr. VOORHIS. No doubt about that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of other members of the Young Communist League who were assigned to go into the Townsend movement for the same purpose?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; Dyer Wilson.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How about Celeste Strack; who is Celeste Strack?

Mr. GOFF. She is on the national board of the Young Communist League; she is the beautiful go-getter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did she work with you in the Young Townsend movement?

Mr. GOFF. She did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was she a leader of a fraction of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. This seems to be very, very significant, Mr. Chairman, as to how the Communists and the Young Communist League infiltrate into and work within some of these national organizations which in themselves are absolutely opposed to communism but are being used, by these methods, by the Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of the organizations it could not be said are necessarily opposed to communism, from what I have read in the files; I cannot say that all of these organizations are: some of them are unwittingly used, while others I think are working hand and glove with the Communists.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think it ought to be made very clear which ones they are.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and I think the evidence will show that very clearly. I was just making that statement in view of the implications that all of them were opposed to Communism; by no means is that true. I am convinced, so far as I am concerned, that some of them know what they are doing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, since you have brought up the question of the number of workers in the Young Townsend movement I would like to ask permission to introduce the documents in evidence to show what has been done.

The CHAIRMAN. I think they should be put in evidence.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In order to show how they are boring from within.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like for that to be made very clear, otherwise some of these sarcastic columnists will try to ridicule what is being done. If it is not made very clear you will find some column containing the statement that the Dies committee is trying to show that the Townsend movement is a Communist organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In that connection, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the witness to identify this communication.

Mr. GOFF. This is a letter given to me at the time I attended the Townsend convention, wanting me to speak on the same program along with Mr. Smith and Dr. Townsend, and to give a report of what they were doing; I am asked there to represent the American Youth Group on the Townsend program.

The CHAIRMAN. You were to represent the Communist Party on the same program with Smith, who was against the Communists?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Both to speak on the same program.

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you speak on the same program?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where was that convention held?

Mr. GOFF. In Cleveland.

The CHAIRMAN. That is where they were going to get a million youths to join up in the movement?

Mr. GOFF. You see we have here a resolution that I introduced which was drafted by Celeste Track, concerning certain organizations getting a million young people in the Townsend group, to carry on activities, which he said turned out to be along their own line.



And after Mr. Townsend spoke, before the Townsend Convention, on behalf of some 2,000 young people, in my organization, this resolution was forced into Dr. Townsend's hand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I suggest that be put in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading).

Whereas recognizing that the Townsend recovery plan is a youth plan for security, and recognizing that it has been due to the lack of this understanding that youth have not taken a militant and active part; and

Whereas youth are ready and eager to assume active part providing the youth become an officially recognized department of the organization: Therefore be it

*Resolved.* That there be two youth representatives on the national board of directors, and that the congressional district board be increased to include two youth representatives, one to act as youth district organizer to organize specific youth clubs in their locality.

(Signed) DWIGHT BUNNELL.  
ALBERT G. GILES.  
KENNETH GOFF.  
JEAN F. MILLER.  
WARD B. LONG.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the organizers of the convention passed a resolution contrary to the one Dr. Townsend wanted passed?

Mr. GOFF. Dr. Townsend was being led by Smith and the rest of them. Smith was trying to present a resolution and this resolution was substituted.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to introduce this letter, Mr. Chairman, which was dated July 18, 1936, addressed: "My dear Mr. Giles."

What is his first name?

Mr. GOFF. Albert Giles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this letter a Mr. Giles is asked to stand aside as a speaker on the program in favor of Mr. Goff so that a Communist would appear with some non-Communists on the same program.

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So you would be permitted to speak on that occasion?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you were?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So the Young Communist League was using this method to bore from within; that was the understanding.

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, to get Giles to stand aside?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The letter is signed "Robert S. Clemmons, executive secretary, Cleveland."

Mr. GOFF. He was a member of the Townsend movement and was a member of the Youth Congress; and this Eleanor Ginsberg was a member of the national council of the American Youth Congress; she was in charge of the activities of the Youth Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Ginsberg?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like for this letter to go in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(The letter referred to follows:)

3RD AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS,  
ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE,  
1101 PUBLIC SQUARE BUILDING,  
Cleveland, Ohio, July 18, 1936.

MR. ALBERT GILES,  
*Chairman, Townsend Youth Convention,*  
*Cleveland, Ohio.*

MY DEAR MR. GILES: In view of the fact that Mr. Goff is the representative of the Townsend Youth Clubs on the national council of the American Youth Congress until that body reconvenes in New York City, we suggest that Mr. Goff deliver the report on behalf of the Townsend Youth Clubs at the American Youth Congress.

His present position on the council, as well as his experience with the local American Youth Congress committees in Wisconsin qualifies him for this responsibility.

Yours cordially,

ROBERT S. CLEMMONS,  
*Executive Secretary, Cleveland.*

ELEANOR GINSBERG,  
*Member National Council, American Youth Congress.*

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about this Eleanor Ginsberg except what is shown there? Do you know whether she is tied up with any magazines or newspapers or anything else?

MR. GOFF. Her name is listed on this list here as representing the Office Workers Union, Local 19366, A. F. of L., Cleveland.

MR. MATTHEWS. The Office Workers Union, Local 19366, A. F. of L., of Cleveland.

MR. GOFF. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. In this letter, Mr. Goff, signed by Miss Ginsberg, you have identified her as a Communist?

MR. GOFF. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. I show you a communication, a letter on the letter-head of Townsend National Recovery Plan, Inc., Wisconsin State Office, Milwaukee, dated November 16, 1936, addressed to Mr. Kenneth Goff, Delevan, Wis.

Did you receive that communication?

MR. GOFF. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. By whom is it signed?

MR. GOFF. L. W. Jeffery, vice president of the Townsend movement for the United States.

MR. MATTHEWS. L. W. Jeffery, vice president, Townsend movement for the United States, at the present time?

MR. GOFF. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. That letter reads:

It was unanimously voted to invite you to address our regular Sunday afternoon meeting of Milwaukee Townsend Clubs, at the Eagles Hall, 24th and Wisconsin Avenue, Sunday, November 22nd, 2:30 p. m.

Now Kenneth, don't fail me. With best wishes,  
Sincerely,

That is signed by L. W. Jeffery.

Now, Mr. Jeffery is not a member of the Young Communist League?

MR. GOFF. No.

MR. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Chairman, I have a half a dozen or more communications which I suggest be put in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; put them in the record so that if the question is ever raised, they will be here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. One is from Roger Chase to Mr. Goff, under date of August 13, 1936.

Another from Jean F. Miller, Cleveland, dated July 31, 1936.  
(The letters referred to are as follows:)

AUGUST 13, 1936.

DEAR MR. GOFF: Celeste Strack and I are doing a piece on the Townsend Youth Movement for the Champion of Youth.

We are eager to discover how far it has traveled and in what direction. We also would like your evaluation of its potentialities.

Has Smith got going on his bright idea yet?

We are rather in a rush, so if you can provide light on any of these questions from your contracts and experiences in Milwaukee or elsewhere we would appreciate getting a report by air mail.

Sorry to trouble you.

Yours,

ROGER CHASE.

541 West 113th Street,  
New York City.

---

JEAN F. MILLER

PUBLIC STENOGRAPHER.

1235 Standard Building, Cleveland, July 31, 1936.

DEAR KENNETH: I am enclosing copy of the minutes of the youth meetings, and hope you find them O. K.

May I also express my gratitude for the kind letter of sympathy which the young delegates sent me. I sincerely appreciated it, especially in view of the fact that the young man, who was a cousin of my husband's, was also a Townsend member.

Have you, by any chance, been corresponding with Daniel Webster in Texas? I talked to Mr. Rankine on Monday (after the convention) and he asked me to write to him, which I did, but the letter was returned. If you have any other address besides the Gibbs Bldg., would you send it to me?

Speaking of addresses, I wonder if you would send me Mrs. Chesnik's (O. K.) as I failed to get it from her and I should like to write to her.

You might be interested to know that the American Youth Congress sent a girl to my office recently to secure a speaker for their summer forum. Albert Giles is going to be the speaker on the Townsend Youth Movement on August 17th. Will let you know something about this later.

I am very much interested in knowing what the young people in Wisconsin are doing about the Townsend plan. Could you send me information from time to time? I would greatly appreciate it.

Hoping that you enjoyed your stay in Cleveland and that you had a nice trip home, I am,

Sincerely,

JEAN F. MILLER.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess until 1:30.

(At 12:15 p. m. a recess was taken until 1:30 p. m. of the same day.)

#### AFTER RECESS

The committee reassembled, pursuant to the taking of recess, at 1:30 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

#### TESTIMONY OF KENNETH GOFF—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. You may proceed, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, we have a number of documents that have to do with the American Youth Congress, of which the witness has already testified he was a member of the national committee.

I should like to have you identify a list of the national council of the American Youth Congress, in order to have them incorporated in the record.

Mr. Goff, is that the list [handing list to witness]?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; that is the national council from the Cleveland Congress.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On this council the national chairman is listed as William Hinckley, representing Christ Episcopal Church, Missouri.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is a member of the Communist Party. The executive secretary is listed as Joseph Cadden, representing the National Student Federation of America. He is identified as a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact that Hinckley managed in some way to get an invitation to Hyde Park and was entertained there?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; he had tea at Eleanor Roosevelt's house one day.

The CHAIRMAN. Were others invited to that tea?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; I think there were four or five leaders.

The CHAIRMAN. All members of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Was not that just limited to members of the Young Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When was it that this tea was given?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was last summer, 1938.

Mr. GOFF. It was at the time of the pilgrimage, or preparation for the World Youth Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they not brag about it afterward?

Mr. GOFF. They bragged about having had tea at Eleanor Roosevelt's house.

The CHAIRMAN. It gave them added prestige in their work in that front organization; the fact that they had had tea with the President's wife helped them considerably?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; and I was looking forward to the day I would have tea there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I should like to have the witness identify the names of the people on this list whom he knows to be Communists. Will you please check the list and tell us what those names are?

Mr. GOFF. The national chairman, William Hinckley; the executive secretary, Joe Cadden; Irma Garner; Joseph Lash; Howard W. Lederer; James Lerner; Sam Pevzner; Elizabeth Scott; Celeste Strack; Rose Terlin; Rose Troiano; William Biddle; Robert Clemmons; William Dorsey; Bert J. Dzykowski, a Polish boy from Milwaukee; Farrel Nelson; Eleanor Ginsberg; Kenneth Goff; Hazel Lehman; Florence V. MacDonald; Waldo McNutt; Harold Peterson. Those are the ones I know definitely are Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the ones who occupy the key positions are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. In the executive staff.

(The list above referred to is as follows:)

#### NATIONAL COUNCIL, AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

National chairman, William Hinckley, Christ Episcopal Church, Missouri.

Executive secretary, Joseph Cadden, National Student Federation of America (individual).

Midwest vice chairman, Irma Garner, South Side Settlement House.  
 Stephanie Bednarz, Passaic County Central Labor Union, N. J.  
 Mildred Gordon, Henry Street Settlement, New York City.  
 Gil Green, Young Communist League.  
 Hoyt S. Haddock, American Radio Telegraphists Association, New York City.  
 Louis Han, State Phalanx Fraternity (Y. M. C. A.) New Jersey.  
 Martin Harvey, president, Christian Youth Conference of North America (individual).  
 Juanita Jackson, secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (individual).  
 Joseph P. Lash, American Student Union.  
 Herman Laster, Abyssinian Baptist Church, New York City.  
 Marion Carrel, national council, Business and Professional Women's Assembly, Y. W. C. A.  
 Howard W. Lederer, Ninety-second Street Y, M. H. A., New York City.  
 James Lerner, American League v. War and Fascism.  
 Sam Pevzner, International Workers' Order.  
 Larry Phillips, Cafeteria Workers Union, Local 302, New York City (A. F. L.).  
 Helen Raebeck, student council, Barnard College, New York City.  
 John Rera, Fur Dyers Union, Local 88, New York City (A. F. L.).  
 Max Schrier, International Association of Machinists, Lodge 1548, A. F. L., New York City.  
 Elizabeth Scott, St. James Presbyterian Church, New York City.  
 Celeste Strack, American Student Union.  
 Rose Terlin, student secretary, student division, Y. W. C. A. (individual).  
 Rose Troiano, national industrial council, Y. W. C. A.  
 Roger Wunderlich, Twenty-third Street Y, M. C. A. Youth Club, New York City.  
 Simon Rady, American Jewish Congress, Youth Division (observer).  
 Hayes Beall, president, National Council of Methodist Youth (individual).  
 William Biddle, Federated Trade Council of Milwaukee, Wis.  
 Jeffrey Campbell, Student Christian Movement of New England.  
 Robert Clemmons, Epworth League, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 William Dorsey, City-wide Young People's Forum (Baltimore).  
 Bert J. Duzykowski, Central Committee of Polish Youth, Milwaukee, Wis.  
 Farrel Nelson, Farmers Union Jrs., Minot, N. Dak.  
 Carl Filter, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
 Jorge Friabeza, United Pangasinanese of Chicago (Philippino).  
 Eleanor Ginsberg, Office Workers Union, Local 19306, A. F. L., Cleveland.  
 Kenneth Goff, Wisconsin Townsend Clubs.  
 Harry Goldstein, Fur Workers Union of Chicago, Local 45, A. F. L.  
 Albert Govin, Flint New Theatre, Michigan.  
 Myrtle Harris, Minneapolis Central Labor Union.  
 Marie Henry, Detroit Epworth League.  
 Michael Hubert, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers (Cleveland).  
 Rosalie S. Johnson, Junior Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union, Indiana.  
 Leon Kligman, Boot and Shoe Workers Union (Cleo Sandal Co.), Philadelphia.  
 Roy LaHuillier, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.  
 Hazel Lehman, Youth Forum and Commonwealth Federation, Washington.  
 Florence V. MacDonald, Wisconsin Young People's Conference.  
 Waldo McNutt, Kansas Allied Workers.  
 Edwin C. Mitchell, Southern Tenant Farmers Union, Memphis, Tenn.  
 Harold Peterson, Minn. Jr. Farmer-Labor Association, Minneapolis.  
 Corinne Prince, American Federation of Government Employees, Local 1094, A. F. L., Cleveland, Ohio.  
 John Reese, United Mine Workers of America, A. F. L., Centralia, Ill.  
 Thomas Saul, Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilders of America, Camden, N. J.  
 Oliver Schroeder, Federated Churches of Cleveland.  
 Mrs. H. F. Schulte, Christian Youth Conference, St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have named 22. What is the total number? That is, 22 out of how many members are known Communists of the executive committee or national council?

Mr. GORE. Some of those not known might be from branches. There are about seven or eight names of that kind there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There are 52 members of the national council listed.

From your experience, would you say that 22 Communists on a council of 52 members would find it relatively easy to dominate the entire group?

Mr. GOFF. It is, from the section they are picked. The resident board out of New York City really do most of the controlling in the Youth Congress. Some of these people appear just in name only.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They live some distance from New York and do not attend meetings?

Mr. GOFF. They are never contacted. In Cleveland we met in an office building after the Youth Congress meetings, and after they closed the door Hinckley says, "We know everybody here and we can talk freely." They named who they wanted for chairman, and that was Hinckley. McNutt was stepping down. Everyone in that room was either a Communist or a sympathizer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that known as the fraction, or—

Mr. GOFF. That was the executive committee of the meeting in Cleveland, after the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean he could speak that frankly because at the executive committee meeting there was not anybody present except Communists or sympathizers?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. So, for all practical purposes, the non-Communists on the executive committee were merely fronts for the Communists?

Mr. GOFF. The executive committee appoints the nominating committee, and the nominating committee drafts a list of people from the different organizations they want on the national executive committee. Naturally, they will pick their own representatives, and they are people affiliated with the Y. C. L. Then they submit the draft to the group, and it is mimeographed, usually 54 or 60 names are on the list. If you want to nominate anybody from the floor you can, but you have to write them in, but the written votes do not get anywhere.

The CHAIRMAN. So for all practical purposes the Communists are in complete control of this organization; is that right?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not also true that non-Communists do not attend the meetings of the executive committee very often?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. So the Communists would naturally always have a majority present at meetings of the executive committee?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How do they go about getting prominent people to address their meetings? How do they go about calling in prominent people to make speeches?

Mr. GOFF. Usually they would not send anyone well known as a Young Communist. Take Milwaukee, for instance. If they wanted to get a minister, they would send me to the minister's house; or if they wanted to get some nice elderly lady, then I would go to see her and in a very sweet, melodious voice I would talk to her about things happening in the world today, how they would happen if Christ were

here, what Christ thought, and talk to her along that line, not intimating that it was communistic, and pretty soon you have them there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you attend the American Youth Convention at Vassar College last year?

Mr. GOFF. No; I was not able to go.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the Communists in control of that meeting last year?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; I think we have records later that will prove that they were there, and they were at the Christian Youth Council meeting at Berea.

The CHAIRMAN. You have described what took place behind the scenes, I believe, at the Vassar Congress?

Mr. GOFF. I do not know about Vassar. I know about Berea; I was there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will ask you to identify these minutes. [Handing paper to witness.]

Mr. GOFF. These are minutes of national resident board meeting, Young Communist League, U. S. A., dated March 19, 1938, sent to me, and it says: "Please destroy after reading."

Mr. MATTHEWS. The subjects to be discussed on the agenda, according to these minutes, were "(1) Pilgrimage, C. Ross; (2) Recruiting Drive; (3) Austria and Spain, C. Wilson."

Will you explain what the pilgrimage was?

Mr. GOFF. The pilgrimage is when a large number of young people, supposedly from the American Youth Congress, came down from Madison and suggested to the administration that they get through the National Youth Act. I think it was introduced the first time in Congress by Tom Amlie, and I think the second time by Maury Maverick, of Texas, although I am not sure about that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The purpose of the pilgrimage was to support that act?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read the first paragraph from these minutes, which says:

Approximately 2,000 people from 35 to 40 States were in Washington. The representation was broader than last year from all the districts outside of New York. The pilgrimage served to strengthen the Youth Congress movement and bring closer various movements not yet affiliated. The most important result was a closer tie with the administration and the raising of the prestige of the Congress in their eyes.

Mr. THOMAS. What do you mean by a closer tie with the administration?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is explained in the next sentence, Mr. Thomas. It says:

This was indicated by the use of the Labor Auditorium free of charge, by the cooperation of Williams.

Can you identify Williams?

Mr. GOFF. Aubrey Williams, from the Youth group. I think he was then in charge of the N. Y. A.

Mr. MATTHEWS. "Fechner"—Can you identify Fechner?

Mr. GOFF. He is here—

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is the head of the C. C. C.?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; he was at that time. Has not that been changed since then?

Mr. MATTHEWS. "The speeches of La Follette and Oliver"—do you know who Oliver is?

Mr. GOFF. His name as one——

The CHAIRMAN. That is Oliver of the Nonpartisan League, I think. Do you know whether that is Oliver of the Nonpartisan League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, he is the man; he is here in Washington.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

And the friendly attitude of Roosevelt.

Mr. GOFF. That is Franklin D.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

William agreed to call a three-day conference with leaders of the Youth Congress and Government agencies before the next N. Y. A. program is adopted.

It is your recollection, Mr. Goff, that the cooperation indicated in this paragraph was obtained by the Young Communist League in its work connected with the pilgrimage?

Mr. GOFF. It helped out a great deal, the fact that Aubrey Williams had done these things, and the fact that they achieved such things in Washington.

Later on you will find that they refer to a greeting by President Roosevelt, and some people would say that is communistic. But I said "no"; I have a book here, and there is a letter of greeting from Franklin Delano Roosevelt on the first page.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall what greeting closed the book?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; there is a greeting from the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. MASON. A greeting from the President in the front of the book and a greeting from the Communist Party at the close of the book?

Mr. GOFF. That is right. A letter from William Hinkley and one from Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, men in official life often send greetings to a number of organizations, and they do it through their secretaries or administrative agencies or branches of the Government; is not that true?

Mr. GOFF. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. And these organizations do not have any trouble in getting such greetings?

Mr. GOFF. You had this model Congress, and the Youth Congress, and there were endorsements from Senators like Mr. Capper from Kansas; the Senator from New Mexico, Mr. Chavez; Ewin C. Johnson, of Colorado; Robert M. La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin; Logan, Lundeen, Nye, Pepper, Pope, Schwartz, and Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. Make it plain as to that Thomas, where he came from.

Mr. GOFF. That is Senator Thomas, of Utah.

Mr. THOMAS. Those names you mentioned were all Senators?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; I think there are 32 Representatives who endorsed the Model Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Representatives in the House?

Mr. GOFF. Thirty-two or thirty-three.

The CHAIRMAN. Who endorsed this thing?



Mr. GOFF. The Model Congress; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. More than that endorsed the Spanish movement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; 60 endorsed Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. That advertisement on the back of that book, is that from the Central Committee?

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

Greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., to the Model Congress of the United States, Milwaukee, Wis., July 2-5.

The Communist Party supports your fight to pass the American Youth Act, and your efforts to unite the young people of America, regardless of creed or opinion, for peace, security, freedom, and democracy.

Will you please identify this telegram? [Handing telegram to witness.]

Mr. GOFF. This is a telegram from Milwaukee, addressed to me at Delavan, Wis., by Kippy, leader of the Young Communist League in the State of Wisconsin, and it says:

Please rush Youth Congress list, tomorrow deadline, also conference data.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this a telegram from the secretary of the Young Communists' League?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Wisconsin?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Asking you to rush the Youth Congress list?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And also conference data?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What would he want that for?

Mr. GOFF. He needed it in Milwaukee to prepare for the conference.

The CHAIRMAN. There is one statement you made which I would like to have cleared up. You said that when the Youth Congress met at Cleveland, after the Congress adjourned the Executive Committee met.

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And there was not anybody at the Executive Committee meeting except Communists and sympathizers?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Hinckley was there, and he said what?

Mr. GOFF. He said, "Now we are together here and we understand each other, and we can go ahead and speak freely."

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, there was not even a non-Communist there and they could afford to be frank?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, go ahead, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Goff, will you please identify this [indicating pamphlet]?

Mr. GOFF. This pamphlet was published by the Young Communist League. It is "United We Stand for Peace and Socialism," by Gil Green.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is Gil Green?

Mr. GOFF. Gil Green is the national secretary of the Young Communist League of the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to read a paragraph or two from this booklet which has to do with the American Youth Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. That is from the booklet by Gil Green?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. (Reading:)

First, the question of establishing the collaboration and cooperation of all non-Fascist youth organizations, of all progressive youth, in behalf of a common minimum program. This was referred to as the "front of the young generation."

Mr. Green is here describing the youth movement, tying in the Young Communist League in the United States. He continues to elaborate that point by this language.

In the United States beginning of such a front of the young generation is to be seen in the existence for the past year and a half of the American Youth Congress. The American Youth Congress unites in its ranks not only the organizations of working class youth, but also those of the youth of the middle classes. It attempts to unite the vast majority of the young generation in defense of peace, against reaction, and for all of their most urgent needs. The Young Communist League will continue to support and help extend and broaden the American Youth Congress. It will help to make this movement the medium through which all non-Fascist youth organizations and youth can collaborate in behalf of a progressive minimum program.

Those excerpts were taken from pages 18 and 21 of this pamphlet.

Will you identify this pamphlet, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, "Young Communists and Unity of the Youth" by Gil Green, published by the Youth Publishers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Gil Green a delegate?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To the Seventh International Congress?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To Moscow, in 1935?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Reading from page 9 of this pamphlet:

In building the broad people's movements, much attention will have to be devoted to developing a correct approach towards the nonproletarian strata, to the winning of the Negro youth, farm youth, and student youth. In the American Youth Congress we can see a living example of how unity between the proletarian and middle-class youth is possible. In the past years our Young Communist League has radically broken with its previous sectarian approach towards the middle-class youth, especially the student youth. Only this has made possible the development of such powerful student actions as the April 12 student strike against war and fascism, on which day 184,000 students walked out of their classrooms at one given moment, in the greatest demonstration of youth solidarity ever witnessed in our country.

Again on page 10:

#### TRADE-UNIONS ATTRACTED

We must, however, understand that the broader the unity with the middle-class youth, the deeper and firmer must be our roots among the proletarian youth, especially the youth in industry. In the United States the working youth have played a most active part in the strike waves and in the unemployed struggles of the past three years, and are also becoming more and more active within the trade-unions. It is this industrial youth which must give backbone and firmness to our united front and by their activities guarantee the proletarian hegemony over this movement. This important question we have understood in the past months, with the result that at the Second American Youth Congress 150 trade-unions participated and six important Central Trades and Labor Councils.

Mr. Chairman, there are two or three other quotations dealing with the American Youth Congress and the participation of the Young Communist League in the work of that body. I suggest that those quotations, on pages 12 and 13, be incorporated in the record as explanatory of the manner in which the work of the Young Communist League was done in the American Youth Movement.

(The excerpts referred to follow:)

At the Second American Youth Congress the Young Communist League delegation was faced with many complicated questions any one of which, if not handled in a broad way, could have resulted in a break in the united front. For example, the question of religion. Many religious youth were skeptical about uniting with Communists, although they were against fascism, because they feared that this was a trap to force our atheist views upon them. This problem was solved by simply agreeing to permit all the religious youth in the Congress to hold church services Sunday morning. This did not compromise the Communist youth and yet showed to the masses of religious youth that this was not a united front against religion but against political reaction.

Another question was that of the Roosevelt youth project which had as its immediate aim the throwing of confusion within the ranks of youth. We did not answer this project with the usual word: demagoguery. Despite the fact that this project of the Government is cloaked with demagoguery and attacks the conditions of certain youth, nevertheless, the mere fact that Roosevelt was forced to set aside \$50,000,000 for immediate youth relief is a definite concession. The united front points this out, and shows that this concession is a result of the growing youth unity. At the same time it exposes its inadequacies and its attacks. Thus it turns this project of Roosevelt from a weapon against the Youth Congress into an instrument for mobilizing the youth for increased Government aid.

\* \* \* \* \*

We Communists learned much from the masses of youth and we are going to learn a lot more. One thing we learned was to change much of our trite, stereotyped language. And if the Declaration of Rights of American Youth adopted at the Second American Youth Congress, speaks the language of youth, it is because we did all in our power to see to it that as many youth and their organizations as possible were drawn in to help formulate and finalize this document. By working in this manner we did not weaken the prestige of the Young Communist League but strengthened it, we showed large numbers of youth that the Young Communist League had no narrow interests but that its main concern was to broaden the Youth Congress and make it the most effective mass movement against reaction and for the immediate needs of the youth.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify this pamphlet, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. This pamphlet is by O. Kuusinen, "Youth and Fascism." He followed Green at the Seventh Congress and spoke on Youth and Fascism.

The CHAIRMAN. The Seventh World Congress at Moscow?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He spoke after Gil Green spoke?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. He also represented the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Kuusinen has already been identified by Earl Browder in testimony given here, as a member of the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in Moscow.

This is a paper in which Kuusinen discusses the work of the American Youth Congress.

On page 28 of this pamphlet he states:

Comrades, the second imperialist world war is approaching. Preparations are being made for the most criminal of all criminal wars—a counter-revolutionary imperialist attack on the Soviet country, the fatherland of the workers of all countries.

Again on page 29—

The CHAIRMAN. What date is that?

Mr. VOORHIS. What is the date of that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. 1935. This speech was delivered by Kuusinen at the Seventh World Congress, Communist International. He followed Gil Green in the address from which I have just quoted.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the significance of that address, Doctor? What is the point of Kuusinen's statement in connection with the American Youth Congress?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a speech that Mr. Kuusinen delivered, as a member of the Secretariat, delivered at the Seventh World Congress on the subject of the American Youth Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Among other things he said:

We want to attack our class enemies in the rear, when they start the war against the Soviet Union. But how can we do so if the majority of the toiling youth follow not us, but, for instance, the Catholic priests or the liberal chameleons?

We often repeat the slogan of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. In itself, the slogan is a good one, but it becomes an empty and dangerous phrase if we do nothing serious in advance to create a united youth front.

We need a revolutionary youth movement at least ten times as broad as our parties, and a united youth front hundreds of times broader still. That this is entirely possible in many countries is shown by the achievements of our French and American young comrades.

In that, Mr. Goff, Mr. Kuusinen has referred to the American Youth Congress?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In that speech?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was so understood.

Mr. GOFF. It was understood in that way.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is from page 29 of this pamphlet.

In discussing the work of the Young Communist in the United States, on page 18, Kuusinen says:

In these organizations our American young comrades have discovered a large number of functionaries and cadres who are prepared to fight side by side with the Communists against reaction, and in the course of not quite a year the Young Communist League in the United States has succeeded in creating 175 fractions in these mass organizations.

Comrades, these are only a few—not all—of the positive experiences gained by the Young Communist League of the United States in the course of the work recently carried on by our American young comrades.

The CHAIRMAN. He says that the Young Communist League has established 175 fractions in what movement?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In mass organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, it is not confined to the youth group?

Mr. GOFF. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But to members that are in mass organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of mass organizations, and they are described above as "centers of bourgeois influence."

In other words, they are organizations which were not set up, in the first place, by the Communist Party or any of its affiliations.

Mr. VOORHIS. Could I ask a question there?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Does the Communist Party still use the method of organizing fractions; I mean, continue the use of organizing fractions in the trade-unions and other movements?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. They still do have Communists in those organizations, and they work together and plan the organization work?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; they meet prior to every convention.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do they still use the word "fraction"?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; they use the word "fraction." You see, years ago there was another word used, but after the seventh world congress we were told to change the attack and to use language that sounded more like American language.

The CHAIRMAN. It seems to me that the serious aspect of this thing was brought out by you awhile ago. I do not know whether you were here or not, Mr. Voorhis. He referred to how the Young Communist League and the Communist Party imposed upon the good intentions of prominent people in order to take advantage of them in getting them to address conventions. He made the statement awhile ago that a tea was given, for instance, at Hyde Park, at which a number of the Young Communist League were present.

I wish you would tell us how they do that; how they go about getting the tea invitation, and how it happens they can do it. As I understand, only four or five members of the Young Communist League were there, and yet they imposed upon Mrs. Roosevelt's hospitality. No doubt she had no idea they were Communists. How do they accomplish such a thing?

Mr. GOFF. Well, they can approach a prospective member with the statement: "just look; why should you be afraid of the Communist Party; why, just look at the people we associate with; they don't condemn us."

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that is one of the things that tea party brings about; they use it to gain members.

Mr. GOFF. Yes; they tell the prospective members who they had tea with.

The CHAIRMAN. Capitalize on it?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. I got to the point where I wanted to go to those teas myself.

The CHAIRMAN. How would these people get the invitations to the socials—through these front organizations?

Mr. GOFF. The front organizations; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. As a result of their positions in front organizations?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. They would be invited to teas?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; that is right. Men like Hinckley, supposed to be a great defender of the people.

Mr. THOMAS. As I understand, you said Hinckley was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. He is the same one the President has written the letter to here?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; William Hinckley.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone else besides Hinckley at that party?

Mr. GOFF. Abbot Simons; Joe Cadden.

The CHAIRMAN. Would they arrange in advance—would the Communist Party arrange that the Communists be there and not tell the host about it?

Mr. GOFF. They would make the arrangement in advance; and they would be plenty careful about the tactics. For instance, when we were going to have a picture taken, to secure a lot of publicity, they used to see that the Communists were given inside positions in the publicity.

Mr. THOMAS. You mean in the picture?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. The majority of the radio broadcasts given in the Northwest were almost always given by myself. I do most of the radio broadcasting, because I was a Communist; nobody from the Youths Congress got a chance to use it.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, because no one would suspect there were a group of Communists who would be interested in the Youths movement.

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would have contracts with Hinckley?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And they would contact Mrs. Roosevelt, for instance, and get her to say she would like to entertain. But they would not tell her they were members of a committee who were Communists.

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. But they would use the publicity gained through such an entertainment to enhance their movement along Communist lines, the Young Communist League; is that right?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. That was held in Hyde Park?

Mr. GOFF. I understand it was at the White House.

Mr. THOMAS. At the White House?

Mr. GOFF. That is what I understood.

The CHAIRMAN. I can see on this program there are a great many Members of Congress, a great many names of industrialists, so that if they were able to deceive them they can deceive many people.

Mr. GOFF. That is right; you have such names as Abbot Simons.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Goff, would Mr. Kuusinen be the highest officer of the Young Communist League in the world by virtue of his being secretary of the executive committee of the Comintern?

Mr. GOFF. That would be the highest position; yes.

That would be the highest office that there could be. There would be a president there, but the secretary always has power over the president. The same as in the Soviet Union, Stalin is Secretary of the party there; he is not the President of the Soviet Union; there is another man who is President of the Soviet Union, but the President is just a figurehead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Speaking on the American Youth Congress, again Kuusinen said, at page 14 of his pamphlet:

\* \* \* Our American comrades achieved a great success at this Youth Congress. The agents of fascism were completely isolated, and the Congress was transformed into a great united-front congress of the radical youth. And when, somewhat later, a second general youth congress was held, our young comrades already enjoyed a position of authority at it. This authoritative position was due to the confidence which they had gained by their new mass policy, and also to the fact that they had learned to approach and conduct the work in the right way.

From your own knowledge of the work of the American Youth Congress, would you say Kuusinen has correctly described the authoritative position which the Young Communist League held with the movement?

Mr. GOFF. That is right—where he mentions that they did not have at first, you see. When the Youth Congress was set up at first, it was set up by a girl who had just gotten back from Germany, and she set it up more or less with the idea of a Fascist movement; and when they held the Sixth World Congress the Communists came in and got control there, and from that time on they held control of the Youth Congress.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 20 of the pamphlet appears a statement referring to boring from within mass organizations, 175 mass organizations which were mentioned a moment ago:

\* \* \* They must therefore learn the tactics characterized by the comparison with the Trojan horse and by means of these tactics endeavor to penetrate into the broad mass organization. And they can do it. They are talented people.

Was that commonly understood to be the tactics by which you bored from within those numerous organizations?

Mr. GOFF. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Goff, will you please identify this document?

Mr. GOFF. (after examining). This is the minutes of the resident board meeting of the Young Communist League. It has my call number on it, 18-b-1 and "please destroy after reading." The agenda is "Discussion of Comrade Browder's report to enlarged PB meeting."

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the date "December 24, 1937"?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 11 of this set of minutes, the following is said about the American Youth Congress [reading]:

In the American Youth Congress the youth movement has a big task to perform in developing the whole people's front movement. In the American Youth Congress we have the greatest tie between two main forces between which an alliance must be established in forming a people's front—the followers of Roosevelt in the middle class and the trade-union movement. By strengthening the American Youth Congress we will be able to, through the youth movement, help eradicate the weakness of the labor party movement in Detroit.

Was the people's front a matter of major consideration during your experience with the Young Communist League and the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. We were always working forward to a united front movement in America. That is one of the biggest aims—to unite all of the different groups together.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you distinguish between the united front and the people's front?

Mr. GOFF. And the people's front?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. You spoke just now of the united front.

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is referring to the people's front movement.

Mr. GOFF. Well there are organizations of the united front. The people's front movements were identified by their leftward trend of the American people.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the people's front?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And did the party consider that its major task during the past few years?

Mr. GOFF. It is one of the major tasks.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you please explain, briefly, how they expected to draw together what you call the leftward trending forces into a people's front movement, and what the Communist Party expected to get out of the people's front movement?

Mr. GOFF. Well, the feeling in the past few years has been they have been taking such things as the Roosevelt speech at Chicago, if you recall, on collective security, and certain things that have taken place by the New Deal, and all these things they have held up to draw people more toward a socialist understanding, and they will take quotations from Roosevelt, they will take quotations from Aubrey Williams, and take quotations from La Follette, and different leading people of America, and use those as an educational force, and the party is really drawing people more toward a clearer socialist understanding. And as they draw them nearer a socialist understanding, then we can recruit from them. In other words, these people are a beginning for us to recruit from.

Mr. MASON. They are cultivating the ground ready for the seed that you will sow?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand you to say that they take certain phrases from the speeches of these prominent people and use those phrases to extend their influence; is that right?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

(The minutes last above identified by Mr. Goff are in full as follows:)

#### MINUTES OF THE RESIDENT BOARD MEETING, DEC 24, 1937

*Please destroy after reading.*

Agenda: Discussion of Comrade Browder's report to enlarged F. B. meeting

C. R.: The question on the agenda is a discussion on Comrade Browder's report to the enlarged meeting of the P. B. of the party. Comrade W. will speak on the developments in Detroit and F. F. on Connecticut. In the discussion we should bring on some of our most recent experiences. I would first like to raise some questions flowing from the report for discussion, and we should consider this meeting as the first preliminary discussion for the coming plenum of our league which is only three weeks off now. We have to be prepared to develop the policies of the league at that plenum.

The whole basis of discussion for the coming plenum of the Y. C. L. should be Comrade Browder's report and the decisions of the enlarged meeting of the P. B., and we should draw our lessons from it by the work of the Y. C. L. I take it for granted that all of the comrades have read the report and that it is unnecessary to have a discussion on every phase of every problem taken up in the report. I would like to raise three or four questions in relation to it.

First. The party placed in the center of attention the question of the struggle against the recession explaining the peculiar character of the business recession as a strike of big capital. This recession has had profound effects on the youth as well as on the working class generally. In practically every industry, especially in basic industry, the youth are the first laid off, in steel, auto especially, and radio the young people, the ones who are not protected by seniority rights, and therefore, are the first laid off. We have no statistics as to the extent of youth unemployment. The control major problem is the problem of unemployment. The party pointed out the characteristics of the recession as such that by organizing the struggle of the working class and progressive forces it would be possible to prevent it from resulting in a sharp



crisis at this time. This same lesson of the struggle against the effects of the recession against the efforts of the reactionaries to aggravate the situation should be our major consideration in planning the activities of the Y. C. L. in the youth movement for the coming period of time. This meeting should take steps to outline the general program of activities to concentrate on from now until the plenum and for the coming period for our specific tasks in organizing youth generally in the struggle against unemployment and its effects on youth.

This is not a question limited to the problem of working-class youth but affects students also insofar as our comrades in the student movement pointed out that the viewpoint of the young people in college, that they are changing their feeling and beginning to realize that after they graduate, prospects are not so bright and they are beginning to consider all of these questions more seriously.

First is the question of our activity in the trade-union movement, that the trade-union movement, especially the C. I. O., must put forward the demands and interests of the young unemployed workers. The question of relief for single men and women, for W. P. A. jobs for all unemployed, must be raised by the trade unions and the young people drawn into the committees in the union set up to carry on the struggle of the trade union against unemployment and for relief for the unemployed. We must explain why it is correct for the young people as well as the adults to support the demands of seniority as being in the interests of the working class as a whole.

Second, We must place more sharply the problem of building the Workers Alliance and youth groups of the Workers Alliance among the young unemployed. It should be possible for us to organize a real campaign of organization of young unemployed into Workers Alliance branches throughout the country. There is every possibility of putting on the national staff of the Workers Alliance a youth director for their activities.

Third, We must raise the question of drawing the whole broad youth movement into the campaign as well. The A. Y. C. has already proposed that on March 11-13 there should be a national Pilgrimage to Washington to demand the continuation of N. Y. A. and the passage of the American Youth Act. It is quite possible that at the same time there will be hearings on the American Youth Act, however, if the League does not move immediately on the question of the pilgrimage, it will not be as successful as last year. From now to the middle of March the work of the league in helping the Youth Congress must be in the center of our attention over this period of time. These are the principal steps necessary to take directing the attention of the whole labor movement as much as possible to the needs of youth and on the American Youth Act, etc., toward pressure on the Congress in its coming session, especially on the Democratic Congressmen to force them to carry through Roosevelt's many progressive proposals on problems of social security.

There has been some discussion on what demands we should raise for the youth. This question should be clarified. There has been, for example, some attitude that N. Y. A. is the most important question to raise. In relation to N. Y. A. it is correct that it is not the major demand to put forward insofar as the unemployed are concerned, but for the students it represents a major problem because they receive most aid from N. Y. A., especially here the problem of continuing and extending N. Y. A. must be raised. N. Y. A. must be considered primarily as a student demand as far as effectiveness at present in helping the young people is concerned. When we raise the slogan of the American Youth Act, we raise it as the concrete way to make N. Y. A. permanent, effective, and adequate. The demand for the N. Y. A. should receive a great deal of attention from us, especially because the trade-union movement, the C. I. O., endorsed it and the possibility for its passage is, therefore, far more possible. We have not raised sufficiently the question of relief and W. P. A. jobs for the young unemployed for a long time. We should raise it again. These should be the central economic demands we raise in connection with the recession.

\* \* \* \* \*

Another problem to raise is that of the people's front movement in relation to the youth. The main conclusion drawn in Comrade Browder's report was that the people's front movement has advanced tremendously and the program for such a people's front movement is to be found in the various declarations of Roosevelt in the recent period of time and in the legislative program of the C. I. O. Comrade Browder stated that these declarations of Roosevelt, together with the legislative program of the C. I. O., provide for us a well-

developed and rounded-out people's front program. However, Browder also pointed out that the people's front movement to make the program effective and the struggle for it, has not yet fully developed. The problem is one of helping broaden and deepen this people's front movement, especially to establish unity of the labor movement with the broad progressive forces, especially in the Democratic Party. The Y. C. L. also has to examine this question and insofar as our major problems are concerned, we can also find an effective program of organizing the youth for supporting the people's front program. It is worth while for us to look back and examine some of the statements of Roosevelt in light of recent developments. Roosevelt stated in setting up the N. Y. A.: "I have determined that we shall do something for the Nation's unemployed youth because we can ill afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women. They must have their chance in school, their turn as apprentices, and their opportunity for jobs—a chance to work and earn for themselves."

Insofar as this statement is concerned, we can endorse this position taken by Roosevelt, further concretized by endorsement of the A. Y. A., by the C. I. O., and the youth movement. We have in this program the essential specific youth questions around which we can rally the young people for the people's front and develop the youth movement growing out of the stream of this people's front. First in importance in developing this movement in winning the youth for support of the people's front program is the question of building the youth movement in the trade-unions. It is not necessary to speak in detail about this question as we have had considerable discussion on how to develop a mass youth movement around sports, cultural and educational activities in the trade-unions. Such groups will undoubtedly support labor's nonpartisan league, and will provide an effective political instrument of the youth in the trade-union movement.

Second, We should look among the student youth for we can state quite frankly that we have not even begun to exhaust the possibilities of winning the student youth for political activity. Look at the last election campaign. In the New York schools there was tremendous sentiment for LaGuardia, outside of the A. S. U., and outside of our own movement the activities were broader and more effective than our own work and the work of the A. S. U. in the schools. The possibilities for progressive forces developing a political program in the schools is very great.

Third, We should examine closely and look more into the question of the younger Democrats. Comrade Browder advised that we should pay more attention to the development among the younger Democrats. We have some experiences that indicate that much can be done with the progressive sections of the younger Democrats movement. In Los Angeles, for example, the young Democrats progressive forces adopted a program that corresponds with the kind of program the progressive youth movement wants to adopt. In the coming elections in the State of California the younger Democrats organization will play a big role in winning support for progressive candidates as the influence of the younger Democrats is strong in the ranks of the youth movement. These progressive trends among the young Democrats should be examined closely and further developed. Those are some of the problems and forces to consider in connection with winning the young people for the people's front movement. Similar trends exist among farm youth that need to be utilized.

I raise these problems because they are very concrete and practical ones in the coming period of time. We have to begin to prepare for participation in the 1938 congressional and gubernatorial elections. In the last election campaign we were not sufficiently on our toes in working in the municipal election campaign to make the youth an effective force in the election struggles. In the elections that are to come very soon we should begin to look for ways and means of uniting, even if only temporarily and on a local basis at first, these various forces of the youth movement that could be won for support of the progressive political candidates. There are big possibilities of setting up committees of youth leaders in Y's, progressive organizations, younger Democrats, and so forth, which would actively support people's progressive candidates put forward in the elections. Perhaps in some cases the possibility may arise for the specific purposes of the election campaign, to call conferences of youth organizations to discuss the problems of the youth in relation to the election campaign. We must utilize to every possible extent the 1938 election campaign to help unify, bring together and crystallize the forces of the youth movement in support of the people's front.

These problems we raise of winning the youth for the people's front, organizing the youth within the trade-union movement, and discussion of the younger Democrats, should not detract from attention to building the A. Y. C. It is becoming clear that the A. Y. C. in the localities is becoming the clearing house for activities of all youth organizations on specific issues, public health, juvenile delinquency, peace, and so forth, but we must give more attention to strengthen the activities of the youth congress. On the question of peace they are still lagging behind, they are not effective enough yet, as for example they have not endorsed the Japanese boycott.

Some of the other problems Comrade Brower raised in his report should also be discussed as they apply to the Y. C. L. and the youth movement. Principal among these is the problem of Trotskyism, in the student movement in particular, among the youth in general and in the ranks of the Y. C. L. If we can judge what the chief problem is in the Y. C. L. in relation to the Trotskyites by their preparations for the A. S. U. convention and from experiences of meeting Trotskyites in the Wisconsin Youth Assembly last week, the main single problem for use in connection with the Trotskyites is to train our cadres in the Y. C. L. to meet this question, to be able to stand on their own feet politically, and actively fight Trotskyism everywhere. That is the single biggest conclusion to draw from the whole problem of Trotskyism which has become such a big one in the recent period of time.

Comrade Browder placed a good deal of emphasis on the question of the internal life of our party, of the moral character and behavior of the members of our party. This question should also occupy our attention in the Y. C. L. to utilize as part of the struggle to root out alien tendencies from the ranks of the Y. C. L.

We should register today and take steps for the plenum to overcome the fact that the growth of the Y. C. L. does not compare yet to the excellent State conventions held, and recruiting and building of the league is not going ahead sufficiently rapidly. The center has to push harder and the recruiting drive has to be put into motion so there will be results in terms of new members and greater activity in the Y. C. L.

These are some of the questions I feel should be raised in preparation for the plenum and should be put forward by the board in the report to the plenum.

\* \* \* \* \*

H. W.: At this meeting the task for us is to discuss our next steps in helping to realize the people's front. The basic proposition before us is that of the trade-union movement. The centers which major attention should be given to are Detroit, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Cleveland. If detailed attention is given to the basic districts, without a doubt we can in a short period of time help to develop a youth movement through and by such unions as steel, auto, and packing.

Detroit at the moment is the focal point for the entire country. Everything that happens there is registered immediately in all the leading papers of the country. The big problem in Michigan is the consolidation of the union, fight against lay-offs, relief for the unemployed, the organization of Ford's, striving for trade-union unity, full support to Labor's Non-Partisan League as the means of welding together the people's front. Labor was defeated in Detroit because the people's front policy was not applied sufficiently, bringing into support of the C. I. O. the middle-class sectors of the population. The enemy understands well the position that Detroit occupies. All the renegades of the people's front, of trade-union unity, have made a dash to Detroit—the Trotskyites, Lovestoneites, Socialists, I. W. W., syndicalists, New Era, S. L. P., etc. Every imaginable sectarian and counter-revolutionary trend is concentrated in Detroit to stop the development of this broad progressive anti-Fascist movement.

If we consider the role of the Y. C. L. in Detroit insofar as building up an anti-Fascist youth movement, it must be reviewed in the light of the whole movement working in conjunction with all of the progressive forces in auto. This is an important task of the Y. C. L., and is also connected with the whole struggle against all of these alien trends in the union, as well as stool pigeons and spies, working to educate youth in the spirit of hatred to these elements.

The document issued by the Labor Relations Board on Ford is significant for Detroit as well as for the whole country. All progressive forces can well make use of it in the struggle to organize the unorganized. The important task for the Y. C. L. in Detroit is one of finding the proper form of developing work in the already existing unions. The form of organization of youth in Ford has to vary because the task is to organize the industry.

In the U. A. W. A. we have the problem of building up a cultural, sports, and educational movement. And we have the following situation in Detroit: the

international is in favor of educational work, the Detroit council is in favor of youth forms of activity, but we find the situation where the international has Trotskyites leading the educational work, and in the district council a Lovestoneite is at the head of educational work. All are appointive positions; not one of the elements have been elected to any post by the union members. In Detroit the work will develop on the basis of the locals, without setting up a top apparatus with no base in the union. To cope with this problem we worked out certain measures whereby we could call together the sympathizers and party people leading various fields of activity for a conference the first week in January with such groups as contemporary theater, athletic groups, educators in unions, medical people, and others. Weinstone will speak at the conference. A plan to launch a broad youth movement in the U. A. W. A. is the objective.

We discussed the question of clubs which 40 or 50 youths would join. We discarded this idea because the conception would be too narrow, especially when we have an apparatus to build a movement of thousands. Clubs also could be misinterpreted in the city of Detroit as used by antiunion elements, then we would overlook the specific interests of youth. Another problem which is sharp in Detroit is to build a club of southern Negro and white workers which has social activities and would limit the groups to the most advanced strata. We, therefore, widen our conception and put forth the perspective of building a broad youth movement on the basis of specific interests embracing thousands of youth.

One local has already given several thousand dollars to develop these activities. The possibilities are great for building centers on the basis of such activity. Such centers will go a long way in helping to federate these youth activities and will build a youth movement around the trade unions much different than that in England. We could not make a better contribution to the crystallization of the people's front.

Another point of importance in a city like Detroit is to establish relationship with the A. F. of L. The A. F. of L. wields wide influence in Detroit. This is another basic proposition of the people's front in Detroit—trade-union collaboration—trade-union unity. The starting point can well be the fight for relief as raised by C. R.—not the question of N. Y. A., which is woefully inadequate but W. P. A.—until then, relief.

In Detroit there is a united front between the Workers' Alliance and the C. I. O. and they have elected a committee of five to visit Murphy on the relief question. In addition there is the question of mass lay-offs of Negro workers. The struggle for unity on this issue is particularly sharp because of the composition of the workers in the auto industry. The consolidation of the unions and keeping the workers enrolled will depend to a great extent on how the union reacts to the question of relief for its members. Therefore, the question of relief is one of the most burning problems of the youth in Detroit and it is in turn a key proposition in building this broad youth movement. Another problem in Detroit is the question of single relief for the young people. In 1932-33 we carried on a struggle for relief for single unemployed and won some concessions there, but the general policy is no relief for young people. In the auto industry we have thousands of single unemployed persons. One of the special features is to raise this demand as an important part of the whole struggle.

A number of our people in auto are either shop stewards, or chief shop stewards, or perhaps secretaries of locals, and to speak of developing a broad youth movement in the trade-unions will rest on these people to a great extent. But they alone cannot accomplish this huge work. The big problem is to define the role of our people in these industries and unions.

The C. I. O. has already entered the field of politics in Detroit. The youth movement can help widen the scope of activity from the field of trade-unionism pure and simple to the field of fighting for relief and other broad issues which affect the lives of the youth. The building of this movement simultaneously connected up with other progressive forces in the community is the major task in the 1938 elections.

The U. A. W. A. is not only fighting for relief for people thrown out of work, but is also fighting against lay-offs in the auto industry upholding the principle of seniority rights. These lay-offs, of course, hit the young people because they are the newest in the industry. There is a conscious policy to lay off the shop stewards, and there we have most of our Y. C. L.'ers. They feel that if they can get them out of the shops, it will help to smash the union. The

average age of the U. A. W. A. is 27, which means that it is almost entirely a youth union.

We must also consider another fact, that in all of these unions, even some in New York, the young people who have joined of late do not know the role of the trade-union movement, its historic mission, and one of the biggest jobs is to develop educational work to show the function of the trade-unions and the tasks of the young people in them. Coupled with this we must define the special role of the Y. C. L. as that of carrying out mass socialist education and propaganda so as to widen the scope of understanding on the part of youth and help to build the Y. C. L.

We had a good trade-union conference in New York on Sunday with five States represented, but the question that was not sufficiently made clear is, how the Y. C. L. can be built on the basis of developing this broad movement. There is not and won't be any blue print, but there is a question and we cannot brush it aside lightly.

In Detroit we have a situation where Negro workers are forming clubs of their own and white workers clubs of their own. Such a movement developing independent of us, we cannot oppose such groups but we must attempt to bring them together on the basis of strengthening the union and getting a larger participation of the youth as a whole in the union life.

In discussing these activities we would make a mistake if we do not give serious consideration to the struggle for trade-union unity and the question of the A. F. L. If we did not, I think that we would take a very narrow view of the whole question of the people's front, not only in the field of labor, but also on the student front we must see that the fight for the people's front is the fight for trade-union unity and vice versa. The task of the Y. C. L. is to educate youth to the need for such unity. In Detroit we have the opportunity of building a mass movement superior to movements that exist in most of the territories. We have people in strategic positions which can help stimulate and guide this movement provided that they are properly orientated. The January conference in Detroit will help facilitate and develop this mass movement. The big question, as I see it, is one of finding competent and professional people to help develop and guide the work. We have to give attention to the changing season, being able to adapt our activities to it. The same on the cultural and educational front, to get the work of classes started which teach the young people in the spirit of antifascism.

I think we should have our districts from the basic industries thoroughly prepared to take the most active part in our discussion.

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A. H.: Youth and the recession: As C. R. stated, there is no estimate as to how many young people are affected by the lay-offs. In this connection, in order to get a real clear picture as to how many young people were affected, it is necessary to carry through the idea raised by H. W. to round up information, particularly in the concentration districts and in connection with the proper relation of the young people and the recession, we should also come back with the question of intensifying the campaign around the American Youth Act. The question of young people who have dropped out of the trade-union movement as a result of the recession means that it will be our task and duty to involve these young people in some way in some progressive action.

It will be necessary to pay more attention to the young Democrats who are really becoming more active in politics, and also to the Negro youth. Regarding the trade-unions, Comrade Bittleman made a good point which should be understood by the league as a whole. While the vote of labor in Detroit was less than in New York, some labor candidates were elected in New York. The important point is that a mistake was made in not making the working class politically a part of the whole general elections because of the narrow sectarian view of certain trade-union leaders. This question should be clarified to the people in the branches.

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J. L.: There are a few key questions that should be gone over prior to our January meeting. On the recession, I think we have got to give consideration to how to cope with this problem. We have not given the necessary answer but speak in general terms about the trade-unions. We have to go deeper and see concrete and specific action for the alleviation of the young people. In New York there is a very sharp trend among the trade-union comrades to look toward the solution of the unemployed problem in the extension of N. Y. A. and everywhere

not having an adequate program, flowing from the fact that the comrades do not understand fully the implications of the youth problem, grabbing at the first straw. This problem will be greater following the Christmas holidays. This orientation on the part of the trade-union comrades to give main attention to N. Y. A. is wrong. This must be understood as not being the solution to the mass of the unemployed young people. First of all, N. Y. A. could not be in all instances for the average industrial worker. It would be fundamentally wrong from the point of view of perspectives of the unions as a whole, because N. Y. A. does not place them in industry but in social houses, playgrounds, recreation work, etc. They are strengthening the trends of young people going out of the trade-unions and weakening the whole structure of the trade-union itself. Therefore, the problem is how shall we cope with the question of developing the movement on a mass scale.

The first important thing is paying prime attention to the trade unions as such from the point of view of developing a strong organization of unemployed in the unions, centering the fight for legislative proposals by the union and youth groups on such proposals as the American Youth Act. Concrete action should be taken by the union to present these proposals to Washington, the State administration, and all down the line.

To be successful, other things must accompany that. On the one hand an adequate internal life of the organization, sports, cultural, etc., must be part and parcel of the life of the union, without that the work and struggle offers no immediate perspective to the young people in the union. That is the key question for our consideration in working out the problem. Our industrial set-up is an almost insignificant force. The comrades can only be effective as an aid in solving the problem as a whole. Progress must come from the work adults and adult committees do with the active cooperation of the young people working in these organizations. This problem is not understood by our party.

Second, and equally important, is the question of our attitude and work in the Workers Alliance. Here we must be careful not to speak in generalities about recruiting people into the Workers Alliance. The Workers Alliance to be successful in its youth work must be reorganized along lines similar to the reorganization of the Y. C. L. From top to bottom there has to be a permeation of the need for making the young people an integral part of the fight for relief. The method of struggle used in the Workers Alliance is not attractive to young people. A set of proposals and youth demands must be worked out nationally to correspond to the needs of the young people today. Throughout the Workers Alliance in addition to the fight for legislation, our comrades should be utilized to bring in a minimum amount of cultural and social life which is lacking in the organization now. That must be our perspective. If we do not do that we will not be successful in popularizing the sentiment for youth relief. Through this we can put through an effective fight for the A. Y. A., for State bills, W. P. A. jobs and its extension, and take up the cudgels for extending relief to single unemployed and unemployed youth. Our line has not been too clear on this matter. Now that the recession is setting in again, we are confronted with the problem as never before. We have to take the necessary steps now. It is indispensable that we have a comrade to place in the national leadership of this movement. The same procedure should be carried through in the State organizations.

Comrade Browder speaks about the advancing forces that will go to make up the people's front movement. We speak very glibly about it in our discussion. In the last few weeks I have seen and heard things that have shown me that the majority of our comrades, some of the most progressive, most advanced young people, and upon whom we rely, do not understand what we speak about when we speak about the people's-front movement. To them it is something very strange. This must be explained in a more elementary manner. We must show the developments in France, the possibilities here. Today we are in a position to show many of these trends in a manner almost crystal clear to the average public-school or high-school student. The forces are of such a nature, A. Y. C., A. L. P., etc., which when explained become very clear. And in addition, we have Roosevelt's program which is crystallizing itself today. These can be brought home clearly to show how the people's-front movement develops. The first serious thing that is not understood by our comrades is Roosevelt's program and if we can bring this down clearly to the branches, we can succeed in carrying through the educational work and help advance the crystallization of the people's-front movement. Our line and tactics have changed so rapidly in the last period and it is not understood. The average

young worker who is the keyman to carry out and disseminate this information does not understand the question in the light that we do.

A problem I am becoming worried about is the student problem. The progress of the whole movement is not reflected in the student movement. The lagging behind and failure of crystallization of the movement among the students is alarming. The students are most articulate, most active, do the most thinking, and are able to do certain things which young workers, compelled to look for jobs, don't do. The progress and growth of the A. S. U. is by no means indicative of our possibilities and does not correspond to the general progress we are making in other fields of work. I don't propose to go into a lengthy discussion on this question but I do think there are a few questions we should think about. It's not because the student body isn't ready for action, the situation among the students is rotten ripe for action and contains better possibilities for action than other fields. What must we do? It flows from the question of adequate leadership from top to bottom. We have loyal, sincere, hardworking comrades, but consider, for instance, the work of B. W. in New York; I would say that his work is not at all satisfactory, because he hasn't the background with which to surge ahead. One thing we will have to do is assign key proletarian forces to work behind the scene with the student comrades, a person with trade-union experience who knows how to handle opposition, Trotskyites, Fascists, spies, etc., and doesn't get lost in the mass of arguments students carry on. If we get such people we will strengthen one aspect of our work that is very important.

There are some very important developments today on the labor front. There is a revival of the whole Norman Thomas school today. There is the Workers Defense League in New Jersey, attacks on Roosevelt, etc., this backward, liberal, confused sentiment. There are many important characteristics to be noted, like Sumner Welles saying there is no fascism in Brazil, Dewey coming out against the C. I. O., and other such forces beginning to shape up. The forces of the people's front movement are beginning to crystallize themselves, and the increased intensified international situation leaves room for no speculation and confusion on the part of some of these elements. The main criticism against Roosevelt and the people's front generally comes from the left, criticism which flows essentially from a lack of faith in the working class. This movement finds reinforcements most readily among the student body; for these reasons more serious attention to the political strengthening of the leaders of the student movement has to be given on our part.

Another question is the A. Y. C. C. R. mentioned the fact that the program of the A. Y. C. particularly on peace, is not a satisfactory one. Tremendous changes are taking place among the American people on this question. We have got to begin discussing the possibility of putting backbone into the A. Y. C. in this phase of its program. I have in mind concretely that for the January meeting of the A. Y. C. in New York we should consider the advisability of carrying through a fight on some of these questions, and put the Congress on record for endorsement of President Roosevelt's recommendations and to take the American League position on peace.

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L. S.: The coming election campaign cannot be organized in the best fashion unless we begin to organize the struggle against the recession. On the question of youth comrades in the trade-unions, particularly in the work of the Workers Alliance, we have to keep in mind that we have to change the perspective and approach to youth in that organization; and the present set-up can do little for the youth because if we want to get on relief we must be single without families and if any member of the family works the young people can't get relief or W. P. A. jobs. The Workers Alliance must do something to change this status so youth can get on relief. We don't know about the unemployed members in our own organization. We could stand an unemployment census in our own organization and should suggest such a thing for the organizations affiliated with the A. Y. C.

Another question we should raise is the shortage of skilled workers in basic industries. In our demands we should raise the question of vocational-training schools where unemployed youth can attend to study a trade.

C. S.: With regard to the struggle against the recession the A. Y. C. pilgrimage should be used as a national center, a dramatic point of that entire struggle. But this will be possible only if we can see the pilgrimage prepared by all forces struggling against the recession. We must involve the trade-

union movement in the preparations for the pilgrimage. There is too much of a tendency for the Youth Congress to appear to be interested only in middle class and student affairs. On the basis of J.'s proposal with regard to the trade-union movement and mobilization of the Workers Alliance the same forces should be active in the pilgrimage and make it possible to be the major national dramatic center for the struggle against the recession. But if all forces do not stimulate activity in the localities before the pilgrimage then we will not have the kind of pilgrimage we want.

We have a chance to help the development of the people's front movement through more attention to the demands in the field of education. We should discuss this possibility after the A. S. U. convention, when we can take up the entire student problem but the question of education is a matter which even yet the entire league and party does not understand as one of concern for the whole population. Only in drawing up the draft of the program for American education have we begun to realize the breadth of the movement. The example of Chicago is important for the league and the party where even the party itself recognizes that around the cleaning out of the Chicago school system will take place the first crystallization on a large scale of the people's front forces in the city of Chicago. In Detroit one of the major problems was that the trade-union movement confined itself exclusively to the mobilization of labor. One of the first opportunities for expanding the people's front forces came through the formation of a school committee similar to Chicago.

We have got to review our work in the field of peace. I am not prepared to say, on the basis of Comrade Browder's report, what our next steps should be. But peace work generally is not sufficiently developed. This is because the A. Y. C. which should be the center is not that. Maybe we will have to take certain steps to strengthen it in this regard. The pilgrimage will point this up to a high light nationally.

On student work, I am not prepared to discuss the point today as J. raised it. I feel many of the same things to which J. referred. There can be no question that the situation is not only ripe in the student field but almost over-ripe. We can characterize the situation in the A. S. U. as one in which the broad progressive trends are taking place outside and around the A. S. U. but not organized by it. This will have to be considered more thoroughly. The leadership is one of the decisive questions. In the student field the most complicated political problems arise because it is the center on the question of the peace movement, for Trotskyite, Lovestoneite, and other enemy ideology. At the same time in the student field our major attention is given to the A. S. U. We have stated that it is the most important student organization, but the comrades should begin to think of our attitude to some of the other student organizations, the student Christian movement, the National Student Federation, etc. In the past not a great deal of attention has been given to these groups and these are actually the major potential channels for progressive activity among students. It is absolutely correct that the major problem is not in the student field, but we would make a big mistake if we do not look more seriously into other sectors of the youth field. I would suggest the pacifist movement (although much of it is in the student field, not all is) where the Trotskyites deliberately send people into that field in order to spread their poison on the war question and generally have influence among sections of the youth who are particularly acceptable to that attitude. Then there is New America which is also being used by the Trotskyites. It's the organization headed by Ward. At Swarthmore certain elements who dropped out of the Y. C. L. are members of the New America and certain elements of it developed a Trotskyite quirk not characteristic of Ward's position or the older leaders of the organization. The Trotskyites try to use it as a base for wrecking work among the youth.

On Negro youth: We had the tendency because we knew that the Negro youth were one of the most difficult fields for the Trotskyites to enter and that they couldn't make inroads. At Howard, we have Trotskyite professors who try to influence the students, and in other places, too.

In educational work among the trade-union youth, particularly in Detroit and Philadelphia the Lovestoneites are concentrate. In the Auto Union because of these people being in leading positions it becomes important for us to strengthen our work in this area. In Philadelphia there is a concentration of Lovestoneites and we should understand that they will make a drive to get a base among some of these elements of the trade-union youth. I have information that in Chicago, although the Trotskyites are out of the A. Y. C. they are trying to form an organization dual to the A. Y. C. to include Y. P. S. L.'s, Lovestoneites, Trotskyites, and certain others to extend their influence.



At our plenum in January we should consider the whole field of youth work with special emphasis on student work to see how and where we have to work. They are definitely following a policy of concentrating at points where we are politically weakest and where they can feel they can recruit forces for their work. They are trying to concentrate their forces in small centers and recruit reserves to send around the rest of the country. We have got to be on the alert to strengthen all of these weak spots. The meeting should consider how concretely the struggle should be organized in each district. It must be taken more seriously. In the next month a pamphlet has to be written and made available. The Review has to begin coming out and deal with these questions. In general in our work we have not taken serious enough steps along all of these lines.

F. F.: The Y. C. L. and the people's front: The task of the Y. C. L. is not just mobilizing the youth but in certain respects we can aid tremendously with the development of the entire people's front. Comrade Browder states that the basic characteristics for an advanced people's front program is developed but without sufficient crystallization of the forces to carry out the program. The youth movement can help in crystallizing organizational support of the people's front program and in some respects round out the program developed. In the trade-union movement the turning of energy and activity into education, etc., into the trade-unions themselves will aid in overcoming the narrow trade-union policy which the recent P. B. meeting pointed out was the chief weakness of the trade-union movement.

In the A. Y. C. the youth movement has a big task to perform in developing the whole people's front movement. In the A. Y. C. we have the greatest tie between two main forces between which an alliance must be established in forming a people's front—the followers of Roosevelt in the middle class and the trade-union movement. By strengthening the A. Y. C. we will be able to, through the youth movement, help eradicate the weakness of the labor party movement in Detroit.

The S. N. Y. C. is another force for the people's front movement as a whole. We should recognize the S. N. Y. C. as the only all-southern Negro movement. It can play a big role in mapping out the program for Negro rights. We should have the perspective of the S. N. Y. C. to work out a charter of Negro rights which might become one aspect of the American people's front program in general. The people's front program in the South as a whole must be recognized as an overlapping of two streams, first the Negro liberation movement as a whole, and then overlapping with that is the people's front movement of the southern people as a whole. With the development of a charter of Negro rights the S. N. Y. C. should give the whole perspective of advancing concrete program which will be of educational value to the white people in the South. The Trotskyites try to use it as a base for wrecking work among the youth.

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In the A. S. U. here too we can aid not only in mobilizing organized support for the people's front program but help fill out the gap in the program in developing a people's program for education. We should recognize here that the youth movement is playing a leading role in mobilizing educators in support of such a program.

With regard to the Roosevelt greeting to the A. S. U. it should make possible the spreading of the A. S. U. on a wider scale than ever before, especially in the South it will enable us to mobilize the southern students around the A. S. U.

J. and C. both mentioned the necessity for broadening the approach to the student movement. One aspect of the student problem is ignored, that is the demand for more social freedom on the part of the students. We have raised the demand for academic freedom not cherished by the students, whereas there is a tremendous rebelliousness against the lack of social freedom. For example, in Negro schools there is a lack of privilege to hold dances on the campus, of boys and girls having dates. This is especially true in girls' colleges. In a high school in New Jersey there was a strike of all students for the right to dance the big apple.

We should recognize in Christian youth building a new world there is another big stream which could aid in mobilizing church people in support of the people's front movement.

We also have the need for more theoretical training of our own comrades. The question was raised strongly with Comrade Markboff. He is constantly being met with demands for teachers for Y. C. L. schools which he can't fulfill. I would like to propose the J. should make some remarks on this. We should work out a method in New York district of assigning people in the counties for education in the workers' school or a school of our own to prepare a corps of teachers for the Y. C. L.

C. W.: Trotskyism: The Trotskyites are fulfilling certain definite services to the capitalist class at this time. They are trying to prevent the formation of the people's front movement and have taken the role of open spying. Our comrades have not yet fully understood the struggles against the enemy in the Soviet Union. I propose that we have a subreport at the plenum on the question of the lessons for the Y. C. L. of this country of the struggles of the G. P. S. U. against the Trotskyites and wreckers in the Soviet Union. This will help clarify many of the basic questions in the lower organizations.

The people's front movement is possible in this country because of the existence of Labor's Non-Partisan League. We do not have such power to develop the movement. However, we can utilize the forces of Labor's Non-Partisan League in that sense. We have a group of youth leaders meeting with the head of

Labor's Non-Partisan League and discuss the question of L. N. P. L. issuing an appeal to the youth of this country. Particularly in connection with the graduation of students in the schools, to raise the question raised by Roosevelt in Baltimore in April this year. We should discuss with these people and see how we can get means for developing this movement. The Labor Party may push this aside, but we should organize several groups in various parts of the country to discuss with these people and start working for drawing in young people. For example, DeLacey in Seattle, of the Commonwealth Federation in Washington; also there are such people in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and to discuss with these people the question of making the first steps forward in that line.

In line with what J. said about activities in the unions, we have to realize that in all of these unions the leadership in this work must come from the leadership of the organization. We have the means for doing these things. In every international union there are prominent members of our party who hold leading positions. A comrade from our bureau with the consent of the P. B. of the party should discuss with these people on how to bring these things into the union. We should meet with Comrades Stachel and Foster on this in New York, a meeting of the leading party comrades to discuss methods of bringing in educational work into the union, discuss this with the heads of the unions in New York City. Also in the educational committee in the center should be drawn party comrades who are educational directors in unions, like R. in the Furriers and M. in the Electrical Union.

In the 1938 elections here we must take a lesson from the Canadian comrades. The election of a comrade there to office gave the youth a push forward. We should consider in what congressional district we should prepare to elect an outstanding youth leader in 1938. The best possibility will be, I think, in the State of Washington where the outstanding leaders of the Commonwealth Federation are young people. We should discuss with the party and with the district organizers at the plenum and put forward one or two places where we have this in mind. We must also approach some of the progressive liberal block in Congress which is starting to function in an organized way as being the staunch supporters of President Roosevelt and to have these people bring certain questions forcefully before the young people of America. Jerry O'Connell is quite a young man, and there are others. We must investigate these possibilities.

On the question of the unemployment movement: The unions will have to assume the functions for organizing the workers that today the Workers Alliance assumes for workers unemployed for a long time and on relief. That will be the manner in which we carry on the struggle for the unemployed people. We can work this out and I notice that in the S. W. O. C. conference they went into it.

In view of the failure of the negotiations between the A. F. L. and C. I. O., there will be a convention of the unions of the C. I. O. in the spring of this year and we must prepare for this convention. It will take up the problems of the trade-unions in economic work and will also serve as the major mobilization of labor for the elections of 1938 and we must bring forward some expressions so far as youth are concerned at this convention.

The war question: Yesterday I spoke to many workers and every place I made a point to talk about the *Panay* question. I found that the workers recognize the fact that there are three nations which the U. S. must take action against, although some of this sentiment was mixed up with a hatred of Japanese. But the policy of our party and the stand of Roosevelt has really been adopted by the workers and the attitude was that collective action of the democratic countries should be taken. And the Trotskyites and the people closely associated with them in most cases have no real basis among the workers.

On building the league: I think in many sections of the country we are not building the Y. C. L. into a mass organization and we shouldn't have any illusions on that score. It will function as the transitional organization in organizing the youth part of the people's front and it shouldn't be worried about particularly. I think in a year or so, particularly after the 1938 elections, we will find that the activities in the unions and the development of the movement for political action will carry out the same activities and role that the Y. C. L. adopted at the Congress two years ago. We have to see in what direction events are turning and I don't think there is anything to be worried about; and in many places the recruiting in the unions will be different than in the neigh-

borhood branches which are becoming mass organizations and it will be of a higher character than the people who join our league and they will expect more and there will be more people on the road to our Communist position. And in the course of our work this will be the position and I think it will be a good thing.

T. M.: I would draw from the remarks of C. and the discussion that the business recession affects in the main young people in the sense that most of the people laid off are young people. The indication here is that the youth are the most affected by it. We are also aware that the main aim of this sit-down on the part of capital is to break the growth and strengthening of the trade-union movement. This is clearly a Fascist trend, and it is necessary for us to mobilize all of our forces to break that. I agree with the remarks of C.; and particularly with some of the points made by W. on the situation in Detroit. Here we will have to see as to whether in the city which I know is in the main a company town, so any kind of meeting called to discuss what's happening in the industry affects the union.

I want to say a few words on the effect of this situation on the Negro people and youth. In the last year or so a large number of Negroes have joined the trade-unions, because the C. I. O. came on the field and generally better conditions exist for the workers. If big capital is going to smash the trade-union movement, it will vitally affect the lives of the Negro people. Because many Negro organizers were put on the Negro people have responded to that by joining the unions. The lay-offs affect the Negro workers and the idea of trade-unions has risen in the minds of the Negro workers, and we have to notice that more of the trade-union organizers laid off have been our own people. This is important for us, the whole question of how to fight back. We see here that the program of our party is being carried out, for example, along legislative lines. The recent investigation in New York State on conditions of Negroes in urban localities where the heads of the big monopolies were called in and put on the platform and they had to explain their policies relative to unemployment. Also heads of trade-unions were called in where the policy of discrimination was tackled. The party has come forward in this whole movement and created for itself a favorable situation, a legislative conference in Harlem called for discussion with the people, and they are told what they have to fight for.

Looking at this legislative approach from the angle of the Negro people's movement in this direction, the youth problem must also come in. We cannot have a separate approach to the youth question. J. is right on the question of N. Y. A.; we cannot direct all efforts only to N. Y. A. and the question of directing programs against the whole set-up for strengthening the funds for relief generally.

With regard to the Negroes, we must raise the slogan for the right to work. With the discriminatory policies where are the Negroes working? Ford employs Negroes in mental jobs, about 3,000 as skilled workers, but why, for the purpose of spying on the Negro people. All the employment agencies have this in mind and the churches are also used for this. In New York we have to raise the slogan of the right of Negroes to work in public utilities. It's our task to see that the A. Y. C. faces this problem and raises the whole issue. On Jan. 8th there will be another legislative conference in Harlem, where a program will be drawn up for Albany and the Negro people will lobby for it. The Y. C. L. will have to become part of this movement to grow and develop.

On the question of Trotskyites and their attempt to win influence and get a foothold among the Negro people: We have to be careful because the Negro people are looking for action and the Trotskyites utilize this and try to get a foothold among the Negro people.

C. R.: We can't have an itemized discussion point by point. There should be one major report and discussion by all comrades together with subreports on various questions. Then we should entertain the proposal for a separate discussion on Trotskyism.

The board members should be prepared for discussion on specific points. The staff, in consultation with all the members of the board, should prepare that.

I propose that I also draft an outline of the report based on today's discussion to be taken up at the next board meeting.

Proposal: That J. K. report on Trotskyism.

F. F.: Propose that we prepare an outline on the nature of the people's front on the basis of Comrade Browder's report and go into Roosevelt's program and the C. I. O. legislative program.

J. L.: The next bureau meeting should have a report by Zip on our boys in Spain.

C. R.: Propose that we send a cablegram to Dave Doran, greeting our boys for Christmas and New Year's.

Proposal: Discuss with party and Y. C. L. about F. C. being D. O. in Pittsburgh.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, on the subject of the World Youth Congress which was held at Vassar in August of 1938, we have minutes which deal very extensively with that particular topic. Will you please identify these minutes, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF (after examining). Again, these are minutes of national resident board meeting, Young Communist League, U. S. A., July 23, 1938, with the notation, "Please destroy after reading." There is the agenda, "World Youth Congress. G. Green." "Main committees' work. M. B." "Information on Young Democrats' rally. C. Ross." "Dave Doran recruiting drive. Henry Winston."

Mr. MATTHEWS. The first topic of the agenda is "World Youth Congress." This covers several pages, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I think all of the minutes ought to go in the record that you have there; don't you think so?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I think it would be important. I should like, however, to read one or two specific statements.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the Vassar College?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is the World Youth Congress which met at Vassar College in August 1938. They say:

\* \* \* The Catholics are being forced more on the defensive, but they are making the issue more specifically the fact that the Y. C. L. and other radical groups are in the congress.

Can you explain briefly, Mr. Goff, what the issue was between the Y. C. L. and the Catholics, with reference to the World Youth Congress?

Mr. GOFF. The Catholics accused the World Youth Congress of being a communistic congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Speak a little louder please, sir.

Mr. GOFF. The Catholics, several leading Catholics, accused the World Youth Congress of being dominated by the Communists—being a regular communist congress.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Continuing, this says:

A letter was sent to the districts insisting that the congress do not take the defensive on this; we should be the first to raise this; they should feel strong about their position. The Y. C. L. should be careful about being rude to the Catholics, but should make such statements as will enable other groups to feel right about staying in the congress and putting the Catholics on the defensive. It is not impossible to still get some Catholic observers. Delegations from other countries in which there are a large number of Catholics can help in making an impression on the Catholics in this country during and after the congress.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the point there was they could get Communist delegates to represent the groups from abroad; is that it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that your understanding of this, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. You see, there were delegates coming from different organizations abroad, and a lot of them were members of the Cath-

olic Church, and there were a lot of Communists over there, because the boring was more successful among the Catholics in Europe than it ever was here.

Mr. VOORHIS. Are those the minutes of that meeting, or are they an interpretation of what happened at the meeting, that was sent to you for your information?

Mr. MATTHEWS. These are the minutes of the Young Communist League of America.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did it say in the minutes who was in charge?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But the Communists were in control of the executive committee.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then what I want to know is this document——

Mr. GOFF. This is the actual minutes of the Young Communist resident board meeting at New York.

Mr. VOORHIS. And commenting upon the convention that was held there; is that right?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. GOFF. It is commenting on the coming convention which had not been held yet.

Mr. VOORHIS. I see.

Mr. THOMAS. Following up that point about the Catholics and the Communists: Do you know of any instances where the Communists have become Catholics just in order to bore within the Catholic Church?

Mr. GOFF. Well, they assign certain ones, I know. Marsh Chesnick in Milwaukee was a Communist. She was told by Kuusinen she should join the Catholic Church so that she could work better with the Catholic Youth organization, and they assign them at different times to different Catholic churches to work in there and do as much as possible.

Mr. THOMAS. I bring that out because I know there was a tendency on the part of some of the old people who are prominent in the labor fight to become Catholics, and I was just wondering whether the Communist Party was encouraging that or not. They are encouraging it, it seems?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I think perhaps I should point out that these minutes, which are minutes of the Young Communist League of the United States, make it quite clear that the Young Communist League at least consider the World Youth Congress is their show. That is the spirit of their discussion. May I read to you one further statement on the subject of Catholics, in that connection?

The delegation from the United States still has the same weaknesses. All groups are represented, with the exception of the important A. F. of L. unions, the Boy Scouts, and the Catholics.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, all the other groups——

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of youth organizations in America.

The CHAIRMAN. The Communists have bored from within and represent them?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that your understanding?

Mr. GOFF. That is right. Where they have not themselves represented them, they have gotten somebody else to come in there.

The CHAIRMAN. With the exception of these three organizations, the Boy Scouts, the Catholics—and what other group?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The A. F. of L.

The CHAIRMAN. And the A. F. of L.—they have not made any progress in those organizations?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, those organizations, plus some others, are really some of the strongest bulwarks against the Communists?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, in this same set of minutes, Mr. Goff, will you please identify what is meant by the "North American Committee"?

Mr. GOFF. That is the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, that is the second item in the agenda of these minutes—the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the committee that preceded this committee that is holding a conference here to have a Spanish—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Refugee campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. It is the same thing? As a matter of fact, I understand the North American Committee and the Medical Bureau merged into this new conference that is being held here in Washington now; is that right?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In discussing the North American Committee, the minutes say:

The North American Committee is officially taking up the Spanish tour and is routing six delegates through fifty cities.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the same thing that was in Mr. Jacobs' letter?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Which we had yesterday, in which he said they had to arrange a tour for the Spanish delegation?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That goes back to that point?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This continues:

\* \* \* The Christian Youth Council of the different States and other people on the mailing list from the Berea Conference are being called to a meeting on August 4th to discuss the tour. The Spanish Societies are also considering the touring of some delegates and are submitting the plan of the N. A. C. to them so that it can be coordinated. The Spanish Societies are also planning a mass reception for the delegation at the boat. They have also taken a section at the Randalls Island.

Continuing on the North American Committee:

We (that is, the Young Communist League) are working to get together a coordinating group of the existing Spanish committees.

That is where the Medical Bureau and the North American Committee were brought together last year.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, that foretells what was going to happen?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They were then working to get those together and build up this Spanish refugee campaign committee that is now meeting here in Washington, of which Mr. Jacobs is director?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is right. This continues:

The North American Congress has taken on two new people. One, a Negro social worker. A conference of leading Negro people is being called for Spanish work. The second is a person to make contacts and get into the trade-union field on the question of aid for Spain.

We should wait until the fall before setting up the broader coordinating committee for general work. At present it is best to have it work only on the relief ship.

After the World Youth Congress we can throw more of our forces back of this whole Spanish work.

That is page 3 of the minutes. Do you identify that as the minutes of your national committee?

Mr. GOFF (after examining). Yes; that is true.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At your suggestion, Mr. Chairman, we will have the entire minutes incorporated in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I think they are very important.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is one further point here on the Young Democrats.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; give us that—how they tried to work with them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Goff, did you know anything first hand about the attempts of the Young Communist League to bore from within the Young Democrats?

Mr. GOFF. Well, we decided, you know, that at the time that there was a feeling that the building of the Farmer-Labor Party was not necessary in America as long as the leftist groups are supporting the New Deal; therefore, that the most progressive organization to work within and bring around our way would be the Young Democrats.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, before this you were trying to build up a national farmer-labor party.

Mr. GOFF. Yes; and Farmer-Labor Juniors.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you abandon that strategy; what year, about, did you quit that?

Mr. GOFF. Well, in about 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1935 you decided it was no longer necessary to try to build up a Farmer-Labor Party and then decided to work through the Young Democrats; is that right?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this section on the Young Democrats rally, we have the following words:

It is necessary to draw conclusions from the national rally and indicate the developments that have taken place and the tasks before the Y. C. L. in the near future.

In California, in the southern part of the State, the comrades play an important role in a large and growing movement of the Young Democrats which is actually a youth movement. In Washington and Oregon our comrades are influencing the movement considerably.

In Michigan and western Pennsylvania our comrades with the party have begun to take up the problem of working within and in closer collaboration with the Young Democrats. Governor Murphy is displaying a growing interest in the youth problem and the Young Democrats and has indicated a desire to come forward with a progressive youth program in the coming elections.

Every State organization of the league and party must begin to pay increased attention to the Young Democrats movement and to working more closely with it. The problem is that of sending more forces into the Young Democrats clubs down below and transform them into active and live organizations involving young people in the membership.



In the South we have raised the question of building a movement among the white youth. It is necessary to utilize the Young Democratic clubs in the South as a means of developing this progressive movement.

The CHAIRMAN. By the way, the Young Communist League have worked completely underground in the South, have they not?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; that is true. We very seldom meet any of the leaders of the Young Communist League in the South and find no members in the South, because it is an underground movement there.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

We must now actively, with the assistance of the party, begin to put into practice this policy in the South. Throughout the South there is the possibility of entering into and transforming the young Democratic clubs into a strong basis for New Deal policies in the Democratic Party of the South.

And one final paragraph:

The main job of the young Democrats is to break the stranglehold of the office seekers. In local and State organizations there should be an emphasis on the principles of the organization and thus making it impossible for office seekers to manipulate the organization for their own ends. There should be emphasis on fighting for democratic structure of the organization. In places like New York, Chicago, and Boston where there is machine politics, we should think in terms of building Roosevelt Young Democratic Clubs so that they are not identified with the machine. We should also concentrate on small towns where progressives have come into power in the Democratic Party.

Does that correctly describe the efforts of the Young Communists League to get into the young Democrats' movement, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; it does.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any further comments to make on that?

Mr. GOFF. I think there are other ones along the same line there in regard to the young Democrats' rally.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that report?

Mr. GOFF. July 23, 1938. In this last campaign we set up a committee of these "first voters' clubs" and "young citizenship clubs." We got the endorsement of leading Democrats and then carried on our campaign there.

Mr. THOMAS. And how active was the Young Communist League in the National Progressive Party out in Wisconsin?

Mr. GOFF. In the new National Progressive Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. GOFF. Later on I have statements to show that they conducted that as a Fascist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Conducted what?

Mr. GOFF. That the National Progressive Party, the early Progressive Party—they worked in the youth movement there and tried to do their best to control the youth movement, and they carried on their main activity. Then later, if you will recall, the Progressive Party and the Socialist Party merged in Wisconsin, along with some other labor groups and farm groups, in setting up what they called the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation in the State of Wisconsin, and that is where they did a great deal of their work. One of their biggest campaigns there was to have them affiliate the C. I. O. with the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation, in the hopes that by affiliating the C. I. O. they would bring hundreds and hundreds of Communist leaders into the federation.

The CHAIRMAN. By the way, what is the situation with reference to the Communists and labor; what is the labor situation in Wisconsin?

Mr. GOFF. Well, in Wisconsin, the Communists control considerable labor groups, especially in the C. I. O. Take, for instance, Amos Castello; he was a member of the State board of the Communist Party and one of the leading men in the C. I. O. there. Up until about a month ago he was the State president of the C. I. O.; but they withdrew in the election this time to bring about a unity; but, in withdrawing, they put in a man whom they control, this Gummel Michaelson, who was formerly a big Communist but who never attends a Communist meeting since he has been with the C. I. O., but his wife always attends the Communist meetings, and he has worked with me in many campaigns.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To what union did Mr. Michaelson belong?

Mr. GOFF. Mr. Michaelson was formerly with the Newspaper Guild. Now he is State secretary of the C. I. O.

(The minutes last above referred to are in full as follows:)

Please destroy after reading.

MINUTES OF NATIONAL RESIDENT BOARD MEETING, YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE,  
U. S. A., JULY 23, 1938

- Agenda: 1. World Youth Congress, G. Green.  
2. Spain committees' work, M. B.  
3. Information on Young Democrats rally, C. Ross.  
4. Dave Doran recruiting drive, Henry Winston.

1. *World Youth Congress*.—Father Mooney sent a letter to World Youth Congress committee, apologizing for "typographical" errors in Catholic papers, such as using "irreligious" instead of "religious" as releases stated which the congress sent out and for mentioning the Pioneer Youth of America and American Jewish Congress as Communist organizations, etc. There will not be a withdrawal of organizations because of the attack. The Catholics are being forced more on the defensive, but they are making the issue more specifically the fact that the Y. C. L. and other radical groups are in the congress.

The congress should officially send a cable to Pope Pius greeting his declaration, stating that the congress meets precisely because of the dangers of extreme nationalism, the menace of war and false race theories. Such a cable sent to the Pope and given to the press would be mentioned and would make it far more difficult for the Catholics to attack the congress. On this question there may be resistance from the Protestant groups.

To overcome the original criticism of the irreligious character of the congress, it is suggested that every day's session of the congress be opened by a convocation by ministers of different faiths. For this we will have to get a Catholic for one of the days.

A letter was sent to the districts insisting that the congress do not take the defensive on this, we should be the first to raise this, they should feel strong about their position. The Y. C. L. should be careful about being rude to the Catholics, but should make such statements as will enable other groups to feel right about staying in the Congress and putting the Catholics on the defensive. It is not impossible to still get some Catholic observers. Delegations from other countries in which there are a large number of Catholics can help in making an impression on the Catholics in this country during and after the congress.

The delegation from the U. S. still has the same weaknesses. All groups are represented with the exception of the important A. F. L. unions, the Boy Scouts, and the Catholics. We haven't given sufficient thought on how to overcome the handicap we face and the danger that the A. F. L. may not be represented at all. Most of the executive boards will not meet in the next month. The party comrades raised the question of delegates from district boards and large locals to ask for official observers, and if they don't get that, to have visitors at least; also have them adopt resolutions greeting the congress and sending telegrams when the congress opens. We should take special measures for getting the Railway Brotherhood.

There are two delegations which need special attention to which we paid least attention because we thought they were the easiest to organize. They are the Spanish and Chinese delegations. The Spanish delegation is being handled by M.; and Carl should work with the Chinese committee.

The Book of International Fellowship and funds: The results are only beginning to come in now. The total to date raised by the Y. C. L. is \$1,495. We must be dissatisfied with the response we are getting; no district is closely approaching the carrying through of its quota. In New York the league responded well, the leadership excellently. There is a possibility that close to three-fifths of the N. Y. quota will be in by the beginning of next week.

The Randall's Island meeting: It has not received much publicity although the advance sale of tickets is good. Indications are that the place will be sold out.

*Discussion.*—The representation on the Polish reception committee is very broad, but it does not involve the Polish organizations under the direct control of the Catholic Church. This is difficult because the priests are not only working under the leadership of the American hierarchy but also of the Polish church.

The meetings of the committee in New York are good; the majority are young people, and many adult organizations are sending young people also to represent them. In Buffalo the Polish committee went further; the representation is not as broad as in New York, but they have genuine Catholic organizations, and the sponsors are some of the most important Polish leaders in the community. In Pittsburgh the Polish Sokols have endorsed the congress; they are sending observers and are organizing a broad welcome for the delegation. Not enough has been done in Chicago and Detroit to get the Polish National Alliance. If possible, something should still be done in these two cities to broaden the committee. There will be receptions in New York, Passaic, Jersey City, Syracuse, Rochester, Pittsburgh, Buffalo.

\* \* \* \* \*

The North American committee is officially taking up the Spanish tour and is routing six delegates through 50 cities. The Christian Youth Councils of the different States and other people on the mailing list from the Berea conference are being called to a meeting on Aug. 4th to discuss the tour. The Spanish societies are also considering the touring of some delegates and are submitting the plan of the North American committee to them so that it can be coordinated. The Spanish societies are also planning a mass reception for the delegation at the boat. They have also taken a section at the Randall's Island.

*Chinese delegation.*—Plans are set up for the reception and to take care of the delegates for one week after the congress. An American should be on the committee to organize a tour. The Chinese committee will finance the tour.

Carl: The letter from Father Mooney should be taken as an indication that there is developing a deep and sharp split and division in the Catholic Church on this question which we must utilize to the best of our ability. In a recent meeting in Chicago between national C. Y. O. and A. Y. C. people there was no objection to cooperating in the youth congress because there are Communists in it. This is a different point than that raised by Mooney. The essential question is to approach and to lay the basis for work between the A. Y. C. and pro-New Deal Catholics, such as typified by Mundelein, who is a good friend of Roosevelt. Mooney is anti-New Deal.

We have not yet broken down sectarianism in our national group leaderships to this problem, and we should not permit committees made up of only left-wing organizations to have receptions.

The Y. C. L. in districts had not yet reacted properly to the World Youth Congress as being the most important question when I was out. The comrades who were at the national council meeting did not bring the political questions of the congress down to the membership of the League effectively and rapidly. It is necessary to organize more effective publicity from the center. Time is available on the radio in the Middle West, but it has not been organized. Press publicity locally is not effective enough, showing a lack of coordination between the office of the World Youth Congress and the local Youth Congress offices.

\* \* \* \* \*

We have to be careful about slogans and all groups should be informed that no slogans will be permitted unless approved by the arrangements committee. The slogans should consist of greeting the delegates, expressing good will, friendship in the work for the preservation of peace, but should not call for distinct actions or protests.

There will be a parade of all delegations with a medley of their national songs. There should be special notices and discussion in the Y. C. L. branches

suggesting that no matter where they sit, the aim is to give a courteous reception to every delegation without giving a special reception to any delegation. The national groups should carry their own and American flags.

2. *Spain Committees.*—We are working to get together a coordinating group of the existing Spanish committees. In the fall there will probably be a conference on the humane needs of the Spanish people. This committee may work on the tour of the Spanish delegation to the World Youth Congress. The concentration is now on the relief ship campaign. We should work on forming local relief ship committees.

The N. A. C. has taken on two new people. One, a Negro social worker. A conference of leading Negro people is being called for Spanish work. The second is a person to make contacts and get into the trade union field on the question of aid for Spain.

We should wait until the fall before setting up the broader coordinating committee for general work. At present it is best to have it work only on the relief ship.

After the World Youth Congress we can throw more of our forces back of this whole Spanish work.

The competition between France-England and the U. S.-Canada should be organized at the World Youth Congress with the representatives from these countries. There should be publicity on this, having a regular contract signed, pictures taken at the signing, statements, etc. We should then set a time limit for the end of the campaign. This will stimulate a great deal of activity among the youth movements of these four countries.

3. *Young Democrats rally*—*Report on Young Democrats rally and of the Washington State convention of the Young Democrats given in separate memorandum, which is attached.*—It is necessary to draw conclusions from the national rally and indicate the developments that have taken place and the tasks before the Y. C. L. in the near future.

In California, in the southern part of the State, the comrades play an important role in a large and growing movement of the Young Democrats, which is actually a youth movement. In Washington and Oregon our comrades are influencing the movement considerably.

In Michigan and western Pennsylvania our comrades with the party have begun to take up the problem of working within and in closer collaboration with the Young Democrats. Governor Murphy is displaying a growing interest in the youth problem and the Young Democrats and has indicated a desire to come forward with a progressive youth program in the coming elections.

Every State organization of the league and party must begin to pay increased attention to the Young Democrats movement and to working more closely with it. The problem is that of sending more forces into the Young Democrats clubs down below and transform them into active and live organizations involving young people in the membership.

The second task is that of closer collaboration with the progressive New Deal leaders on a national and State scale. We have a working relationship with some members, important leaders, which should be strengthened and further developed. It would be in place to raise a warning for our league comrades and party comrades that we must avoid sectarian tendencies in this work. Such tendencies were indicated by the party in Detroit where they sent in and permitted known Communists to join the Young Democrats.

In the South we have raised the question of building a movement among the white youth. It is necessary to utilize the Young Democratic clubs in the South as a means of developing this progressive movement. We must now actively, with the assistance of the party, begin to put into practice this policy in the South. Throughout the South there is the possibility of entering into and transforming the Young Democratic clubs into a strong basis for New Deal policies in the Democratic Party of the South.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Seattle league and party issued a leaflet which was distributed before Farley made his speech. This was poorly timed, and need not have been issued under any circumstances. It provoked "red" baiting not only from reactionaries, but also on the part of such New Dealers as Schwellenbach.

\* \* \* \* \*

The main job of the Young Democrats is to break the strangle-hold of the office seekers. In local and State organizations, there should be an emphasis on the principles of the organization and thus making it impossible for office seekers

to manipulate the organization for their own ends. There should be emphasis on fighting for Democratic structure of the organization. In places like New York, Chicago, and Boston where there is machine politics, we should think in terms of building Roosevelt Young Democratic clubs so that they are not identified with the machine. We should also concentrate on small towns where progressives have come into power in the Democratic Party.

\* \* \* \* \*

4. *Dave Doran Recruiting Drive.*—To date we have recruited 1,345 members. Only Seattle, Minnesota, and Chicago seem to be able to complete their quotas.

No recruiting is being done by the party. We should recognize that the drive quota will not be filled 100 percent. The intense work for the W. Y. C. has been a factor in disrupting the drive.

Proposals: (1) Report to P. B. on the party work in the drive. We should emphasize the need for education in the party on what the youth movement is today and propose to have a youth month in which these questions are raised. (2) Propose to P. B. that a 4-page letter to every member of the party be drawn up, signed by Comrade Browder, dealing with one question, i. e., to popularize the slogan of drawing the whole family into Communist activity.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Coming back to the Young Communists, we have here a six-page memorandum which deals exclusively with the plans of the Young Communist League to get into and work in the Young Democrats clubs, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MASON. That is a report, is it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you identify this, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF (after examining). This was sent out as a memorandum of the national rally of Young Democrats. It was sent out by the national committee of the Young Communist League. It is another one of those "Please destroy after reading" documents.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This outlines in considerable detail the manner in which the Young Communist League expected to bore within the Young Democrats.

Mr. MASON. What is the date of that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is July 1938. I will take the time to read only one statement on the matter of the tactics:

A warning is necessary against a sectarian and narrow approach to this work. Known Communists should not be asked to join Young Democratic clubs. \* \* \*

Mr. Goff, was that a practice followed in getting Young Communist League members into Young Democratic clubs?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To get only those who were not known to be such?

Mr. GOFF. That is true. It would be dangerous to try to put somebody else in, because we could not work successfully and would expose those who were not known in the organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it your desire that this entire memorandum be incorporated in the record, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I think the entire memorandum should go in. (The memorandum above referred to is in full as follows:)

Please destroy after reading.

#### MEMORANDUM ON NATIONAL RALLY OF YOUNG DEMOCRATS, JULY 14-15-16, 1938, SEATTLE

7. *Why the rally was held in Seattle:* Since the organization of the Young Democrats of America, the western State organizations have felt themselves neglected in the national set-up. Conventions, big doings, and officers were monopolized by the East and Midwest. The Washington delegation went to the

third biennial convention held last year at Indianapolis, with the idea of bringing the next convention to Seattle. Although they made a strong bid for it, it was thrown to Pittsburgh and the national rally was given to Seattle as a solace concession.

2. *Object and character of the rally:* According to Pitt Tyson Manor, national president, Gerald Shucklin (former Washington State chairman), and the arrangements committee, the gathering was to be a big preselection pep rally to enthrone the Young Democrats for active participation in the 1938 congressional campaign, and to boost the growth of the organization. As a rally, and not a convention, its body was to be composed of any Young Democrats from anywhere in the U. S. who could manage to get to Seattle, pay the initiation fee and expenses, together with as much of the local population that could be interested in the rally. In many cases, State and local organizations assisted in financing the groups coming. In such conditions it was but natural that most of the representation would be from the Western States. Utah had 60; California, 18; Oregon, 12; Idaho, about 8; Washington, about 75—most other States from the East and Midwest that had people, had groups of from 1 or 2 up to about 8. Furthermore, as it was a rally, no business was to be transacted on the floor. There took place a national committee meeting, a women's breakfast meeting, State chairmen's advisory committee, regional directors, and public relations committee meetings. Most of the "delegates" not taking part in those meetings, either attended the rally sessions or went sightseeing, party hunting, or just having a good time.

3. *Progressive objectives and results.*—The objective of the rally as such, that is its preselection pep character, was the objective of the progressives as well. The latter, of course, were mainly concerned with a strong follow-up on the last fireside chat of President Roosevelt, in his call for a "liberal congress" with endorsement of progressive legislation, and in building the movement. From the roster of speakers as well as the general national set-up at the moment, there was good reason to believe that this particular note would be strongly sounded at the rally. This proved correct, especially insofar as the main speech delivered by Farley was concerned. The rally can definitely be classified as a strong New Deal rally, one that called for a New Deal Congress and stimulated the progressives in their struggle against the Tories in the Democratic Party.

Some excerpts from Farley's speech would indicate this:

"We are at the beginning of a campaign which will determine whether we shall go on with Roosevelt, or go back to Hooverism.

"After six years of unprecedented achievement for popular government and the people's economic and social rights, that has attracted the admiration of the entire world, we are going to determine this fall whether that is what we want, or whether we want reaction."

\* \* \* \* \*

"No one in America is so deeply concerned in the reforms made and proposed by the Roosevelt administration for the preservation of democracy, liberty, and human rights; for today we are necessarily building for tomorrow; and tomorrow belongs to you."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Everything fundamentally and traditionally American and democratic is being challenged throughout the world with an arrogance never known before and with the open warning that democracy is to be destroyed. Powerful forces are determined to 'put the common people in their place.' The enemies of popular government actually have their armies on the march. In numerous nations democracy is flouted, liberty denied, human rights disregarded, freedom of speech and of the press destroyed; and American democracy is under fire today. If you think to reassure yourselves because of the three thousand miles of sea, the answer is that in every case where freedom has gone down, the dictators have ridden easily into power on the disloyalty, and the inefficiency of those entrusted by the people with the work of making democratic institutions function.

"There are black reactionary forces in America, blind to everything but their immediate personal profits, who do not have foresight enough to see that the preservation of democracy and human liberty demands, through necessary reforms, the solution of the human problem of the mass of the people."

\* \* \* \* \*

"You to whom tomorrow belongs, want to preserve for your own happiness and that of your children the liberties and human rights, based on justice and fair dealing, that exist only under democratic institutions; and democratic insti-

tutions cannot be preserved in these revolutionary times unless they are made to function."

"Yes, and through the Wagner Act, labor was given its Magna Charta of human rights, to protect it in its right of collective bargaining. It raised labor to an equality with capital before the law; it made man mean as much as money."

"\* \* \* a land safe from fascism, communism, and plutocracy, and dedicated to liberty and democracy—that is what Roosevelt is fighting for."

"And for that the people are prepared to fight with him."

"This fall we do not elect a president, but we do elect a Congress, and the political complexion of that Congress will determine whether the President you have elected will carry out the mandate you yourselves have given him."

"And so we go to the people in this campaign asking them to give us a Congress that will cooperate with Franklin D. Roosevelt—a congress that will enable him to complete the work for which they have given him a mandate."

However, due to an unfortunate circumstance, another element was injected into the general tone of the rally, namely, "young people of America, rally to the New Deal, elect a New Deal Congress to save America from communism and fascism." Of course, we could have no guarantee beforehand, as things stand today, that red baiting would not be indulged in. We did expect some. However, the first session of the rally, Friday afternoon, heard an unprecedented amount of vicious red-baiting for this kind of gathering. Some speakers, especially candidate for Senate from Oregon, Willis Mahoney, implied by emphasis that communism was the greater danger to fascism. Representative O'Connor (N. Y.) wired regrets for not coming, and warned that radicalism was a greater menace than reaction (in those words). We have good reason to believe that the joint CP-YCL folder issued by the District evoked this storm of red-baiting (excluding O'Connor's wire, of course). Afraid to be associated with the Communists, desiring to completely dissociate themselves from the "radicals," they could see no other way to do this than to sharply red-bait, lump communism and fascism together. How else can we explain the fact that Senator Schwollenbach of Washington, consistent New Dealer who has hardly ever red-baited now comes forward and, for him and his record, overindulges in it? What special occasion should have provoked this rage? The only explanation can be the four-page folder issued by the Seattle Y. C. L. and C. P., which was well distributed beforehand, had gotten around to the assemblage and well before the opening session began. We must conclude that it was a mistake to issue the leaflet. Of course, not having had a leaflet would have been no assurance against red-baiting, but it probably accentuated it and we had nothing to gain from such a leaflet at this time, it could only embarrass the progressives.

Despite this shortcoming, the outstanding note of the rally, reflecting Farley's speech, was a strong call to rally for the immediate task, to elect a progressive Congress. This must be our main consideration in evaluating the general political results of the rally, for, more than a youth rally, it had interest and significance, in relation to the coming campaign, and as the first major gathering of such political forces of the year, for the people at large and all interested in the politics of the country.

In addition to concern as to the general political tone of the rally, we were interested in a number of other measures, arising out of our efforts to draw the Young Democrats of America into a more friendly working relationship with other youth organizations on behalf of peace and democracy; and also from the viewpoint of doing whatever we could to assist the Young Democrats in becoming a better voice for the progressive political sentiments of American youth. Naturally, this concern of ours was restricted in its fulfillment by a lack of militant progressive forces, by our weak contact and lack of knowledge as to who is who in the organization. There were a number of progressive forces present with whom we could work. This lack of contact in itself dictated at once one of our major responsibilities; namely, to make contact, to attempt a characterization of the different individuals in the top councils, etc.

In addition to establishing contacts, we had to seek ways and means of getting action on a number of important points that would help make the Young Democrats more effective in the coming campaign, and as a youth organization for democracy and peace. Those main points, that would help transform the character of the organization, were—

1. Introduction in the Young Democrats of the reporter system so effectively tried out in the women's clubs. (The "reporter system" is an educational method now used by the Democratic Women's Clubs. It is based upon the election or *appointment of State, county, and club "reporters"* whose duty it is to organize discussions and give "reports" on various phases of New Deal legislation or political issues. In addition they organize study classes of reporters on county-wide bases, etc., to train them and to teach them to plan club educational programs and meetings. The adoption of this plan will pave the road to active educational and political work. (A description of the plan is given in the Democratic Digest for June.)

2. Action in support of the World Youth Congress.

3. Some positive peace action, along lines of the "good neighbor" policy, and if possible, F. D. R.'s quarantine speech.

4. A position in regard to Y. D. collaboration with other organizations, through participation in Youth Congress movements and other forms.

5. A call to build the Young Democrats for democracy's defense. The call for building the movement was the spirit of the whole rally, reflected in almost all the speeches, and any State or local group that undertakes an organizing drive is only carrying out the spirit of the national rally.

6. Endorsement of progressive legislation passed by Congress and proposed by F. D. R. Support of policy of last "fireside chat."

The other points could only come up on the agenda of the committee meetings. The results—

The reporter system: This problem came up at the women's breakfast held in honor of the national vice president, Mrs. Ocie Heady. Here a round table took place on the subject: What Democracy Means to the Young Democrats.

The keynote for the rally was made by Verda Barnes, representing Idaho, who *asked for support of the President and the New Deal*, inferred that Young Democrats should actively work for peace, although proposed nothing concrete or definite; *called for active support of candidates advocating the New Deal in 1938 elections*. A fairly good political speech. Verda Barnes, 2151 California St. NW., Washington, D. C., vice chairman, advisor committee.

This was followed up by a report on health, delivered in poor manner by Helen McNamara. Content excellent, *called for a very much needed national campaign against social diseases; stressed importance of Y. D.'s actively supporting a national health program*. Address, mayor's office, Chicago, Ill.

Elinor Snyder representing South Dakota, *recommended the following program for the national committee to the Rally*:

1. *To adopt the reporter plan*. This was strongly urged and the basis laid for carrying it out in States and clubs.
2. A Democratic Digest in every precinct.
3. Use donkey banks for finances.
4. Publicity—more use of radio, reporters to send in weekly activity reports.
5. Organization—*Broad organizational campaign; first voters' clubs to be organized*.
6. Platform to be in support of New Deal.

(This program to be adopted and utilized in all affiliated clubs. The report made by this person was a very good one. Her address: Elinor Snyder, national headquarters, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C.)

The final point at the breakfast was a talk, very poor I understand, on the importance of the 1938 elections, delivered by Wilmoth Mason, % Judge Ernest Tipton, Supreme Court Building, Jefferson City, Mo.

*World Youth Congress*.—This came up in the executive committee meeting with good support. However, it was sufficient for Charles H. Shreve, executive secretary, to blast against it, using some vicious red-baiting, to have the committee turn thumbs down on this matter. It was killed.

*Peace*: The question did not come up in any committee meeting as a matter to act and take a position on. It came up in a number of speeches (have already mentioned the women's breakfast), Pitt Tyson Maner, national president, and secretary to Governor Graves of Alabama, dealt briefly on it in introducing Farley and when he spoke at the rally, both times inferring the need for collective security. Farley, as you will see from the text of his speech, did not deal with it. Senator Schwellenbach, of Washington, spoke strongly for isolation. No one spoke for collective security.



*Collaboration with other youth organizations.*—This was brought up in the State president's meeting. A lot of interest was displayed in it (it was presented as a California experience in the Model Youth Legislature), a lot of "oh's" were sounded, but no action, for or against, was taken. The mere fact, however, that it was not turned down shows the necessity of approaching the Y. D.'s in the States and localities on such joint action at once, in preparation for the national convention next year at Pittsburgh. This was new to most, but the response was favorable and a strong impression was made.

In addition to these points, an important and major accomplishment lies in the formation of a western bloc of all western States under the temporary chairmanship of Dave Gill, 334 North Normandie Ave., Los Angeles, Cal. The significance of this bloc lies not primarily in that it is the organized expression of sectional western grievance directed partly against bureaucracy, and for going to town at Pittsburgh, but it gains significance in that its leadership is progressive, will strengthen the ties of all States, and can, with proper guidance, develop into a strong progressive group for 1939. This is a development that must receive lots of attention. (We understand that the bloc was also based on some progressive principles, but what they were will have to be learned later.)

To sum up some points:

1. There is a definite desire in many quarters of the Y. D.'s to build the organization as the "Voice of young democracy." This was voiced many times in speeches. But we must realize that this need for democracy exists within as well as outside the movement, for there is a tremendous lack of opportunity for democratic expression in the organization.

2. There exists much confusion on the peace question. The general attitude seemed to be that it was too hot a subject and that the best thing to do would be to take the easiest way out and lay off. Strong nationalism was evident. However, we cannot view the confusion as accidental, nor the fact that there was a "lay-off" attitude as something accidental. Here there is a big task of clarification to perform. The stand of the Washington State convention of the Y. D.'s further drives home this point.

3. We have underestimated the Young Democrats in the main, and for this reason find it difficult to determine the exact relation of forces. There exists more progressivism in the Young Democrats than generally realized. Our isolation from them is due to our neglect of the entire organization. This task can really be fulfilled in the district and State organizations by every party and Y. C. L. organization taking up the matter, learning who are the people and what their views are and once and for all beginning to take up this work seriously. If this is begun now, we can witness in 1939 a national convention of Young Democrats that may prove that the Young Democrats can be a major force in building a democratic front among the youth.

4. Immediate possibilities for active work exist in all States in *strengthening the progressive trends, in sharpening the struggle against the reactionaries* within the Democratic Party and Young Democrats, and in *building the Young Democrats as a progressive movement*. This is particularly true of those localities and especially of the small towns where progressive labor and democratic forces influence the direction of the Democratic Party. The Young Democrats have definitely a potentiality of being a mass organization, and there should be no hesitation in building it as a progressive movement; and the party must assign forces to this work immediately.

By bringing forward progressive policies and promoting progressives to leadership while working with all elements who are prepared to build the movement as a pro-New Deal organization, it will be possible to democratize the Young Democrats and to loosen the hold of patronage seekers, job holders, and "professional politicians" on the movement.

We wish to call to the attention of the league and party the special importance of this movement in the South where it is necessary to use every progressive trend to defeat the efforts of Tories to maintain a stranglehold on the Democratic Party. This is of importance both insofar as the Young Democratic Clubs and the Negro Young Democratic Clubs are concerned. In collaboration with the broadest New Deal forces, the building of a mass progressive Young Democratic movement in the South should be undertaken as a major task. For some time work among white youth in the South has been lagging behind the developments among Negro youth through the Southern Negro Youth Conference, the Young Democrats will be an important force for strengthening work among the white youth.

A warning is necessary against a sectarian and narrow approach to this work. Known Communists should not be asked to join Young Democratic Clubs, close and friendly relations must be maintained with all progressive pro-New Deal forces. While trade-unionists need to be pushed forward in the leadership, it is necessary to bear in mind that the Young Democrats is yet predominantly a middle-class movement, and its entire leadership is composed of middle-class elements, and, of course, professional politicians. Professionals and other white-collar workers and students can play an important and useful role in the movement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Chairman, we have here a set of minutes. Will you please identify these?

Mr. GOFF (after examining). These are the minutes of the resident board meeting of December 24, 1937, and that is the one I read awhile ago. The agenda is "Discussion of Comrade Browder's report to enlarged PB meeting."

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the course of these minutes, several organizations are mentioned and in order to dispense with this set of minutes I will take those up one by one.

On page 2 there is a discussion of the Workers Alliance:

We must place more sharply the problem of building the Workers Alliance and youth groups of the Workers Alliance among the young unemployed. It should be possible for us to organize a real campaign of organization of young unemployed into Workers Alliance branches throughout the country. There is every possibility of putting on the national staff of the Workers Alliance a youth director for their activities.

Again, on page 8 of the same minutes:

Second, and equally important, is the question of our attitude and work in the Workers Alliance. Here we must be careful not to speak in generalities about recruiting people into the Workers Alliance. The Workers Alliance, to be successful in its youth work, must be recognized along lines similar to the reorganization of the U. C. L. From top to bottom there has to be a permeation of the need for making the young people an integral part of the fight for relief. The method of struggle used in the Workers Alliance is not attractive to young people. A set of proposals and youth demands must be worked out nationally to correspond to the needs of the young people today. Throughout the Workers Alliance in addition to the fight for legislation, our comrades should be utilized to bring in a minimum amount of cultural and social life which is lacking in the organization now. That must be our perspective.

Now, Mr. Goff, is it your understanding, from your work, that the Workers Alliance was dominated by the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. I pointed that out this morning with regard to the strike. In the many meetings we held, we always saw to it that in the leadership of the Workers Alliance those who were Communists were always placed in leadership in the Workers Alliance. David Lasser, as far as I know, was never a member of the Communist Party, only a fellow traveler, but Herbert Benjamin was a member of the Communist Party and we all accepted him as such, and when there was a meeting we always followed the line laid down by Benjamin; never as taught by Lasser.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted, Mr. Goff, with the work of the American Student Union?

Mr. GOFF. Fairly so; not as much as some of the others.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was the leader of the American Student Union with whom you were acquainted?

Mr. GOFF. John Lash.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or Joe?

Mr. GOFF. Joe Lash, I mean.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you acquainted with him as a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; as a member of the Young Communist League and the Student Union, both.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 10 of these minutes I read:

We have a chance to help the development of the People's Front movement through more attention to the demands in the field of education. We should discuss this possibility after the A. S. U. convention when we can take up the entire student problem, but the question of education is a matter which even yet the entire league and party does not understand as one of concern for the whole population.

Again, from page 10:

\* \* \* At the same time, in the student field, our major attention is given to the American Student Union.

Was it your understanding, Mr. Goff, or do you feel yourself qualified to speak on the question of the Communist Party control of the American Student Union?

Mr. GOFF. Well, it has been the policy of the Young Communist League to set up powerful league groups on every campus in the United States, and from these league groups members were sent out to build student unions, which was to be their front on the campus. You can see the work of the Student Union and how it was communistically controlled by the fact that for a long time we had followed the line of the Oxford pledge; then, all at once, the party took the line of "collective security" and immediately the Student Union went on record denouncing the Oxford pledge and took upon itself collective security as their program.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 12 of these minutes, still referring to the American Student Union, we read as follows:

With regard to the Roosevelt greeting to the A. S. U. it should make possible the spreading of the A. S. U. on the wider scale than ever before; especially in the South it will enable us to mobilize the southern students around the American Students Union.

Is that in confirmation of some statements you made some time back, Mr. Goff, of the use of names of prominent persons as helping the Young Communist League in the building of their various enterprises?

Mr. GOFF. That is true, and especially the use of Roosevelt's name and the line he was following was very helpful to the American Student Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In these same minutes, Mr. Goff, there is considerable discussion of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Are you acquainted with that organization?

Mr. GOFF. The Southern Negro Youth Congress was controlled by the Young Communist League, and was the outgrowth of the American Youth Congress.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who the active leaders of the Southern Negro Youth Congress are?

Mr. GOFF. Ed Strong is the most active leader.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him as a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; he was one from the special branch, and he was an undercover person.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know any of the other leaders personally?

Mr. GOFF. No; outside of Ed Strong. I know this: That when the Southern Negro Youth Congress held their meetings, we did send delegates from the Northern States, too—both white and colored.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 11 of these minutes there is an extended discussion of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, which indicates that it is one of the agencies through which the Young Communist League is expecting to work in the South.

Do you know, Mr. Goff, whether the Young Communist League made efforts to penetrate the Commonwealth Federation of Washington—of the State of Washington?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; they tried to carry on the same program in the Commonwealth Federation of Washington as they did in the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota and the Progressive Party in Wisconsin. We tried to get control of the youth field and formulate the program for the State party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 12 of these minutes there is a discussion of the Commonwealth Federation of Washington. Can you identify Mr. De Lacey, from Seattle, who is referred to in that connection?

Mr. GOFF. He is a member of the Communist Party in Seattle, Wash.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The name is D-e L-a-c-e-y. It is stated:

For example, De Lacey in Seattle, of the Commonwealth Federation in Washington; also there are such people in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and to discuss with these people the question of making the first steps forward in that line.

This is the line which has to do with the formation of the People's Front, to be led by the Communist Party, according to the discussion in the minutes here.

Were efforts also made to use Labor's Nonpartisan League in the same fashion, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you laugh about that?

Mr. GOFF. Labor's Nonpartisan League was one of the little children of the party for a long time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you yourself do any active work in Labor's Nonpartisan League?

Mr. GOFF. No. The Youth Congress tried to organize a youth group; but in most of the towns I organized they had Communists in control.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 12 of these minutes it is stated:

We can utilize the forces of Labor's Nonpartisan League \* \* \*. We have a group of youth leaders meeting with the head of Labor's Nonpartisan League, and discuss the question of Labor's Nonpartisan League issuing an appeal to the youth of this country.

These minutes are to be incorporated in the record.

(The document referred to appears on a preceding page.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Goff, I show you a memorandum. Will you please identify that [handing a paper to the witness]?

Mr. GOFF. This is the United Committee for Aid to Austrian Refugees, May 7, 1938. It was after the invasion of Austria by Adolf Hitler.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you connected in any wise with the United Committee for Aid to Austrian Refugees?

Mr. GOFF. I was put on there. I don't remember when, but I guess I was a member.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do not know whether there was any committee to aid Polish refugees, do you?

Mr. GOFF. There have been so many committees set up in the last month or so—

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know whether there has been any committee to aid Polish refugees set up in the last month?

Mr. GOFF. Not refugees; no. The effort now is to Sovietize them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have here, Mr. Goff, a letter addressed to "Dear Kenny." Is that you?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dated May 14, 1938, and signed "Evvie." It reads as follows:

DEAR KENNY: How are ya, kid? I expected to see you on May Day. I looked high and low, but to no avail. You must be enamoured of that retreat you have. So how would you like to come to the big city for this week-end, huh? You remember that conference we wired you about or have you forgotten about it by this time. Well, anyway, we decided that, out of all the guys around, nobody could handle the chairmanship as well as you. So I hope you're not doing something else this Sunday. The conference (let me refresh your memory) is sponsored by the United Committee for Aid to Austrian Refugees (you're a member, do you recall?). So it's going to take place this Sunday, May 22, in Colonial Hall of the Republican Hotel. So it's starting at 2 o'clock (in the afternoon). Will you and can you be there? Let me know by return mail. (Boy, does that sound businesslike.) Also, take a look at the Dickstein bill, my fine friend. There's nothing like being a little informed, as I have learned through—oh well. You'll know what to do. We're trying to get Rev. Brown; Mischo from the Street Car Men's Union, A. F. L.; Adelman; and some educator who can speak well to speak at the conference. We want to bring out the effect that the admittance of the refugees will have upon education and culture, the stand that the church takes, and the attitude of labor. But we ain't got a educator. Can you suggest one who isn't an isolationist. Yes, we already tried Dr. Baker. He's going to be out of town on Sunday.

Anyway, write immediately, huh? Give my love to Dorothy. And my kindest regards to you, you rat.

EVVIE.

I have enclosed a copy of the call for your scrutiny.

Will you please explain the significance of that letter, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. The line that runs through the letter is the fact that I was supposed to come in and take charge of the Austrian Refugee Committee, and the person who wrote this was a member of the Communist Party—the wife of Sam Gittelman, who was a member of the Communist Party. At that time she was not married. I was, though. You can see here that she was trying, through the Communist committee, to get speakers for this meeting. Now, definitely I had forgotten that I had joined this committee, because I was put on so many united-front committees that I didn't remember how many I was on. But I was supposed to go in and preside at this meeting and follow the line which was drawn by the party. On the other page there is a list of the people who were in there—such people as Arthur Ludvigsen, chairman of the Wisconsin Workers Alliance, who is a Communist; Dr. Greenberg, chairman of the Milwaukee Jewish People's Committee, who is a Communist; Colin Welles, president of the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, A. F. of L., who is a Communist; Harold Christoffel, president of the Milwaukee County Industrial Union Council of the C. I. O., who is a Communist; and then Meyer Adelman, who is a fellow traveler and who may carry a card;

and along with those they had included Reverend Brown and a lot of important people in the city of Milwaukee.

MR. MASON. Who is this Dr. Baker who is referred to? Is he the president of the teachers college there?

MR. GOFF. Yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. Dr. Frank Baker; is that correct?

MR. GOFF. Yes, sir.

MR. MASON. I would imagine Dr. Baker would be out of town if he was called to speak at a meeting at that time.

MR. MATTHEWS. This letter would seem to indicate that she thought that you might have forgotten that you were on the committee.

MR. GOFF. Yes; I should think so.

MR. VOORHIS. What is this Republican Hotel?

MR. GOFF. The Republican Hotel is a kind of gathering place for the Socialist Labor Party and Communist rallies.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, why the name?

MR. GOFF. I don't know.

MR. MASON. If it is an attempt to get a real Republican name, I will be satisfied.

MR. THOMAS. What Dickstein bill is it that was referred to?

MR. GOFF. That was one that was before the Congress at that time, but I don't recall what it was.

MR. MATTHEWS. The date of the letter is May 14, 1938.

MR. GOFF. It must have had something to do with immigration.

(The enclosure to the foregoing letter is as follows:)

UNITED COMMITTEE FOR AID TO AUSTRIAN REFUGEES,

May 7, 1938.

*To All Progressive Organizations:*

It is unnecessary for us to remind you of the desperate situation of the political and religious refugees from Austria. Our President Roosevelt has proposed national and international aid to these refugees, victims of fascism. Nationally this legislation takes the form of the Dickstein bill. In order to support the President's program in Congress, the committee is calling a conference of trade-unions, churches, foreign-language groups, and all other interested organizations at the Republican Hotel, Colonial Hall, May 22, 1938, at two o'clock p. m.

In the name of humanity, we urge you to send delegates to this conference, to do our part in alleviating the desperate situation of these tortured victims of persecution. If your organization does not meet before May 22, we urge your executive board to appoint three delegates to this conference.

Respectfully yours,

GRACIA TORINUS, *Secretary*.

1129 N. Marshall St.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS<sup>1</sup>

Reverend Edwin A. Brown, pastor, Kenwood Methodist Church.

Dr. Frank E. Baker, president, Milwaukee State Teachers College.

Meyer Adelman, regional director, Steel Workers Organizing Committee, C. I. O.

Harold Christoffel, president, Milwaukee County Industrial Union Council, C. I. O.

Othmer Mische, president, Amalgamated Association of St. Electric Railway & Motor Coach Employees, A. F. L.

Colin Welles, president, Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, A. F. L.

Mrs. Lindsay Hoben, member, American Civil Liberties Committee.

Mrs. Clinton Barr, honorary president, Women's Club of Wisconsin.

John Klabauich, secretary, United Czechoslovakian Societies.

Martin Cyborowski, member, District Council No. 8, Polish National Alliance.

Dr. A. I. Greenberg, chairman, Milwaukee Jewish People's Committee.

<sup>1</sup> Committee members participate as individuals only. They do not represent their organizations.

Joe Wodvarka, secretary, Croatian Central Union.  
 Kenneth Goff, vice president, Wisconsin Youth Congress.  
 Arthur Ludvigsen, chairman, Wisconsin Workers Alliance.  
 Gracia Torinus, instructor, University of Wisconsin, Extension Division.

Mr. VOORMIS. Mr. Goff, when you testify that a certain person is a member of the Communist Party, you testify of your own certain knowledge?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; that I have met with them in the party office, in work—worked with them as Communists and met in the inner fractions.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, that is the only way you can tell who is a member of the Communist Party? They do not keep any records.

Mr. GOFF. That is right. The records are destroyed.

The CHAIRMAN. The records are all destroyed, so the only way that this committee can determine who are Communists is from people who belong to Communist organizations; is not that right?

Mr. GOFF. Well, there is a record somewhere, because every year when they have a check-up and reissue the cards they have a record there, and then each person who is a director of the different wards and the different units go out and check over these records and follow them up, and they have on these records the people who were on there the year before, and the year before that.

Mr. VOORMIS. Where do you suppose those records are kept?

Mr. GOFF. They are not kept in the party office, but they are kept by somebody in the town who is not very important, and who usually keeps the records in his home.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to ask you, Mr. Goff, if these minutes that have been introduced here were not sent from a private-residence address?

Mr. GOFF. That is right. They were not sent from the party office; they were sent from a residence in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Continuing the subject of Austrian and Spanish relief, I show you a set of the minutes of the Young Communist League, dated March 19, 1938, and ask you to identify these minutes. [Handing a paper to the witness.]

Mr. GOFF. These are part of the minutes that I identified a while ago in regard to the pilgrimage.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read only one sentence from the minutes on Austria and Spain.

The following proposals were adopted:

1. To throw all Young Communist League support behind the North American Committee and Medical Bureau campaign for ambulances and medical aid and for lifting the embargo on Spain.

7. A commission of Gordon, Marion, Sam, Joe, Carl, to coordinate and organize this work on an emergency basis.

Can you identify those first names, Mr. Goff.

Mr. GOFF. Well, there is Marion Bograd, and Joe Cadden, and Carl Ross, and then Sam and Gordon I am not definite about.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are not sure about those first names?

Mr. GOFF. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that these minutes be incorporated in full in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(The minutes referred to are as follows:)

Please destroy after reading

MINUTES OF NATIONAL RESIDENT BOARD MEETING, YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE,  
U. S. A., MARCH 19, 1938

- Agenda: 1. Pilgrimage, C. Ross.  
2. Recruiting Drive.  
3. Austria & Spain, C. Wilson. (subreport M.).

1. *Pilgrimage*.—Approximately 2,000 people from 35 to 40 States were in Washington. The representation was broader than last year from all districts outside of New York. The Pilgrimage served to strengthen the Youth Congress movement and bring closer various movements not yet affiliated. The most important result was a closer tie with the administration and the raising of the prestige of the congress in their eyes. This was indicated by the use of the Labor Auditorium free of charge, by the cooperation of Williams, Feehener, etc., the speeches of La Follette and Oliver, and the friendly attitude of Roosevelt. Williams agreed to call a 3-day conference with leaders of the Youth Congress and government agencies before the next N. Y. A. program is adopted.

The chief shortcoming of the pilgrimage was the lack of mobilization of youth around the vital issues of jobs and relief, and a lack of understanding of the content of the youth Act and the President's proposals on education. The large organizations and the membership are not aroused to the seriousness of the youth problem and rallying around a concrete program. The next problem is the development of an active follow-up of the pilgrimage in all districts. In discussing the Youth Act there should be resolutions demanding its passage, endorsement of the President's program on education, and the development of concrete local actions and demands for W. P. A. jobs and relief, etc.

During the pilgrimage in Washington a National Youth Committee for Coordinated Peace Efforts was established, with 100 signers of a collective security program. This committee will now undertake a petition campaign for a program of embargoes on the aggressors and U. S. participation in international cooperation for peace.

The National Council of the Youth Congress decided upon holding a model youth community, preferably in Ohio, from July 2-5, inclusive, with a program primarily for leadership training and for developing community activities on the Youth Congress program.

Motions adopted: 1. To reprint the Youth Act in several thousand copies to acquaint youth with it and with Roosevelt's program, and to concretely follow up the pilgrimage by local activities for jobs and relief. 2. To give special attention to developing work in and around Washington, Baltimore, Virginia, and especially Philadelphia so that future national actions can result in mass support from these areas, especially of native, non-Communist youth. 3. Loretta Starr to write an article on the problems of youth relief, etc., drawing lessons from the pilgrimage.

2. *Recruiting drive*.—The response to date on the recruiting drive indicates that the districts are not yet moving rapidly enough and the Y. C. L. organization is not being mobilized for the drive and being prepared to bring in and hold new members. It's especially necessary to emphasize the bringing forward the face of the league and connecting recruiting with immediate problems of war, etc., and with community issues.

More literature and emphasis on education of the whole league and particularly branch presidents must be emphasized. The commission set up by the board must function better, and similar commissions must be established immediately in the districts.

Proposals adopted: 1. The commission must meet immediately to plan the drive, further to examine the work begun, and to draw lessons for the whole league. 2. A report by Francis Franklin on literature is to be made to the next board meeting. 3. The recruiting pamphlet must be published by April 1st. 4. A letter to each district should be sent immediately reemphasizing the drive and indicating problems raised in the discussion. 5. To request that the party in New York arrange a meeting of leading party comrades on the Y. C. L.



3. *Austria and Spain.*—To mobilize the league to take advantage of all possibilities, indicating the emergency situation that exists, the following proposals were adopted:

1. To throw all Y. C. L. support behind the N. A. C. and medical bureau campaign for ambulances and medical aid and for lifting the embargo on Spain.
2. To mobilize all forces in the mass organizations for the endorsement of Hull's speech and the proposal for a conference made by the Soviet Union and for aid to Spain.
3. To carry through real demonstrative actions everywhere before German consulates, German ships, school campuses, etc.
4. To issue a national leaflet appealing to the youth of America to act immediately for peace. G. Green responsible.
5. To support New York conference of organizations for aid to Spain on March 23rd.
6. To assist in circulating the peace petition of the National Youth Committee for Coordinated Peace Efforts which calls for placing embargoes on all aggressors.
7. A commission of Gordon, Marion, Sam, Joe, Carl to coordinate and organize this work on an emergency basis.

Mr. MATTHEWS. More on the subject of the Spanish relief, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Goff, will you please identify this telegram [handing a paper to the witness]?

Mr. GOFF. This is a telegram from Ned Sparks, who was in charge of the Communist Party in Wisconsin. He was D. O.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By "D. O." you mean district organizer?

Mr. GOFF. District organizer [reading]:

We received the following telegram today. Please do everything possible on this matter: "Extremely urgent you contact all organizations and individuals. Send telegrams immediately Cordell Hull and Key Pittman, Washington, urging passage Nye resolution lift embargo against Loyalist Spain. Hearing next Wednesday, May 11th. Fate of Spanish Republic dependent on our immediate action."

And it is signed by Mary Gordon, too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is signed by Ned Sparks, secretary of the Communist Party of Wisconsin, in the name of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy; is that correct, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is for incorporation in the record.

(The telegram referred to is as follows:)

[Postal Telegraph]

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, May 7, 1938.

To All Sections and Branches:

DEAR COMRADES: We received the following telegram today. Please do everything possible on this matter:

"Extremely urgent you contact all organizations and individuals. Send telegrams immediately Cordell Hull and Key Pittman, Washington, urging passage Nye resolution lift embargo against Loyalist Spain. Hearing next Wednesday, May 11th. Fate of Spanish Republic dependent on our immediate action.

"MARY GORDON,

"MEDICAL BUREAU TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY."

Comradely yours,

N. SPARKS.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is also the organization about which Mr. Jacobs was testifying yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. The new organization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; this is the predecessor. The name has been changed. It is the same organization; just as the League for Peace and Democracy changed its name, according to the records of the State Department.

Will you also identify this, Mr. Goff [handing a paper to the witness]?

Mr. GOFF. This is a telegram from Earl Browder—"of vital importance"—in regard to the Spanish situation, and then an emergency letter on the part of Ned Sparks.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do both of these refer to the Spanish situation?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were both of these communications sent to you?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; both of them were sent to me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. One of these is from Earl Browder, and the other is from Ned Sparks, secretary of the State Communist Party of Wisconsin, on the subject of the Austrian and Spanish situations. The dates of the two communications are March 16, 1938, and March 15, 1938.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

[Notation: Of vital importance!]

MILWAUKEE, WIS., March 16, 1938.

*To All Sections and Section Organizers:*

We received the following telegram from Comrade Browder today:

Growing military intervention. Combined forces of German Italian fascist in Spain demand immediate action to strengthen activities. Spanish aid committees to mobilize party and democratic masses for powerful demonstrations. Picket lines protesting Nazi destruction of Austrian independence, against growing open fascist intervention in Spain. Necessary raise urgent held to democratic Spain demanding lifting embargo on democratic Spain through campaign of resolutions, letters to Washington administration nearby cities to Washington administration. Nearby cities to Washington send delegations. Reiterate demand of amendment neutrality law demanding condemnation of aggressions treaty breaking aggressors, necessary counteract at once any feeling demoralization in ranks of masses based on false news from counter revolutionary centers spread by reactionary press. Get mass organizations, trade unions, prominent individuals. Send appeals to Blum Government urging support to democratic Spain in the name democratic cause pledging solidarity to cause France peoples front party itself party forces in all mass organizations must be mobilized to last man to develop most powerful campaign against fascism in defense of democracy.

EARL BROWDER.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, March 15, 1938.

EMERGENCY—ACT IMMEDIATELY

WHAT IS TO BE DONE NOW

[Extract from editorial in Daily Worker, March 14]

*To Every Party Branch:*

"Every trade-union or other organization which cherishes peace should exert its utmost efforts to aid in attaining peace.

"The American Government can immediately employ economic pressure against Nazi banditry. Hitler could not continue his aggression if he were not aided by the economic royalists in the capitalist democracies. The U. S. Government can immediately declare an embargo against credits, raw materials (oil, iron ore, wheat, cotton) to the Nazi aggressors. Germany can be branded

by America as an outlaw, a criminal war maker, so that the Nazi Reich may be treated as such.

"The terror against the Austrian people must be halted. It can be halted by an aroused world public opinion. The American Federation of Labor, the C. I. O., individually and jointly, in unison with world labor, should immediately raise their voices against the execution, imprisonment, flogging of Austrian workers.

"Every local union, every peace society, every American organization repelled at the rape of Austria and the murder of its heroic people, should protest immediately to Hitler against the enslavement of the Austrian people.

"In every city of the United States huge and indignant demonstrations should be held at the Nazi consulates.

"Leaflets warning the American people of the dangers that threaten and how to meet them should roll off of every press and mimeograph or typewriter available to those who stand for peace and freedom.

"Mass meetings should be called in every city, village, and hamlet to arouse the American people to the perils to them as a result of Hitler's invasion and conquest of Austria and his threat to the peace of America.

"For that reason the demand that the O'Connell amendment to the so-called Neutrality Act should be passed, should be raised higher than ever. The O'Connell amendment would transform the Neutrality Act into a peace measure by condemning just such aggressions as Hitler's invasion of Austria."

N. SPARKS, *State Secretary*.

no&pwa #42  
cio

MR. MATTHEWS. Mr. Goff, will you please explain from the document the attitude which the party took on the subject of the National Progressives organized by Governor La Follette in Wisconsin, and your own connection with that particular movement?

MR. GOFF. Well, you see, they felt—

MR. MATTHEWS (interposing). Whom do you mean by "they"?

MR. GOFF. The Communist Party felt that the National Progressive Alliance in Wisconsin was untimely. Before that we were thinking of building a third party, but with the fact that the New Deal had taken so many liberal steps, it was decided that there was no time now to build a third party. So when La Follette started a third party in Wisconsin, they didn't like it. So I have here a letter, an invitation telling me to come later on to Milwaukee, and that I was to discuss with the party leaders some kind of campaign to keep the third party out of the field in 1938.

MR. MASON. They preferred the New Deal to the La Follette third party?

MR. GOFF. That is right.

(The letter referred to is as follows):

[Envelope]

[Post mark: Kenosha, Wis., May 17, 8:30 a. m., 1938]

After 5 days return to  
Rm. 20, Dale Block  
Kenosha, Wisconsin

KENNETH GOFF,  
720 Ann St.,  
Delevan,  
Wisconsin.

KENOSHA, WIS.,  
924 47th St., May 16, 1938.

DEAR KEN: You will probably hear from the State office very shortly about coming to Kenosha to get signers among leading Progressives to a statement urging Phil to run for Governor this fall and drop the 3rd Party idea at this time as being premature and having a tendency to split rather than unify the

Progressive forces in the country. It is most important that you come immediately on receiving this letter from Milwaukee as we must get into action here quickly. When you come get in touch with me—924 47th St., (rear), phone 7743. I may be working but am always home at suppertime.

Regards,

DALTON JOHNSON.

Mr. GOFF. One night I went out to get my Milwaukee Journal, and on the front page was a letter with my name signed to it, claiming that I had signed a petition denouncing the third party, and that I had circulated among the leading Progressives and got their names to it. Well, I had never circulated this petition, but it was issued under my name and sent to the press, and it was not until the next day that I got the press release.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this a copy of that press release? [Handing a paper to the witness.]

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is dated Milwaukee, Wis., May 24, 1938, "for immediate release \* \* \* from Kenneth Goff, Delevan, Wis."

And you never saw this until after you had read it in the newspaper?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And it is signed by a number of individuals, including yourself?

Mr. GOFF. That is right; Paul Alfonsi, speaker of the Wisconsin Assembly; Harold Priobe, alderman of Oshkosh and secretary of the Winnebago County Progressive Party; Howard Aker, president of the Milwaukee Public School Teachers Union; Worden Roberts, president of the Smith Steel Workers Federal Labor Union, A. F. L.; Thomas E. Casey, legislative representative, Order of Railway Conductors, Division 46; Hartley Hutchison, international organizer, Boot and Shoe Workers Union, A. F. L.; Meyer Adelman, secretary-treasurer, Milwaukee County Industrial Union Council; Emil Costello, assemblyman of Kenosha; Melvin J. Heinritz, regional director, State, County, and Municipal Employees, C. I. O.; Arthur Ludwigen, State chairman, Wisconsin Workers Alliance; Kenneth Goff, member, Walworth County Committee of Progressive Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Goff, will you identify, only from your own first-hand knowledge, which of the individuals listed here are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. Meyer Adelman is an underground man; Art Ludwigen, myself, and Emil Costello are members; Harold Priobe and Thomas E. Casey.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You identify those from your own first-hand knowledge as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the purport of this press release was to denounce the movement of Governor La Follette for a third party?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you identify further Emil Costello?

Mr. GOFF. Emil Costello was an assemblyman in the Wisconsin Senate, and was claimed to be one of our first persons to be elected to a legislative office in the States from the Communist Party, and he was to go out and teach the rest of the party how to carry on to win office; and this last time, during election time, we ran men for offices

in the legislatures all over the country. They began boring from within the legislatures, and they wanted to put our party on the same basis as it was in France.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the Communist Party ran them without disclosing the fact that they were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. That is right. They ran on the Progressive ticket in the State of Wisconsin.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I see you are listed as a member of the Walworth County Committee of the Progressive Party. You were a member of the Young Communist League and of the Communist Party at the time, were you not?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that this press release be incorporated in the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, May 24, 1938.

[For immediate release]

The following is a statement on the National Progressives, Inc., signed by Progressives, and leaders of labor and other organizations in Wisconsin, from Kenneth Goff, Delavan, Wis.

The grave political situation confronting the people at the present time makes it more necessary than ever before that all true progressives unite their forces to defeat reaction and to continue the gains they have made under the Progressive administration in Wisconsin and the New Deal nationally. Those gains were made possible because labor, the farmers, progressive and liberal forces, stood united behind the New Deal of President Roosevelt and the Progressive administration of Wisconsin. A reactionary victory in the congressional elections of 1938 would blaze the trail for a return to the unrestrained rule of the economic royalists, even worse than under Hoover.

In this situation the attempted launching of the National Progressives, Inc., by Governor La Follette tends to split the unity of the people, which is the only safeguard of progressive victory. We feel that the first concern of real progressives throughout the country is the passage of the pending New Deal legislation, such as the President's works and relief bill, the wages and hours bill, etc., and the winning of the 1938 elections.

We have been deeply concerned to note that the program of the National Progressives, as presented by Governor La Follette in his keynote speech, while making no attack upon the Wall Street monopolies, makes sharp attacks on the standards of organized labor and on the relief and W. P. A. which are at the present time the sole means of subsistence of the millions who are unemployed through no fault of their own. Particularly his remarks about "coddling and spoon-feeding the American people" have given encouragement to the reactionary opposition to the New Deal legislation. The platform and the practices of the Progressive Party in Wisconsin have always been directly opposed to the position now taken by the Governor in his key-note speech.

Like all progressives, we are in favor of a national political realignment, but we do not believe that such a movement can be based on an attitude of contempt toward the immediate needs of labor, the unemployed, the farmers and other sections of the people. Likewise we feel that such a realignment must be the joint work of all progressive organizations and political movements.

As Progressives and leaders of labor and other organizations in Wisconsin, who represent in general those sections of the people of this State from whom the mass support for the Progressive administration has always come, we wish to point out the fact that the National Progressives, Inc., was launched without consultation or agreement with any of the groups above mentioned, or even with the membership of the Progressive Party. We feel that it does not represent the sentiment or desires of the progressive people of Wisconsin, who are unalterably opposed to any break with the progressive forces and features of the New Deal, and to any move which will confuse and divide the labor and progressive movement nationally.

We must indeed feel gravely concerned when we find that this National Progressives, Inc., is hailed by every outstanding reactionary in America, beginning with Herbert Hoover, who welcomes it as the "entering wedge for the

Republican Party to get back into power," and by the Journal of Commerce which declares it would result in "abolishing from the earth all the works of the New Deal." And at the same time, practically every outstanding progressive leader in the country, such as Senator Norris, Mayor LaGuardia, and Governor Benson, regrets the launching of this movement as a danger to the unity of the forces of liberalism and progress.

It is our firm belief that the progressive movement of Wisconsin can best aid the American people at this critical time by working to bring about the greatest possible unity of all liberal and progressive forces to secure the passage of New Deal legislation, by defeating reaction in the congressional elections, and especially by keeping Wisconsin on the progressive side in the State elections. Such victories will provide the surest basis for the national political realignment that all of us desire.

(The following are signing as individuals unless otherwise noted.)

Paul R. Alfonsi, speaker, Wisconsin Assembly; Harold Priobe, alderman, Oshkosh; secretary, Winnebago County Progressive Party; Howard Aker, president, Milwaukee Public School Teachers Union, No. 252; Worden Roberts, president, Smith Steel Workers Federal Union, A. F. L.; Thomas E. Casey, legislative representative, Order of Railway Conductors, Division 46; Hartley Hutchison, international organizer, Boot and Shoe Workers Union, A. F. L.; Meyer Adelman, secretary treasurer, Milwaukee County Industrial Union Council, signing in behalf of the Milwaukee County Industrial Union Council; Emil Costello, assemblyman, Kenosha; Melvin J. Heinritz, regional director, State, county, and municipal employees, C. I. O.; Arthur Ludwigsen, State chairman, Wisconsin Workers' Alliance; Kenneth Goff, member, Walworth County Committee of Progressive Party.

Post mark: Milwaukee, Wis., May 25, 1938, 12:30 p. m.

KENNETH GOFF,

Rural Rte. 3,

Delevan, Wis.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Goff, are you acquainted with any of the efforts of the Young Communist League to penetrate the American Jewish Congress?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; we have a committee working in the Young Communist League which is attempting to penetrate the American Jewish Congress, and they have been boring from within for quite a while. The only obstacle they have there is the Young People's Socialist League. They are boring from the other end.

The CHAIRMAN. What obstacle is that?

Mr. GOFF. I say the only obstacle to penetrating the Jewish Congress that combats the Young Communist League is the Young People's Socialist League, but outside of them they are making good headway.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are the conservatives?

Mr. GOFF. There are conservatives in there, too, but these other people are their worst enemies. They can get around and use a lot of the conservatives, but the Socialists are trying to expose them at every turn.

Mr. MATTHEWS. These are the minutes of a meeting of the Young Communist League, April 23, 1938. The first point on the agenda is the American Jewish Congress [handing a paper to the witness]. Do you identify these minutes as having been received by you, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read you one paragraph from this set of minutes:

We must definitely have the perspective of building the Youth Division because we have been able to get them to go on record for progressive measures. We should build it to a point where there will be such obvious disparity between the

youth and adults that it will reflect certain changes. Dr. W. is a man we could work with, and he is the man with the greatest single influence in the movement. While the Jewish bourgeoisie is the decisive factor in keeping the movement from adopting a People's Front position, the Jewish petty bourgeoisie is the decisive factor to turn the scales, and Dr. W. represents more of the petty bourgeoisie and is not hostile to us and we can work with him for a definitely anti-Fascist policy.

Can you identify Dr. W.?

Mr. GOFF. That is Dr. Stephen Wise.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that Dr. Stephen Wise, the president of the American Jewish Congress?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The minutes deal in considerable detail with the manner in which the Young Communist League is trying to bore from within the Youth Division of the American Jewish Congress, and details some success that they have had, in which they claim to have had the cooperation of the president, Dr. Stephen S. Wise. These minutes are for incorporation in the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

Please destroy after reading MINUTES OF NATIONAL RESIDENT-BOARD MEETING, YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, U. S. A., APRIL 23, 1938

- Agenda: 1. American Jewish Congress, Arnold.  
2. Commission proposals for Harlem.  
3. Recovery Bill, G. Green.

*American Jewish Congress.*—Convention of the Youth Division being held in May. We cannot look upon the A. J. C. as the base for a broad unity movement among the Jewish youth. We have three comrades in the N. E. C. and a progressive bloc in the Board of Governors, but every progressive resolution that has been passed has been nullified by the senior body. There was a convention of the Youth Division about two or three years ago and progressive resolutions were passed. After the convention not one was carried out because of the weaknesses of the Youth Division as such and the lack of community support. This is because of the weaknesses in structure of the Youth Division and because it is dominated by a reactionary adult leadership.

At the coming convention we should strive for the A. J. C. Youth Division to affiliate to the American Youth Congress. On the question of political action we should stress the necessity for unity against anti-Semitism and Fascism.

The Youth Division is made up primarily of Zionist organizations; the only left-wing organizations are the Icor and Ambijan. It is primarily a paper organization which has no support among the Jewish youth or organization. Any other organizations can send observers but have no voice.

Gil: There is a tendency to underestimate the power of the A. J. C. However, it is looked upon by the Jewish people and youth as the spokesman for the Jews. We should not be too harsh about the functioning of committees and the ability of representatives to mobilize their organizations. There is a bit of a negative attitude to the A. J. C. which we should not have.

We must definitely have the perspective of building the Youth Division because we have been able to get them to go on record for progressive measures. We should build it to a point where there will be such obvious disparity between the youth and adults that it will reflect certain changes. Dr. W. is a man we could work with, and he is the man with the greatest single influence in the movement. While the Jewish bourgeoisie is the decisive factor in keeping the movement from adopting a people's front position, the Jewish petty bourgeoisie is the decisive factor to turn the scales, and Dr. W. represents more of the petty bourgeoisie and is not hostile to us and we can work with him for a definitely anti-Fascist policy. For this reason, our policy should be to try to get as many organizations as possible to come to this convention. The whole approach our people should adopt is how are we to carry out into life those aims worked out by the youth division already. The whole matter should not be brought forward as a new and separate question but on the question of carrying through the aims and objectives. And the A. Y. C. will come as a secondary question when we have discussed the question of whether we, as Jews, shall refuse aid and coopera-

tion of non Jews in carrying through the aims of the A. J. C. This should not appear as an extraneous issue, our people who come there should be interested first and foremost in the Jewish problem.

Proposals: 1. We should work for building the Youth Division of the A. J. C. 2. Comrades should go there as Jewish youth raising the Jewish question first. 3. A Negro youth, a Jewish veteran of the A. L. Brigade, and an official observer of the League should attend the Congress. 4. S. B., Arnold, and the three comrades in the A. J. C. should meet Monday to work out details. 5. A special meeting in the form of a conference should be held after the convention to discuss the whole question of work among Jewish youth. 6. The Review should carry an article on the problems of the Jewish youth.

#### *Harlem.*—Proposals adopted:

1. Establish another branch to include leading people in organizations who cannot be known as Y. C. L.'ers.
2. Establish a coordinating committee in upper Harlem fully responsible for all Y. C. L. work in that territory.
3. Coordinating committee to consist of 7 members with three people from each branch and Angelo Herndon as chairman.
4. The coordinating committee be represented on the All-Harlem Council.
5. Tony to head the new branch.
6. The coordinating committee to meet twice a month.

Gil: There are specific responsibilities worked out and the comrades must take seriously to heart what was said last week and in the next month's time there should be serious changes in the work there. By the time of the county convention we should have material on which we can state that the comrades have applied themselves to making a basic change. If in a period of time there are no such signs, my opinion is that we will have to make a change in the leadership in Harlem. A few years ago we had to import leading people, but today we have a strong leading corps of comrades and if they work in a collective fashion and work hard as individuals with definite responsibility, we can make rapid changes in developing the mass work as well as the growth of the Y. C. L.

There should be established complete frankness between all comrades, check up on assignments by the coordinating committee and when comrades do not carry through their assignments or do not work correctly we should have open and frank discussions. Any differences or questions the comrades cannot handle themselves should be raised with the County, the District, and first of all with the National Bureau.

*Recovery bill.*—The first point I made after touring the districts was that the League does not react and play a role of decisive influence in the most important developments in the country. Since then a new issue has come up formulated by the Roosevelt program for recovery, which we must react to and get the whole League to react to. Every major measure of the Roosevelt administration was defeated in Congress this last year starting with the Supreme Court proposals, the antilynch bill, wages and hours bill, reorganization bill. The recovery bill is more important than any of the others and will have a tremendous effect in determining whether others will be carried through or not. It's really a bill which talks of what is the important need of the masses in America today, the need for jobs and employment, and Roosevelt proposes  $4\frac{1}{2}$  billion dollars to be appropriated to get the country back to work.

This has special significance for us in the youth field because it includes the demand of the Youth Congress, allowing a sum of money to permit the C. C. C. camps to run at full capacity, and second, it grants an additional 75 million dollars to the N. Y. A. which will provide aid and jobs to a larger number of young people, especially student youth.

The program has thrown consternation into the ranks of the reactionaries and they are 100% opposed to it. But they realize that they cannot defeat the program on the basis of a head-on collision with it in the same way as the other measures. They do not dare to go to the people and tell them that they are opposed to any form of relief or aid. The Congressmen who face election in November will be afraid to go back to their constituents with a record of opposition on the recovery bill. The line of attack will be that of proposing amendments to cut out the heart of the bill or sections to which



their is the least amount of pressure from the masses. There may be a tendency to make concessions to anti-Roosevelt forces. We face the danger that some of the concessions will be made at the expense of the two youth planks, the C. C. C. and N. Y. A.

What do we have to do about it? We have to see to it that not only the Y. C. L., but every organization of youth we have been able to get on record for the American Youth Act must today take a stand for the recovery bill, and especially for the two youth planks of it. Furthermore, we must go out to organizations who have not endorsed the Youth Act to have them endorse the recovery bill. Where we may get the arguments from the left that this doesn't amount to much, we must definitely warn against the tendency to permit the ultra-lefts to take the reactionaries' position of opposition to the bill. This bill is one step in the right direction, and if this is defeated we will never get the Youth Act. Groups which have not taken a stand on the Youth Act, we must convince them that this is of necessity to prevent crime, to get a considerable number of youth to learn trades, to get employment and education. The Youth Congress adopted a resolution endorsing the recovery bill. Following that we have to see to it that every youth council, every organization in the council, be gotten to act immediately and a decisive question is the time element.

Congress aims to adjourn about May 20th, because this is election year and the Congressmen want to get back into the election campaign. The fight will be over in a few weeks' time, so there is not much time left for mobilization. A letter went out to the districts, but every week until the measure is adopted we must check up in the National Bureau. We must insist on getting from every district the list of organizations which have gone on record. We must mobilize the league not only to go out to organizations to speak and get them to send telegrams in their name, but to also get tens of thousands of signatures, and Y. C. L. signatures are as good as any other signatures. In the branches we must bring paper and envelopes and sell stamps so that everyone sends letters after having a talk on the recovery bill (and outlines must be sent out at once) and see that the same thing is done in as many youth organizations as possible. In this connection, New York can be most easily mobilized, but New York is not the most decisive place.

It is important to make the Congressmen feel that when they do something bad they will get letters against them, but when they do something good they will also get a lot of letters supporting them; so, although the New York Congressmen are generally in favor of the recovery bill, they should get just as many letters supporting their position so that they will not too easily make concessions to the anti-Roosevelt forces.

The people in the S. N. Y. C. should be mobilized immediately to drum up as much support as possible in the South.

If the bill is defeated we will have a bad situation in the country, not only from the viewpoint of unemployment but also on the question of the 1938 elections. If the reactionaries can go down the line, where the offensive will be in their hands, there will be panic, confusion, and vacillation in the progressive camp and the danger that the reactionaries will sweep right through. While this issue is important for the unemployed it has greater significance for the whole future political struggle of the country against reaction and for the tempo of development of the democratic front.

Proposals: 1. Franklin to get up an outline to the districts and check up at every bureau meeting until the recovery bill is passed. 2. Winston to write to every D. O. and national council on their personal responsibilities. 3. Discussion on unemployment to be had at next meeting.

Jules Kröner  
274 Marcy Ave.  
Bklyn, N. Y.

Post mark: New York, N. Y., Sta. C, May 7, 3:30 p. m., 1938.

KENNETH GOFF,  
508 Ann St.,  
Delavan, Wisc.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Goff, will you please identify this document [handing a paper to the witness]?

Mr. GOFF. This is the farm and labor legislation committee that met on a State-wide basis at the assembly chambers in Wisconsin, and was organized by Gene Dennis.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Goff, was it your understanding, from the persons who sponsored this conference, that it was entirely in the control of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. That is right. When I arrived at Madison I was in charge of the youth division of this conference, and the leader of the Young Communist League there in the State handed me my portfolio, and the instructions were in it as to what I was supposed to bring up in the different committees.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were Alfonsi and Costello the leaders of the conference?

Mr. GOFF. That is right. We met in the back room of the assembly chamber.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have already identified Emil Costello as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, there was considerable testimony introduced last year which identified Emil Costello as a member of the Communist Party. He was one of the two organizers of this conference. The purpose which we have in mind is to show that the Communist Party is also trying to use as a cover the Farmer-Labor movement in this country, and not particularly to identify any speakers as Communists, unless the witness knows first-hand that they are such. Is that correct, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. That is true.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That the Communist Party has tried to use, wherever it could get into it, the Farmer-Labor Party movement?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

(The document previously identified is as follows:)

YOUR ORGANIZATION IS INVITED TO SEND DELEGATES TO A STATE-WIDE PEOPLES' CONFERENCE ON FARM AND LABOR LEGISLATION ON APRIL 3RD AND 4TH, 1937, AT THE ASSEMBLY CHAMBERS, STATE CAPITOL, MADISON, WHERE CONGRESSMAN GERALD J. BOILEAU WILL SPEAK

#### PEOPLES' CONFERENCE ON FARM AND LABOR LEGISLATION

MADISON, WIS., March 13th, 1937.

*To All Trade Union, Labor, Farm, Liberal, and Fraternal Organizations:*

DEAR FRIENDS: On November 3rd we, the people of Wisconsin, voted for social security, progress, and peace. We elected a large block of Progressive and Farmer-Labor assemblymen and congressmen. We declared our support of the legislative program of the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation.

The struggle to realize this mandate of the people is now being waged. The legislature is one of the most important of battlegrounds. Whether or not the forces of progress will emerge victorious depends on the active support they will get from the people.

Public opinion must be organized and set in motion if the legislative program and principles of the Progressive Party and the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation are to triumph. The reactionary interests are utilizing every means and method to frustrate the will of the people. They aim to defeat the legislative program of the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation, the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, the Wisconsin Committee for Industrial Organization, the Workers Alliance, the Farmers' Union, Farm Holiday Association, and other economic and liberal groups.

This program includes such vital questions as genuine collective bargaining, improved workmen's compensation laws, shorter work week, better minimum wage laws for women, improved farm aid, adequate unemployment relief, social insurance, improved old age pensions, assistance to young people and students,

public housing, increased taxes on high incomes, civil liberties, maintenance of peace and a host of other needs of the people.

Immediate action is required. The time has come to convene a great peoples' legislative conference, to organize mass publicity and support of the peoples' program of farmer-labor and progressive legislation. The legislative activities of all trade union, labor, farm, fraternal, and liberal organizations must be coordinated and made more effective.

It is with this object in view that your organization is urged and requested to send delegates (not more than five) to the Peoples' Conference on Farm and Labor Legislation, which will be held in the assembly chambers, State Capitol, Madison, on April 3rd and 4th, 1937.

Fraternally yours,

SPONSORING COMMITTEE,  
By PAUL R. ALFONSI,  
*Speaker of the Assembly, Chairman.*  
EMIL COSTELLO,  
*Assemblyman, Kenosha Secretary.*

#### CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Paul R. Alfonsi, General Chairman

##### *Saturday session, April 3rd:*

11:00 a. m. to 1:30 p. m., Registration of delegates.

1:30 p. m. to 4:00 p. m., Address and greetings.

Congressman Gerald J. Boileau; Leo Krzycki, member, Int'l G. E. B. Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union; Carl Minkley, State Educ. Director Wis. Workers Alliance; and other prominent leaders of the Labor, Farm, and Progressive Movements.

4:00 p. m. to 5:00 p. m., Organization of round table groups.

5:00 p. m. to 7:00 p. m., Dinner.

7:00 p. m. to 10:00 p. m., Meeting of groups.

- (1) Farm aid and cooperatives.
- (2) Labor legislation.
- (3) Unemployment and relief needs.
- (4) Education and youth.
- (5) Resolutions, etc.

##### *Sunday session, April 4th:*

9:00 a. m. to 11:00 a. m., Continuation of group sessions.

11:00 a. m. to 1:00 p. m., Lunch.

1:00 p. m., General session (reports on group sessions).

5:00 p. m., Adjournment.

(Address all communications to Assemblyman Emil Costello, Assembly Chambers, Madison)

#### DELEGATES' CREDENTIALS

The following persons are authorized to represent the \_\_\_\_\_  
(name of organization) at the People's Conference on Farm and Labor Legislation at the Assembly Chambers, Madison, April 3-4, 1937:

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_

Signed \_\_\_\_\_  
*Secretary of Organization.*

NOTE.—A registration fee of 50 cents will be required from each delegate.

#### DELEGATES' CREDENTIALS

(This duplicate copy to be mailed to the secretary of the sponsoring committee: Assemblyman Emil Costello, Assembly Chambers, Madison)

The following persons have been elected to represent our organization at the People's Conference on Farm and Labor Legislation being held at the Assembly Chambers, Madison, April 3 and 4, 1937:

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

[SEAL] \_\_\_\_\_  
*Secretary of the Organization.*

The sponsoring committee includes—

Paul R. Alfonsi, Speaker of the Assembly, Pence, Wisconsin.  
 Walter J. Rush, President (pro tem) of the Senate, Neilsville, Wisconsin.  
 John W. Grobschmidt, Assemblyman, 10th District, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.  
 Dougald D. Kennedy, Assemblyman, Polk County.  
 Henry Berquist, Assemblyman, Oneida County.  
 Emil Costello, State Chairman, Wis. C. I. O.; Assemblyman, Kenosha.  
 Leo Krzycki, Member Intl. G. E. B. Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union of America.  
 E. M. Curry, Intern'l President, Brotherhood of Foundry Employees of America.  
 A. G. Piepenhagen, Manager, Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, Milwaukee.  
 Benjamin Dolnik, Manager, Local No. 188, Int'l Ladies Garment Workers Union.  
 Harlan Fenske, State Chairman, Wisconsin Workers Alliance.  
 August W. Bahr, President, Sheboygan Central Labor Council.  
 Robert Franklin, General Organizer, La Crosse Trades and Labor Council.  
 Othmer Mischo, President, Street and Electric Railway Employees, Div. No. 998.  
 Harold Christoffel, President, Allis Chalmers Federal Union, No. 20136.  
 Harold R. Priebe, Chairman, Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation, Winnebago County.  
 Gerald Munson, Chairman, Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation, La Crosse County.  
 Meyer Adelman, Wisconsin-North Chicago Organizer, Steel Workers Organizing Committee.  
 Albert Schultz, President, Wisconsin Milk Pool, Sheboygan.  
 Hans L. Foss, President, Wisconsin Milk Pool Ass'n, Barron County.  
 Fred Smith, President, Superior Federation of Labor.  
 A. S. Parker, President, Farm Holiday Ass'n, Barron County.  
 Ernest Annock, Secretary, La Crosse Rubber Workers Union, Local No. 14.  
 Jack Smith, President, District Council, Hodecarriers Union, Racine.  
 Arthur Mattson, Chairman, Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation, Douglas County.  
 Kenneth Goff, Secretary, Townsend Movement, Wisconsin.  
 Mrs. Meta Berger, Member, Milwaukee School Board, Socialist Party.  
 Gordon Hey, President, Waukesha, Trades and Labor Council.  
 Henry Larson, Member, State Council, United Automobile Workers of America.  
 Fred Radke, Vice-President, Sheboygan Central Labor Council.  
 Richard Huffman, Vice-President, Madison Federation of Labor.  
 Cedric Parker, Treasurer, Madison Federation of Labor.  
 Prof. J. R. Cotton, State Teachers College, Milwaukee.  
 Prof. Wm. W. Biddle, State Teachers College, Milwaukee.  
 Gunnar Mickelsen, Intern'l Vice-President, American Newspaper Guild.  
 Carl Minkley, State Educational Director, Workers Alliance.  
 Gene Dennis, State Secretary, Communist Party.  
 Aaron Toliver, President, Int'l Longshoremen's Ass'n, Local No. 815.  
 Prof. Wm. E. Roth, University of Wisconsin, Extension Division, Milwaukee.  
 Frank Jones, Member, State Executive Board, Workers Alliance of America.  
 Ernest Miese, President, Boot and Shoe Workers Union, Local No. 197.  
 Wm. Haack, Alderman (FLPF), Sheboygan.  
 Ted Furman, President, Farm Holiday Ass'n, Winnebago County.  
 Harvey Guelzow, President, Upholsterers' Union No. 138.  
 Harold J. Geise, Member, State Board of Workers Alliance.  
 Ed. Charding, President, Local No. 184, United Automobile Workers.  
 L. L. Guddex, President, Farm Holiday Ass'n, Fond du Lac County.  
 Wm. Ferguson, President, Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union, Local No. 2766.  
 Frank Featherly, Secretary, Wisconsin Continuities Committee for Drought Relief.

(The sponsors sign as individuals and do not necessarily commit their organization.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify this throw-away [handing paper to witness]?

Mr. GOFF. This is a dodger for the Youth Forum at Bluemound, Honey Creek C. C. C. Camp. That is a camp just outside of the city of Milwaukee. The date is Thursday, March 25, 1937, at 7 p. m. At

this camp the subject was "Youth's greater opportunity—city or country?"

Through a girl working in the farm office there where this project was, to send speakers out to different farms, many of us Communists got a chance to go out and speak before different organizations. I spoke that night at the C. C. C. Camp. I spoke in favor of country, but we were notified to tell them when we got out there that we were in a peculiar situation, trying to speak on this subject, because if there had been the opportunity for youth, they would never be in a C. C. C. Camp.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Goff, I show you a copy of minutes of the National Resident Board Meeting, Young Communist League, U. S. A., dated April 16, 1938. On page 4 of these minutes, there is the following. Among the objectives set up for the Young Communist League was the following:

To build the youth division of the National Negro Congress. This was accomplished to a very limited extent.

Do you have knowledge of the relationship between the National Negro Congress and the Communist Party, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. We always sent delegates. Most of the delegates that went from Milwaukee to the National Negro Congress were Communists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On the same page, further on, there is as follows:

Unless we have an active league in Harlem we will not have a successful Negro congress movement. The leading comrades are taxed with other meetings which take them out of Harlem.

Will you please identify the I. W. O.?

Mr. GOFF. The I. W. O. is an insurance order of the International Workers Order. That is, it is an insurance group where most of the workers take out insurance and it is controlled by Communists. Take, for instance, Leon Kaplan, who is the district organizer for the Young Communist League in Wisconsin, he was formerly national youth organizer for the I. W. O.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 3 of these minutes we find the following:

We can rapidly build the Young Communist League through the I. W. O. of whom 10,000 members, one-third are young people.

These, Mr. Chairman, are minutes which contain many important matters other than those which have been read, and I offer them for incorporation in the record.

(The minutes referred to are as follows:)

Please destroy after reading.

MINUTES OF NATIONAL RESIDENT BOARD MEETING, YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE,  
U. S. A., APRIL 16, 1938

- Agenda: 1. Farm Youth, C. Ross.  
2. Report on tour, G. Green.  
3. Harlem, T. Morton.  
4. Financial report on Spain campaign, H. Winston.

1. *Farm-youth movement.*—Meeting of people in farm-youth field held in Washington last week. People present were—Director of the Extension Bureau of the Department of Agriculture and head of the 4-H Clubs; the third assistant head of N. Y. A. and director of the project division; Assistant Under Secretary of Agriculture; head of the Future Farmers of America; representative of the

American Youth Commission; representative of the American Country Life Association Youth Section; some friends from the Rural Research Division of the W. P. A. They met with the representatives of the American Youth Congress to discuss the possibility of organizing an American farm-youth congress. There was agreement to invite other farm organizations next time—the Farmers Union, Grange, Agricultural Workers Union.

There was discussion on the holding of a rural-youth congress this summer. There was agreement on having either joint sponsorship, or letting the youth section of the American Country Life Association with the A. Y. C. to call the congress. It is important for the congress to be held in the Middle West. One of the foundations promised money to organize the congress.

This meeting gives us the opportunity to set perspectives for the calling of a congress of representatives of all rural-youth organizations in the country some time early this fall with a minimum program to mobilize the people behind the New Deal program. There is also the possibility of bringing it closer to the A. Y. C.

2. *Information on G. G. tour.*—Spent 15 days in concentration districts and met with Fred Fine, Kappy, and Alma Lee. I was mainly concerned with, first, the question of Y. C. L. growth and the question of literature; and, second, the question of participation of the league in the political struggle, in the primaries and the general campaign for the 1938 elections.

I want to draw some conclusions on the question of Y. C. L. growth to bring about a decisive change.

We find, with the exception of western Pennsylvania, that there is growth taking place but at a very infinitesimal pace, that is not compared with the growth of the party and the growing needs of the moment. In Chicago the present membership is over 1,000 and their plan only aims at recruiting 300, and 300 to be recruited by the party. This shows a narrow perspective and is not orientated to a rapid growth of the Y. C. L. The same is true of Milwaukee, Minnesota; and the other districts. In Detroit we have the most rapid growth because it was at such a low point before—they have 350 members now but this is a result of only bringing together the forces which they had before. Cleveland grew rapidly—800 members—but without certain basic changes the rate of increase will decline though the aim is for 1,200 members by the end of the drive and they will reach such a figure most likely. None of the districts have the perspective of doubling the membership. Not a single district has thrown all its forces into it, and the real drive will only start around May 1.

The composition is extremely poor—we are going backward. This is true in regard to industrial youth. Of the 350 members in Detroit, only 36 are auto workers. There is the same tendency in other districts; we are not growing among the basic industrial youth. Another point in regards to composition—we are growing in the Negro communities, but we have not placed the question of Negro youth as a problem before the whole league, but as only a problem confronting the Negro comrades. In Cleveland, although the league has grown among the Negro youth, there is no education in the league as a whole on the Negro question.

The main reason for the slow increase in membership and the fact that we are not getting basic industrial youth is because our league is not playing an important part in the major struggles going on in each one of these communities. It's separated from what is closest to the hearts and minds of the masses in all of these important states. For example, they played no important part in the primary fight in Chicago, and therefore the youth who are ready for communism are going directly into the party, and those in the league who are concerned with these problems also want to go into the party.

We must make a change in regard to the election campaign and the 1938 congressional elections. It is necessary in our education to emphasize not only academic study but we must explain to the league and make it become the place where they can learn lessons from every important political development today.

Because the comrades don't see the league playing a decisive part in the main struggle, they don't understand why they should build the Y. C. L.

The question of literature: In Chicago in February they sold less than 3 cents per member per month. In March they made a rapid improvement and went up to \$100, but this jump was made because 65 members bought Browder's book. In Cleveland they decided to take a chance and ordered 1,000 copies of my pamphlet, and sold them. We are not speaking to large masses of youth, because literature distribution is confined to the Y. C. L. New York is one of the worst districts. We should begin to put out a new type of literature; we don't strike

a special youth chord in our approach today. We should get out special literature which will appeal to the imagination and aspirations of the young people and make them feel that the Y. C. L. expresses all their hopes, aspirations for the future. But first we must tackle the question of greater distribution, and then we can produce the proper kind of literature.

Another question: It is necessary to develop a changed conception of what league membership means. There is a tendency in the districts to discard people who are not considered active members. We must remember what Stachel said in regard to party membership, and we can use the same idea—we should use the Sears Roebuck approach, and nobody is considered lost until he is either physically dead or politically hostile. In the Y. C. L. it means a broader conception of what Y. C. L. membership entails. In Minnesota they examined the people who don't come to meetings and found that for the most part there were personal reasons, but these people considered themselves as Y. C. L. members. It was decided in Minnesota not to drop people so easily and to send them the district magazine and to institute a quarterly dues system whereby these people could remain good-standing members. We should have the approach that a young person who considers himself a Y. C. L.'er we should consider a Y. C. L.'er. Membership is not based on activity; that is the second stage. The active corps is the Communist corps; the others are the more non-Communist corps who are interested in communism.

One last point on recruiting: In the main there is more attention paid to political education since our last board meeting. However, one question, one of the gravest weaknesses of our league today is that we have not, as the leadership, been giving help in solving the problems of the branches. The comrades feel that their big problems are not political questions; it's the organizational and technical problems which they don't know how to get around. I want to introduce a new phrase—leadership technique. We must begin to solve this problem. I discussed the question with leaders of the Y. W. C. A. in Cleveland. In the industrial division of the Cleveland Y. W. C. A. they have only 240 girls, and they have for them 3 full-time paid social workers who graduated a special course on group work and leadership training. Each one of them knows every one of the 240 girls. In this connection I want to make several proposals:

1. We should mimeograph booklets on aids to branches.

- (a) A dozen ways to organize branch affairs and socials.
- (b) The duties of the branch president.
- (c) How to keep branch records.
- (d) How to organize interesting meetings.
- (e) A dozen interesting ways of raising money.
- (f) How to sell literature.
- (g) Summer activities.

2. The administrative department should begin to gather around it a number of branch presidents and work out these instruction books that will be guides to our comrades.

An important development is that of labor sports movement in Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Minnesota, Pittsburgh. In Cleveland they are beginning to build a supporting membership on the basis of 25 cents per year. This will be an organized movement of young trade-unionists and has the support of the C. I. O. leadership. There is the development of dramatic and cultural movements in the trade-unions. In Detroit, the "Contemporary Theatre," a Y. C. L. group, has been accepted by the U. A. W. The same is true of the Lincoln Branch in Cleveland where it was given headquarters and is the theater of the C. I. O. in Cleveland. The question of labor sports should receive more attention from us here and we should draw up a resolution, analyzing experiences and indicate perspectives.

We must discuss the question of unemployment and the league should set up an apparatus to take care of our own members. We should link up such committees with the Workers Alliance and work out a program nationally and in the States and deal with the question of W. P. A. jobs.

The student strike in most places will be quite successful. In Ohio they expect 15,000 high-school students to go out. There is a bad situation in Pittsburgh; the conference called by the Student Peace Service went completely isolationist. The comrades permitted a handful of Yipsels to put the whole thing over.

Pittsburgh is the only district that is not moving at all. We do not have a shortage of forces, we need only one person to lead these forces. It is necessary to have a national representative to work with Frank Cook for 3 to 6 months.

We can rapidly build the Y. C. L. through the I. W. O. of whose 10,000 members one-third are young people.

Sam Banks: N. Y. District recruited 600 since March 1st. The drive has been divorced from the general activities. Weak growth particularly in the industrial branches except in the fur floor boys where they recruited 100 during the course of the strike. The league has concentrated on the question of peace in the last 7 weeks and neglected the economic struggles and the fight for jobs.

Proposals: 1. Issue a series of booklets on leadership technique.—Winston. 2. Resolution on labor sports movement for Labor Day.—Charlie. 3. Discuss next week the question of unemployment. 4. Assign a person to the Pittsburgh district within the week. 5. On basis of further discussion in the board, draw up a political letter to every member of the national council to stimulate discussion in the Y. C. L. in line with preparation for the party convention. 6. Administrative department to draw around it a number of branch presidents to work out aids for branches. 7. Use the review as the medium for discussion of organizational problems of the league.

3. Harlem: I want to check up on the decisions we made about 3 months ago with regard to Harlem:

1. To build the Youth Division of the National Negro Congress. This was accomplished to a very limited extent.

2. To strengthen the independent work of the Y. C. L., build a collective leadership and train and place new forces. This has not been solved; we have some new forces who went to schools but they have not yet been placed.

3. To build a youth center in Harlem. This was not done.

On building the broader movement—we were going to build a youth council in Harlem. The party comrades advised that we would be incorrect in organizing a Greater New York Negro Youth Council first. So we worked for the State Youth Assembly and had about 40 delegates there.

Unless we have an active league in Harlem we will not have a successful Negro congress movement. The leading comrades are taxed with other meetings which take them out of Harlem.

The membership is now about 50 coming to branch meetings, and about 100 including those who do not come down. We have one class in Harlem (the national class) with about 15 people in it. There is a very weak literature sale of about 20 pamphlets a month.

A Harlem youth conference is being called for May 13-14. The conference is being jointly sponsored by the Harlem Church Youth Conference, the Federated Youth Clubs, the United Youth Committee Against Lynching, and the Youth Division of the National Negro Congress. The central question is jobs and then questions of health, peace, etc., will be taken up. We are getting leading resource people to lead the panel discussion. There will be a symposium on peace with prominent speakers. In the panel on citizenship, representatives of various parties will participate to make the young people aware of the need for taking part in political struggles.

Phil Arrindell: We tried to organize the type of activity that would bring the league into the community. Our success was limited because of finances. We are organizing a bugle and drum corps and other activities to dramatize the league. The biggest problem is that of education. There is no feeling of responsibility for these broader movements being built. The executive committee of the branch should be the highest body of the league in Harlem and responsible for the development of all youth work in Harlem. All the people working in other organizations, such as the I. W. O., should be directly responsible to the branch executive committee. The executive committee should be the political as well as organizational body.

Berry: The party is not satisfied with the organizational set-up of the league. There is no machinery in the league to coordinate the work in the various sections of Harlem. The question of jobs is important and we should work out a program with the Workers Alliance on this. We should work on cooperative ventures which will lead these people into the trade-unions. On peace we should propagandize the slogan to defend Ethiopia as an approach to the whole question of collective security. We should point out the falsity of aiding Japan as an ally of the Negro people.

E. B.: We see in Harlem the possibility of the reactionaries organizing the youth in Harlem with no strong youth progressive movement to stop it.

We must have an integration of collective leadership in Harlem.



Winston: The report on Harlem is unsatisfactory and cannot be accepted. It is indicative of the bad situation there due to a lack of collective work. Without a solution of this problem there will be no change in Harlem. The Bureau must demand an immediate change.

G.I. Green: We cannot solve the problems in Harlem until we have a collective leadership. There is a wrong division of labor between the problems of the league branch and responsibility for the broader youth movement. The basis of mass work must be the membership in Harlem and they should be drawn into it. The main criticism of the political work in Harlem is that we have not yet developed a Y. C. L. based upon the real interests and desires of the Negro youth and their conception of an organization. There must be a change in the leadership, a collective leadership, and inner democracy. The county organization must give practical material aid to Harlem.

Proposals: 1. Work in Harlem should include east, lower, and central Harlem. 2. Two branches should be considered. 3. Phil to be considered for full-time work. 4. Commission of Basset, Herndon, Tony, Phil, Barker, Winston, to meet early in the week, discuss organizational questions, personnel, assignment of comrades to work and report to next board meeting on proposals made by that commission. 5. Bureau expresses dissatisfaction with work and demands an immediate change in work and instruct comrades to work out a plan to develop work.

4. Financial report on Spain campaign.

Proposal: That the report be mimeographed and put in hands of all board members.

MR. MATTHEWS. These are minutes of the National Resident Board Meeting, Young Communist League, United States of America, July 9, 1938. The agenda of these meetings include literature and review; Christian conference; berea conference; world-youth conference; and again, this sets forth, with some elaboration, the fact that the Young Communist League views the World Youth Congress as its organization through which it is working.

I offer these minutes for incorporation in the record.

(The minutes referred to are as follows:),

Please destroy after reading.

#### MINUTES OF NATIONAL RESIDENT BOARD MEETING YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, U. S. A., JULY 9, 1933

- Agenda: 1. Literature and Review, J. Starobin.  
2. Christian Conference.  
3. Berea Conference, G. Green.  
4. World Youth Congress, G. Green.  
5. Schools, May Himoff.

1. *Literature & Review*.—Established relations with Workers Library Publishers so that they publish pamphlets for us and handle a good deal of the distribution problems. We have arranged to liquidate our complete debt to them. Established the beginnings of regular and substantial literature orders from the districts. Pittsburgh, Seattle, California, Baltimore, Connecticut, and Wisconsin have no connection with the literature dept.

Published Dave Doran pamphlet, 20,000 for the Y. C. L., and 15,000 for the party. We have already sold 17,000 and will make about \$200, which is being applied to liquidating the old debt to W. L. P. Other plans include a pamphlet by C. R. on the election campaign; on farm youth by B. J.; others in our schedule have not been assigned yet. We have been held up on the plan for publishing booklets because we have not yet gotten the experts to handle them. We have three or four definitely assigned: 1. Y. will write on history and culture of the Negro people; 2. F. F. is preparing one on religion; 3. J. C., a survey of American history; 4. Youth and the people's front based on the 12 weeks' course.

We have to find funds and space to have a secretary and people devoted only to the distribution and publishing of these pamphlets. The arrangements with W. L. P. are only for 6 months. Perspectives should be regular publication with separate offices, a separate staff, and enough money to keep the thing going on its own.

*Review.*—We have published five issues, and there has been constant improvement. It meets the needs of a good proportion of our membership. It is a popular theoretical magazine. There are some comments asking for a more popular magazine which shows there is a need for really popular youth literature.

We have just about broken even financially because of a certain amount of financial manipulation and donations from interested parties. Today with a circulation of 5,000, the cost per copy is such that, unless we raise the circulation, we will run into serious difficulty. If we boost the circulation, we could bring down the cost to about 5 cents a copy and make about \$150 per issue.

The party is taking about 1,000 copies in New York. We should take steps to see that the party distributes the magazine in several thousand copies.

Basically, what we need is a staff.

*August issue.*—This will be an international number devoted to the World Youth Congress. We are assured articles by Bittolman, Gil Green, Carl Ross. It will be a preview of the congress from the point of view of some of the people coming; there will be a series of short articles reviewing the situation in the past year in countries like China, Czechoslovakia, Soviet Union, England, Latin America, and we will get specialists for such articles. There will be a map showing the danger spots, the democratic countries, countries threatened by Fascist aggression.

We should take up the question of the Champion and solve that problem so that it will complement the Review.

Proposals: 1. We should discuss with districts the question of using Life Begins With Freedom for Negro Recruiting. 2. All leading comrades should be responsible for literature and the Review wherever they go. 3. The administrative dept. should discuss the question of having the districts collect a voluntary initiation of 10c, and the additional 5c should be used to give every new member a few basic pieces of literature. 4. We should have a pamphlet to the Christian youth analyzing Christian principles and ideals and interpreting them to present-day conditions. F. F. and T. to work on it. 5. We should have a box in the Review carrying the names of the districts and district organizers on the "black list," who are boycotting the magazine. 6. In districts where we have no results, after calling a special membership meeting of the district with a national council member present, we may have to remove the D. O. to make an example to the whole league.

2. *Christian Youth Council Conference.*—Report by Celeste Strack submitted (enclosed herewith).

*Gil Green.*—We should record the fact that the comrades who were there functioned well and did to the best of their ability attempt to put forward our position and keep the isolationists and pacifists from capturing the conference. We must see, however, that we as a league have completely underestimated the significance of this movement and the meaning of the setting up of the Youth Committee Against War, which made possible unity on the peace question between the Socialists and Pacifists. This unity made possible their ideological domination of this movement. If we understood the significance of this fact and worked accordingly, it was possible to turn the tables on the Socialists. By the time we got there, everything had been set the way the Socialists wanted it set.

Our forces were separated from the majority there. We concentrated too much on the international peace commission. Although we were able to stop the conference from endorsing the "Keep America Out of War Committee," the victory was for the other side. The conference shows a tremendous unclarity on the question of peace: they are confused by phrases. We have to do everything possible to keep from discussing hackneyed phrases. We should formulate questions so that they see the content and not the phrase. The main problem involved in the work ideologically is how to interpret their Christian principles to their own satisfaction and from our point of view. We have to learn on the basis of their approach to work out our proposals so that they flow logically from their international point of view.

There are several tactical questions we have to see before us:

1. To use adult leadership where possible against the Yipsels.
2. Find a way of making a break between the pacifists and Yipsels.

3. We have to work out how to state our position on concerted peace action in terms of Christian principles.

Proposals: 1. Discuss the other proposals made by Celeste. 2. Report of Celeste and the additional remarks to be mimeographed and sent out to all national council members and district secretaries. The districts should react immediately and inform us of every contact that can be worked with in the C. Y. M. 3. We should meet with the forces in the Y. W. to see that it is drawn into the movement itself. 4. Upon Celeste's return from Pittsburgh, she should be placed in charge of our work in connection with the Christian Youth Council. 5. This movement should be popularized and brought before the labor movement. Reports of this conference should appear in the trade-union papers and analytical material in the *Daily Worker*. 6. We should agree with the idea of setting up a Christian committee for peace, but first survey the field and then have a report on how such a committee could be set up. 7. Endorse the report of Celeste Strack.

3. *Berea Conference*.—Made up of 165 registered delegates and a number of visitors, including 30 people from Government agencies in Washington. The conference was good from the point of view that it was more representative of the composition of the youth of the Nation. A shortcoming of the conference was that there were still too many of our people concentrated there.

The most important speech delivered was that of Aubrey Williams giving an analysis and presenting the young people with the problem of solving the situation. The conference was surprising in the sense that there was "leftism" from some other centers. The minister Sunday morning made a fine speech and actually called for a people's front. A large delegation of Y. W. C. A. girls gave a few songs which were also "left."

The conference was divided into two main sessions: 1. Preparations for the Model Youth Community; 2. The World Youth Congress.

The first day and a half was divided into 15 round tables. This was a mistake, to have so many round tables because the most important question was how the youth councils in the localities are functioning and their problems.

The second day there was a heated discussion in one of the four round tables on the political and economic bases for peace. Here we supported the statement of principles which called for concerted peace action, for action against aggressors, for applying the Kellogg-Briand Pact to the situation in Spain and the Far East. This statement did not mention sanctions, the League of Nations, or collective security by name. In this commission the Yipsels concentrated most of their forces. Their main strategy was to create a division between the question of social justice and peace. Their largest vote was 9 in a commission of about 65. Our policy was carried, but the statement of principles was proposed to the conference as recommendations and not binding.

The other commissions were quite smooth. It was a positive conference and helped to bring together the forces from all over the country.

There was a caucus of Christian youth. The Yipsels called the caucus. Only those favoring their point of view were invited, but we got wind of it. They recommended that the Christian youth take a stand opposed to collective action. The move was defeated by a vote of 10-6.

Report accepted.

4. *World Youth Congress*.—All organization outside of the Catholics have endorsed the congress and elected delegates. The weaknesses are among the Catholics and A. F. L. unions.

A political problem has arisen, the attack of the Catholics on the World Youth Congress and the A. Y. C. Every Catholic paper in the country carried front-page attacks against the World Youth Congress and the American Youth Congress. This attack is connected with something else, not only in the name of the Catholics, but an appeal at the same time to conservative youth organizations in the country to come together in a united front against the Youth Congress. They mention the Boy Scouts, the Y. M. C. A., the Girl Scouts, etc. James West is working with the Catholics to set up a committee to fight the A. Y. C.

The main line of the attack is that while there are conservative groups in the A. Y. C. movement, it is dominated by Communists which will not foster international good will and advance the cause of peace, but will advance the forces of dissension throughout the world by advancing socialism. The congress movement is an irreligious movement.

Unless we can answer this attack from without and get forces to answer from within, we stand the danger that some of the groups will withdraw and the Congress movement will be branded as a "left" movement throughout the country. We can use their whole attack as a boomerang. There are a number of obvious distortions of facts. In naming open Communist organizations in the A. Y. C. they name the American Jewish Congress and a number of other groups. They aim to make Jews as a whole Communists, and thus indirectly stir up anti-Semitism. We should call it to their attention. The Jewish organizations should answer the charge and warn them of the dangerous ground they are treading on. We should get the constructive forces in the Catholic movement to back up this question and point out these dangers.

1. We must get the World Youth Congress to issue a popular statement. The arrangements committee should call a special meeting of all members and delegates from all youth organizations to discuss this attack.

2. We should have a meeting inviting Father Mooney and other heads of the Catholic Welfare Council and have them state their opinion directly to the arrangements committee. If they come we must be prepared to answer them and also if they don't come. We should inform all the newspapers that the Catholics have been invited.

3. We should get one prominent leader of a Protestant youth organization to make an appeal to 100-150 other prominent leaders of organizations in the country to sign a joint statement addressed to the Catholic council; it should be a letter of indignation.

4. Every possible Catholic force we can reach must be used to send letters to Catholic leaders and to their press on the whole question.

\* \* \* \* \*

All districts have begun to work on the Book of International Fellowship and on setting up reception committees. The returns today on the B. I. F. are insignificant. The returns outside of New York are far better. A broad committee was set up among the Polish organizations. We have no person who can be assigned to this. Loretta Starr is Polish-American and attended their conference last week and came forward as an accepted leader by these youth. She should be assigned to this Polish youth movement.

Proposals: 1. Loretta to be replaced on the Spain committee and she should work among the Polish youth. To be further discussed by staff. 2. Special meetings to be held in New York to get them moving on the congress. 3. Claudia responsible for publicity in the Negro press. Charlie for publicity in the labor press.

5. *Schools*.—For N. T. S.: Budget of \$2360, half to come from the party. Each candidate for the school to be gone over individually by the board. Candidates must fill out questionnaire before being considered, to be accompanied by a characterization of the district secretary. Letters have gone out to all districts. It is necessary to give preparatory study to the students before they come to the school, the basis for this should be Browder's report to the 10th party convention. May Himoff to tour the districts raising the question of the school.

The party school commission offered us the proposition to have only 4 or 5 people at the party N. T. S. and that they give us the money for the other people who would be able to attend to be used to extend our school for an additional month.

Proposals: 1. Not to accept this proposal for decreasing our quota at the N. T. S. 2. Approach the party school commission for a party person as director of our school. 3. Franklin to work with Mindol on the curriculum. 4. School commission to be set up of Francis Franklin, Loretta Starr, May Himoff, and Helen V.

Question of school for girls discussed. The girl members of the national council in New York should be responsible for this. Jessie Taft in charge of arrangements. It should be for 3 or 4 weeks out of the city. Quota of \$500 to be raised. The party school commission is giving \$150. The school should be limited to students from the East.

Five people from the school commission of the party have gone out into the districts of the league to teach classes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. These are minutes of the national resident board meeting, Young Communist League, U. S. A., June 25, 1938. You identify these, Mr. Goff, do you?

Mr. Goff. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Here again the International Workers Order is discussed in the following words:

The sons and daughters of every I. W. O. member of the party should become a member of the Y. C. L. YCLers should have educational groups in the I. W. O. with their main activity through the I. W. O.

I offer these minutes for incorporation in the record.  
(The minutes referred to are as follows:)

Please destroy after reading

MINUTES OF NATIONAL RESIDENT BOARD MEETING, YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE,  
U. S. A., JUNE 25, 1938

- Agenda: 1. Berea Conference, C. Ross.  
2. N. A. A. C. P., Convention.  
3. Dave Doran Drive, H. Winston.  
4. World Youth Congress, H. Vrabol.  
5. Literature, F. Franklin.

1. *Berea Conference*.—Representation will not be bad; most of the States will have the number they were asked to bring. There are 10 or 11 international unions, of which two are railway unions, possibly one A. F. L., and the remainder C. I. O. Prominent Christian youth leaders will be present, coming from the Christian Youth Council in Columbus. There will be representatives from the Baptist youth movement, the Methodist, and the Christian Youth Council of North America. There will be some observers from a number of important farm organizations, including the Future Farmers and at least regional or local representatives of the 4-H and Future Farmers. The Catholics will be represented in some of the local and State delegations, but not very extensively. The Youth Congress received a letter from Father Mooney saying that he will be in Cleveland and will most likely attend the conference. The total representation will be about 250-300.

Preparations are satisfactory from a political point of view; there will be 10 or 11 panels and a special discussion on the World Youth Congress peace program. What we must be careful of and work for considerably is the concretization of the Congress program even further. Discussion in the round tables will be based on the findings of the Milwaukee congress, but we must pay serious attention to ways and means of concretizing those decisions.

A new question to be discussed will be the China-aid campaign. It was taken up by the resident board, and there was a heated discussion on the question of the boycott. The recommendation to the Berea conference will be that material aid for China be favorably discussed and a campaign organized for such aid, and the campaign not to require endorsement of political issues.

Leadership of the Youth Congress. The leadership has been unsatisfactory for some time because of demoralization, not working efficiently, and has not been able to put the congress on a good financial footing.

\* \* \* \* \*

We should draw lessons from the personnel situation. There must be a stricter check-up and closer attention and a most critical approach toward the work to avoid such a situation again.

Recommendations accepted.

2. *N. A. A. C. P.*—Convention on July 4th. To be discussed with Negro commission of the party as to issues and who should attend.

3. *Dave Doran Drive*.—The drive is one of the most successful ever conducted in the history of the league and is bringing results.

There is a detailed plan of work from Cleveland. Party responsible for 100 new people in Cleveland, 20 from Columbus, 20 from Akron, 20 from Toledo, 20 from Cincinnati, 20 from southern Ohio, making a total of 200. There is a joint party and Y. C. L. committee on a city scale. Their objective is to have 1,300 members by the end of the drive.

California is striving for a membership of 2,000 by January 1st. They are having a State-wide conference of functionaries this week end. We should send them a telegram expressing confidence in the membership to carry through their perspectives and criticizing them for laxness, not recruiting certain people. New York County has issued a challenge to them.

Indiana: A memorial meeting is being organized. They plan to recruit 30 members by the league and 30 by the party.

Chicago: Striving for a membership of 2,500 by Jan. 1st. Having a lawn party for all those who have recruited 5 or more. We should send them a telegram. Expect a membership of 1,800 by August 1st.

Boston: There is a certain amount of pessimism there, and, although Boston has done an excellent job in the past, they claim they can't do so well because  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the membership is students, and they have to work on keeping the recruits from the last drive. We should encourage them to take up growth of the league among industrial youth. Working for a membership of 1,000 by Jan 1st, which they have accepted.

Seattle: 500 members by Jan. 1st to be recruited—150 by August 1st 12 new branches to be organized; perspective of 1,000 when New Year rolls around.

New York: Party is concentrating on World Youth Congress and Dave Doran drive. Quota of 50,000 signatures for New York and the building up of the Randall's Island meeting. Aim 15,000 members by Thanksgiving.

Minnesota: Plan to distribute 500 D. D. pamphlets; held a series of memorial meetings; recruit 50 new members.

Iowa: is going to build a branch.

I. W. O.: The sons and daughters of every I. W. O. member of the party should become a member of the Y. C. L. Emphasis in Pittsburgh and Ohio. L. C. L.'ers should have educational groups in the I. W. O. with their main activity through the I. W. O.

We are to issue a Dave Doran banner to the district most outstanding in the drive. Districts which do not have any branches named for Dave Doran should use that as an award to the best branch in the drive.

A weakness of the drive is that still only a few comrades are actually involved in the recruiting. How to get the maximum participation is the question we have to solve.

In connection with Negro recruiting, we should work out quotas for districts with Negro territories to take "Life Begins With Freedom."

The August issue of the Review should publish the names of the best recruiters.

4. *World Youth Congress*.—There has been an excellent response from the Polish organizations for building a reception committee for the Polish delegation. One of the leading Polish newspapers was approached which sponsors a federation of young people's groups, and the federation is taking up the question of taking responsibility for the World Youth Congress. They are calling a broad conference with representatives of all Polish organizations in New York and vicinity. They have representatives of all the large Polish organizations in New York and ————. We have the practical question of not having any forces in the Polish field. Ask that Loretta Starr be released for this work.

Proposals: 1. Not to release Loretta Starr for this. 2. Helen Vrabol and Gil to take up the question with the Polish comrades.

5. *Literature*.—On the booklet project, the following were assigned: 1. Joe Clark on American history; 2. Max Yergens on history of the Negro people; 3. Francis Franklin on religion. On pamphlets: 1. Dave Doran pamphlet to be out Thursday; 2. a pamphlet on farm youth by Bill James to be out July 25th; 3. pamphlet on the elections by Carl Ross to be ready August 1st; 4. Miss America (girls) by Claudia Jones.

Chicago, Detroit, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York have established literature funds and have increased orders for literature.

Joe Starobin to tour the districts during the summer to stabilize the apparatus in the districts.

Proposals: 1. Revise the outline and issue the 12 weeks course on Youth and the People's Front as a booklet. 2. Trachtenberg to be asked to call conference or see individuals about assigning other booklets. 3. Staff to discuss the question of more people to be working on Review and literature.

The CHAIRMAN. This magazine has been received in evidence as an exhibit; as part of the evidence before this committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Goff, will you please identify this document as having been received by you [handing document to witness].

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From whom did you receive it?

Mr. GOFF. From the national committee of the Young Communist League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is under date of December 14, 1937. This document contains instructions for members of the Young Communist League to subscribe for certain religious papers in order to familiarize themselves with the religious movements among young people in this country, is that correct?

Mr. GOFF. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

In the work of the Y. C. L., we have an increasing need for a more careful study of youth problems and conditions.

Then Young Communist League district organizers were urged to subscribe for the Epworth Herald, organ of the Methodist youths; and also the Woman's Press, organ of the Y. W. C. A.

I offer this document for the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

DECEMBER 14, 1937.

DEAR COMRADE: In the work of the Y. C. L., we have an increasing need for a more careful study of youth problems and conditions. In order that all district organizers and the league as a whole can provide leadership to the broad youth movement that is developing, they should become specialists on youth problems. A great deal of material on youth is available. From now on we will send out from time to time information as to where such material may be obtained. We are listing here a number of sources of youth research material and a number of publications with which every district organizer should be familiar.

1. For information on the National Youth Administration and Student Aid, periodic circulars are issued. Among those that are already available is one on the Student-Aid Program. Write to: National Youth Administration, 1734 New York Avenue, Washington, D. C.

2. For material on all aspects of child labor, write to the National Child Labor Committee, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

3. For information on apprentice training write to the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training, care of Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. They have issued at least three bulletins to date on apprenticeship.

4. For information on rural youth problems, write to Dr. Bruce L. Melvin, principal research supervisor, Rural Research Unit, W. P. A., Washington, D. C. They have issued a bulletin on rural nonfarm youth and are preparing a number of others.

5. For general information and material on the youth question the best source of information is the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. The American Youth Commission has prepared a book called How Fare American Youth, which sells for \$1.50 and is a compilation of information based on about 100-youth surveys. Another book is in preparation. They have also issued a complete directory of all youth-serving agencies, Youth-Serving Organizations: National non-Governmental Associations, price \$1.00. There is also available a complete catalog of their youth material called Surveys of Youth, 50¢.

6. The American Academy of Political and Social Science at 3457 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., has prepared a lengthy study of youth problems: Prospect for Youth, \$2.

7. The Y. W. C. A. has just prepared a two-year survey of the work of the Industrial Council of the "Y" entitled "Industrial Studies." This can be obtained from the Y. W. C. A. National Council, 600 Lexington Avenue, N. Y. C.

8. The report of the last meeting of the National Council of Methodist Youth has been issued in mimeographed form. Every comrade should have it. It can be obtained by writing to the National Council of Methodist Youth, 740 Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.

9. We would recommend that every district organizer subscribe to at least the following publications regularly: Epworth Herald organ of the Methodist

Youth, subscription \$1.25 a year, 740 Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.; Woman's Press organ of Y. W. C. A., subscription \$1.25 a year, 600 Lexington Ave., N. Y. C.; Rural America published by American Country Life Assoc. on farm problems, subscription \$2.00 a year; 105 East 22d Street, N. Y. C.

The American Youth Commission has just issued One Hundred References on Current Youth Problems which can be obtained free of charge.

The CHAIRMAN. All of this testimony about the way in which the Communists took advantage of progressive people, progressive-thinking people, ought not to be taken as any reflection upon those people; I mean, the way in which you work would naturally deceive anybody.

Mr. GOFF. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. In all frankness, the use of names here, it should certainly be pointed out, is no proof that these people are themselves Communists or sympathetic with communism.

Mr. GOFF. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason this testimony is going into the record necessarily is not to smear these people; their names will not be used in a way that will hurt them. It is put in because it is essential in order to show the workings of the Communist Party.

Mr. GOFF. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. If we could use blank names, so far as the Chair is concerned, he would be perfectly willing to do that. But here is the record of the Communist Party as revealed from their minutes; the Young Communist League and the Communist Party. I am trying to make it clear, so there will not be any misunderstanding, that this committee does not think that evidence such as we have heard, of the manner in which the Young Communist League take advantage of people who are progressive-minded, does not mean that those people are themselves Communists or sympathetic with communism. Certainly that would not be competent evidence to prove that fact.

Mr. MASON. It does mean that they have been used and utilized by the Communist League for the purpose of advancing communism.

The CHAIRMAN. But not only in the United States—throughout the world. In France the Communists allied themselves with the democratic forces, and we know what the situation was. The popular front became a very strong organization. And in a great many other countries they took advantage of it. The only point I was trying to bring out is that these people, now that they know the facts, ought to cease their connections entirely with these organizations.

Mr. MASON. But, Mr. Chairman, after we brought out the facts, brought absolute proof to show that the League for Peace and Democracy was a Communist united-front organization, and named the officials of the Government, a year ago or more, who were members and active in the organization, they are still members and active in it, and are still carrying on; that in spite of the fact that this committee has brought out that absolutely incontrovertible proof.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, I would just like to add one word to what you have just said. It seems to me that in addition to the point of view that the chairman just expressed on individuals, it is also important to remember that just because the Communist Party tries to use the old-age-pension movement, for example, or the movement for civil liberties, or the movement to try to solve the problem of American youth, or some other movement like that as a vehicle, it does not mean that the people who are sincerely and earnestly



trying to solve the country's problems must necessarily work less hard in those movements, but, on the contrary, they have got to work a whole lot harder and more effectively in those directions, in order that it will be that much more difficult for movements like the Communist movement to bore from within, and try to take the credit for what happens.

The CHAIRMAN. When you get down to it, does it not really mean this, that these organizations that are not communistic, ought to do what the American Labor Party in New York has done, take a definite stand, and say, "We have no sympathy for communism and you have got to get out of our organization," and get them out. That is the best way in which to do it.

Also, does it not demonstrate another factor? What has happened to these organizations is that the non-Communist members join because they are joiners, but they do not work after they join, and the Communists dominate the organization.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is exactly what happens, and it is the reason why the Communist members have been able to get away with as much as they have.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is the American Student Congress with 52 national directors. The Communists only have 22 members on the national executive committee, but the Communists completely control it simply because the balance of the members, 30 who are not Communists, do not attend the meetings, and turn them over to the Communists.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I think the testimony that has been presented before this committee over the past 2 years clearly speaks for itself. I think as a result of this testimony many organizations have taken stands against the infiltration of communism into their organizations. I certainly think every political party, particularly the major political parties, should openly come out and take a stand just the same as the Labor Party has in New York, or has attempted to. I think it is a shame that any major political party should be allowed to be guided by communism in this country, the way some of them have in the past few years.

Mr. VOORHIS. Of course, Mr. Chairman, there are only two major political parties.

Mr. THOMAS. One major political party is divided, and if you want to know whom I mean, I am talking about the New Deal.

Mr. VOORHIS. I do not think either the New Deal or the Democratic Party has been guided by communism.

Mr. THOMAS. It has been pretty plain here; the testimony has been astounding.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to say this is my own personal view, and I have stated it publicly. I think any organization that is sincerely working for the effectiveness of American democracy has got to take a stand against the united front with any kind of an organization which stands for totalitarian government either now or after a while.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. MASON. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think that is the acid test.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is a good statement. Let us proceed, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We have here the minutes of the national resident board meeting, Young Communist League, United States of America, April 9, 1938, which were received by you; is that right?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; they were.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Without going into the details of these minutes, they are offered for the record.

(The minutes referred to are as follows:)

Jules Kroner  
274 Marcy Ave.  
B'klyn, N. Y.

Postmark: New York, N. Y., May 13, 11 p. m., 1938.

KENNETH GOFF,  
508 Ann St.,  
Delavan,  
Wis.

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MINUTES OF NATIONAL RESIDENT BOARD MEETING, YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE,  
U. S. A., APRIL 9, 1938

- Agenda: 1. Southern Negro Youth Congress, E. Braddock.  
2. Recruiting Drive, Carl Ross.  
3. Spain, H. Winston.  
4. Review, C. Ross.

1. *Southern Negro Youth Congress*.—Our major objectives were secured. First, we broadened the S. N. Y. C. movement to develop into a real people's movement in the South. There were no objections to adult participation in the Congress. They made contributions and the idea of a national advisory council of adults was accepted. The Congress was broadened from the point of view of labor participation. There was representation from the miners' union, steel, and teachers' union. The C. I. O. leadership in Birmingham invited the S. N. Y. C. to Birmingham for the next conference. Every delegate came under pressure and with doubts, but the delegates returned solidified and unified, returning home ready to fight for the conference.

The second objective achieved was to teach the young people in the South how to meet their problems. It was an organizational conference and now the people are in a better position to know what to do.

Third, the congress movement showed an advanced political note on almost every point: on labor, on adult participation, the unity between Negro and white masses, on peace. Comrade E. played a major role in pointing out the need for unity between Negro and white in the South.

The total number of delegates was smaller than last year, but the total representation was larger. There were 399 delegates representing 383,720 people, all southern people. Last year there were 534 delegates representing 250,000 people, but that was a total from the North and South. This year the conference was more southern. There were certain weaknesses in the delegation. 201 were from Tennessee. An advance over last year was 13 delegates from Oklahoma; there was a drop from North Carolina with 12 delegates. There were only about 5 from the North and all the organization and talking was done by southern people. There was a large representation from every sort of denomination. The students played a good part but they were not dominant.

A mass movement was organized in Chattanooga in preparation for the conference. The "red scare" was crushed. A united front was established with the American Legion, all churches, all students, the mayor of the city, the Chamber of Commerce, the Chattanooga Times. The commander of the American Legion lost his job because he attacked the conference. We had three free radio broadcasts and a long editorial in the Chattanooga Times. The preconference discussion was very well organized with seven committees, each dealing with a different problem which corresponded to the panels.

Lessons to be learned from the conference:

1. Throughout the activity with the S. N. Y. C. movement there was considerable underestimation of the level of development of the masses in the South, their readiness to move, their readiness to fight and struggle.

2. The conference demonstrated the need for a similar movement among the whites in the South. The support of the Whites made possible the success of the conference.

3. We have a peoples' movement in the South that can become dominant in building a peoples' front among the Negro people. The masses are against the poll tax. Its' not just a youth movement, its' really a peoples' movement and next year it can become broader and more decisive in influencing and shaping opinion of the masses of the South.

Next year we are supposed to go to Birmingham with the provision that we have the necessary requirements for the conference there. If we send a representative into the field to build the movement in Birmingham and work for a year, we should have the perspective to go to Birmingham and thus actually penetrate the South.

The conference ran almost too smoothly. We had the city auditorium. It ran that way because the leadership has come forward and really developed. Every other young person, the chairman of the councils are coming forward in the same way. The leadership today is an indigenous southern leadership and they are coming forward as the spokesmen for the S. N. Y. C. movement.

Every State in the South was represented. There were 25-30 white delegates but they didn't play a decisive role as last year. The problem of the sharecroppers did not come to the fore. The panel on job security was a very poor one. The two new panels we had on rural youth and on culture were very good.

Winston: We have to give credit to the people who have done a splendid job, who have become rooted in the mass movement and become accepted as mass leaders in the movement. From the organizational report we see that we had a much larger delegation this year from the deep South. The possibility for a functioning congress in the deep South is now an immediate possibility. After the conference we decided to concentrate in Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and North Carolina to build a local movement.

There is one main lesson that we must draw and that is to develop such a movement of unity on the part of the Negroes and it will be necessary to win over and to neutralize the progressive and liberal whites and many sections of conservatives in the South. We do not have the same development among the white youth in the South as we have among the Negro youth and if we are going to build up a movement of unity of action between Negro and white, then we have to consider the possibility of building a movement like the A. Y. C. in the South.

There is a very encouraging sign in the South and especially in Birmingham where the State council of the C. I. O. went on record against the poll tax. The question of voting is not limited to Negroes and there is a need for developing unity among all Alabama citizens for the right to participate in the voting. In Kentucky a Negro was elected to the legislature for the first time since reconstruction. In Tennessee, etc., there is a small but increased Negro participation in voting. Therefore, the question of citizenship which was the keynote of the conference ran through all discussions, the right to vote, abolition of the poll tax, and the question of participation in the Democratic primaries.

We have real collective leadership among our comrades. There were clear cut decisions from the panels around which can be developed local movements and action in the localities. The representation, however, could have been greater. In Birmingham, 10 days before the conference, not one delegate was elected. Our comrades there were afraid to approach the intellectuals. In Atlanta there were threats from the K. K. K. and threats of loss of jobs and despite that there were 17 delegates. We cannot underestimate the participation of the mayor and secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in the conference. Their participation helped to win over many wavering elements.

We must see a big weakness was that there was practically no participation from the black belt. We must make the Congress known to the masses of people in the South. We should issue thousands copies of the proclamation. We should concentrate on four major places to build local federations and have in mind the perspective of building state movements. The Congress is rooted in Chattanooga and Richmond. We must also make more inroads further South, greater inroads in the Y. W. C. A., the unions, the Democratic groups, is decisive for the further extension of the whole movement.

There is a great need for the training of people in the South. We should send someone down there for a number of months to conduct classes, study groups, etc., to train and educate the youth commissions of the party on how to work and develop a mass movement.

Franklin: The composition was much better this year, more of a cross-section of Negro youth. The weakness still is that it comes mainly from the border States, the mountain regions and cities.

About Chattanooga, we should recognize the difference between the liberalism of Richmond and Chattanooga. Chattanooga has had democratic traditions which Richmond does not have. We should not speak of Birmingham as the heart of the South. It is a new city, industrial, and the back door to the Black Belt.

The Chattanooga Times is the most progressive paper in the U. S., including all the newspapers of the North. It carried three columns on the conference every day and pictures of the leading members of the conference.

It is important to note the following editorial from the Richmond News Leader following Roosevelt's Gainesville, Ga., speech:

"Southern industrialists who pay low wages cannot afford to dismiss Mr. Roosevelt's Gainesville speech simply as an expression of the type of 'liberalism' that consists of being liberal with other people's money. Whether one likes either the speech or the speaker, one has to admit that as respects the unskilled and semiskilled trades the President told the sober truth. In the lower brackets, wages are traditionally, shamefully, and needlessly low.

"Why is it so? Is it because the southern worker is not so productive as the northerner? To a limited extent only, and then in comparatively few trades. Shall we blame the difference on lack of skill, as compared with other regions? Here again it is unsafe to generalize.

"Behind these and other factors, substantial and trivial, what is there? We think it is the tradition and the effect of the tradition that the Negro can live easily on starvation wages. That tradition—more properly a delusion—is as old as the South. Not once in a hundred times will an employer allow Negroes as good wages as he will pay whites for the same work. Ask him why, and he will say the Negroes can 'get on' with little. It never seems to occur to him that when he pays a worker less than a subsistence wage he piles up the crime bill of the South and invites negligence and small theft which, in the aggregate, represent almost the difference between decent and indecent wages. Because the wage of the Negro is so low, that of the white man in competition with the Negro is held down. The general economic effect is to keep the South poor.

"Do not mistake it. In employment, as in education, the entire South is being retarded by its attitude toward the Negro. Raise Negro wages; improve rural Negro schools, and you change the darkest scene in the southern picture."

That with Roosevelt's speech shows the possibility of opening things up in the South.

The conference really discussed basic realistic policies. There were concrete legislative proposals to a large extent. A Negro people's program as part of the democratic front in the South was actually worked out. There is need for educational activity within the S. N. Y. C. to familiarize the youth with the meaning of the bills endorsed. The proceedings should be accompanied by a handbook which explains the legislative measures.

The weakness of the panel discussions was the lack of sufficient preparation for them. And we ourselves in the board did not sufficiently discuss the proposals we wanted to come out of the panels. The delegation itself would have been better if we had people going into leading sections, and next year we should see to it that leading comrades spend time in the leading cities and areas, and there should be visits from the committees in the cities to the rural regions.

Proposals: 1. 100,000 copies of the proclamation to be distributed. 2. Concentrate work of the Congress in Ala., Ga., Tenn., No. Car., to build it from below. 3. Improve the work among the white youth; *a.* A. Y. C. to send a representative into the South; *b.* S. N. Y. C. to be brought forward in the Y. W. C. A. Convention. 4. Train party cadres in the South for youth work. Winston to work this out with Mindel. 5. Make every effort to solve the problem of finances. 6. Meeting to be arranged for a report in Harlem. Get articles and editorials in the Harlem papers. 7. Issue an educational outline with the proceedings to explain the proposals. The S. N. Y. C. should issue a regular bulletin. Braddock and Franklin to work out educational plans. 8. Endorse report of Braddock and proposal to establish adult advisory council. 9. Harvey to go to

Chicago for a while. National Council responsible for maintaining him there.

\* \* \* \* \*

2. *Recruiting drive*.—Commission set up for drive is not functioning. Jessie Taft has not come to any meetings. Leon Strauss to be asked to function on this committee. Gil going to Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh to mobilize them for the drive. Loretta Starr to do likewise on way to Y. W. C. A. convention in New Jersey, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Ohio, and other cities after the convention. Celeste will push the drive among the students.

The drive is not actually a drive yet. Goals set by districts: New Jersey—increasing membership to 500, which means 100 new members. Maryland—doubling membership to 400 (to recruit 200). Washington—2,000 members in progressive youth movement around Wash. Commonwealth Federation. 250 league members (to recruit 100-150). Milwaukee—200 members now, brought in 43 during month before convention. Connecticut—doubling membership to 400 (to recruit about 200). Boston—369 members April 1st—goal of 500—challenged Detroit. Chicago—recruited 76 in January, 53 February. 33 first 2 weeks in March, present membership is 900—goal 1,500. California—drive being conducted by branches, not by State committee. Minnesota—drive being organized—recruited only 22 members since February—in competition with Wisconsin. Philadelphia—quota of 250.

No reports from Detroit (challenged by Boston) and Pittsburgh (because Frank Cook is ill).

New York district—At end of first month, total recruited about 350 less than last year when there was no drive. District leadership has not undertaken to mobilize the membership for a real drive yet. Fur floor boys branch recruited 60 and set quota of 100 more during next few weeks. Special functionaries meeting to be held Friday on Spain and recruiting drive will be in center of discussion. New York quota is 3,000.

Conclusions: 1. The drive is getting under way too slowly. 2. The quotas established by the districts are very low. The drive will not accomplish our objective even though all the quotas are fulfilled. 3. During the past month there have been intensive activities in every district but they were not followed up by recruiting. The center must also pick up the drive. We should have better publicity in the *Daily Worker*, and there should be more material to the districts. 4. Prizes for the drive should be popularized. More competition should be stimulated and the districts and branches should also give prizes. 5. The anniversary should be utilized as a highlight in the drive.

The pamphlet to be written and published as soon as possible.

### 3. *Spain*.—

Proposals: 1. There should be independent actions of the Y. C. L. to stimulate the movement to lift the embargo on Spain. 2. Mobilize the sentiment in the youth organizations through the N. A. C. to write, telegraph, and send resolutions to the State Department to lift the embargo. 3. The student strike should raise the question; it should also be raised on May Day and May 30th. 4. There should be increased propaganda on Spain and the international situation from the national office, to check and wipe out the feeling of pessimism. 5. Neighborhood actions on April 27th in conjunction with the student strike. 6. Series of articles in *Review* to bring before League membership the Y. C. L. position on the international situation. 7. Letter to districts to point out practical steps to be taken. 8. At next meeting check up on previous decisions. Winston to bring in an accounting of the financial drive conducted. 9. Check up on letter-writing campaign. 10. Approval of having Celeste Strack debate Norman Thomas at the University of Minnesota if he accepts the challenge.

Peace commission: Met twice. Decisions made: wherever possible the minimum program of student strike should be for lifting the embargo. Neighborhood actions on day of strike. We should become more articulate since the Oxford Pledge Committee has changed its name to the Youth Committee Against War and is working with the perspective of splitting the A. S. U. on or near April 27th. N. A. C. youth division set aside April 27th as youth day of sacrifice for Spain. 100,000 copies of bulletin sent out, meal tickets and envelopes for

the collection of funds. The Youth Committee to Aid Spain is printing stickers with slogan to lift the embargo on Spain. Comrade Marion deserves credit for doing a good job on the Youth Committee to Aid Spain. We have to penetrate the neighborhoods and committees and peace councils to be established around issue of Spain.

May 30th: Raised in National Board of Youth Congress. Unanimously adopted resolution setting aside May 30th as National Youth Day for Peace. Reaffirmed fact that all nations should abide by Kellogg Pact. Support people of Spain and China in their efforts against aggression.

In New York there is a functionaries' meeting with Comrade Hathaway speaking. This will give us the opportunity to mobilize the League to carry the campaign into other organizations.

Leaflet being issued—100,000 copies with special addition for the student strike

4. *Review*.—Two articles contained errors. One on Trotskyism, editorial written by Joe Starobin. Incorrect formulation dealing with the struggle against Trotskyism in the Soviet Union. This was pointed out by Comrade Thompson. It distorts the conception of the struggle against Trotskyism conducted by Lenin and Stalin.

The second is the article by Jim West on the Seattle election campaign. It emphasizes the fact that the whole campaign of the progressive movement was directed to defeat Dore. By attacking Dore the progressive forces neglected to point out that Langley was the most reactionary candidate and he was elected because the campaign was not directed against reaction as a whole. We should point out to the Seattle district and in a letter to all districts the problem of labor unity behind a single progressive candidate.

In this connection we should adopt a definite policy with regard to the new A. F. L. committees in line with the policy of the party. We should ask the comrades from Philadelphia to work out concrete steps where the Y. C. L. forces can become effective in support of the candidacy of Kennedy in Pennsylvania.

Proposals: 1. Letter to be sent by buro to Seattle district pointing out weaknesses of article on elections and sending copies to other D. O.'s. 2. Winston to work out with party and league buro in Philadelphia tactics to carry through our policy there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Please identify this memorandum [handing document to witness].

Mr. GOFF. This is a memorandum sent out by Jim West, from the Young Communist League, national committee, State convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of Washington, July 14, 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Among other things in this memorandum it says—

Certainly this convention (that is, the convention of the Young Communist League) makes it clear that we have got to concern ourselves a great deal more with the Young Democrats than ever before. The youth section of the Washington Commonwealth Federation must wholeheartedly take up the role of organizing the progressive forces in the Young Democrats to make the organization effective.

I offer this document for insertion in the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

THE STATE CONVENTION OF THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF WASHINGTON, JULY 14, 1938

(By Jim West)

The Young Democratic organization in Washington was set up by the reactionary Martin group in the Democratic Party and has remained pretty much under their influence as a patronage set-up right up to this State convention from 1932 to 1938.

The great bulk of the active membership is composed of fairly young (late twenties and early thirties) officeholders and their stenographers. A membership of 7,500 is claimed for the State—this means that 7,500 people have paid \$1 for their cards in the last year. About three-fourths of the counties in the

State have clubs or at least officers. In King County (Seattle) out of a membership of 700 on the books, 30 usually attend meetings and not more than 125 actually participated in the work for the rally to which they were hosts.

Since 1936 certain factors have worked to liberalize to a slight extent the organization. The 1937 State president, Gerald Shucklin, is dependent on Federal patronage for his job as asst. U. S. district attorney and several others began, through this means, to loosen their ties with the Martin machine. In addition, the progressive forces, especially the Washington Commonwealth Federation, began to seriously threaten the reactionary domination of the Democratic Party, making many of the leading office-seekers keep a weather eye to windward and prepare to be progressives.

About six weeks before the convention, the State organizer of the youth section of the Washington Commonwealth Federation joined the King County Club and began to discuss questions with the King County and State chairman. They evinced, at this time, a willingness to at least discuss amicably with the progressives and to listen to proposals on program. A number of resolutions on a proposal to back the President's Advisory Committee on Education report, on collective security, on cooperation with other youth groups, on an organizing drive, etc., were submitted to the resolutions committee, two weeks before the convention.

The State convention was played down as much as possible by the rally committee. It was to be held on the first day of the rally when the out-of-State delegates were sightseeing, and all the officials were very concerned lest any sort of fight should develop at this convention to spoil the tone of the rally. To this end, the dominant group in the rally preparations (middle-of-the-roads, not Progressives, but not too closely tied to the Martin machine) prepared to steamroller any proposals from the floor of the convention, whether they were Progressive (New Deal) or reactionary in order to keep things running smoothly.

The resolutions' and platform committee turned out to be dominated by Martin reactionaries and containing only one Progressive. To silence him, the committee appointed a subcommittee (all reactionary) to do the actual work. However, quite a bit of pressure for some sort of a youth platform (never before put forward) was put on by this one Progressive—a representative from the student club at the University of Washington. Also, the day before the Young Democratic Convention, the Progressive and anti-Martin forces had won a sweeping victory at the State convention of the Democratic Party in Tacoma.

About three-fourths of the counties were represented at the convention. Campus clubs were given 2 votes apiece, all counties save King 5 votes each, and King County, 6 votes. It was very undemocratic, King County with 6 votes and a large membership being able to be outvoted by one politician who held proxies for 2 cow counties in the middle of the State which actually had only paper organizations.

Congressman Warren G. Magnuson keynoted. He was one of the founders of the organization. While his speech was straightforward New Deal, in a large part he spoke "as just between all of us old pals who are looking for political jobs," and expressed a sort of amazement at finding himself so much of a Progressive when he really hadn't started out to become one. However, his advice in this regard was that the President and his program was really the thing to tie to.

The resolutions committee brought in a program which endorsed N. Y. A. and more vocational training but which also contained a lump endorsement of the National New Deal and the "New Deal" (actually anti-) of Governor Martin. On peace, the resolution called for "continuation of traditional American neutrality and pursuance of an active policy of peace." On this, the organizer of the Commonwealth Federation Youth Section, moved from the floor that it be amended to support of the Chicago speech policy of quarantining the aggressor. No vote was allowed to be taken, the steamroller moving to table and thus disposing of it; then there was a large minority vote against tabling and there were many private expressions of sympathy with the amendment afterward. The resolution also called for the observance of the anniversary of an important Progressive Governor in the State's history, John Rankin Rogers, on September 4th. Some sectional-interest resolutions on apples from Yakima, etc., were also passed in from the committee. The chairman (ex-Y. P. S. L., opportunist, by the name of Kenneth Cyplinger) refused

to allow resolutions from the floor and was only induced to allow some under "unfinished business" by threats of starting a fight from the floor. He refused to allow consideration of an endorsement of the State party's platform (Progressive), but finally permitted reading of *an endorsement of the President's Advisory Committee on Education program, which passed, and one calling for an organizational drive to organize the youth for democracy in the Young Democrats, which also passed.*

On the election of officers, the two candidates who were most openly tied to the Martin machine, were either forced to withdraw or defeated soundly by the dominant "middle-of-the-roads" caucus. The information on them is still woefully inadequate, most of the elected officers appear to be people who will work with the Commonwealth Federation forces. The national committeeman has a good reputation as a Progressive. The State president is supposed to be an effective organizer, and said before his election that "I don't want to taken sides at all in this Commonwealth Federation fight but I'll work with anyone who wants to build the Young Democrats into a big organization on a New Deal youth program basis." A pledge was secured from the new officers on the executive board that a consistent progressive who was State organizer in 1936 would be reappointed. This has not yet been carried out, however.

This convention really marked the turn of the Y. D.'s to becoming a youth organization. There were many more young delegates present than in previous years, many of them not seeking office or patronage, and the convention did concern itself with youth issues and adopt a youth platform. Its bad stand on the state machine illustrates the continuing position of the reactionaries within the organization and is a reflection of the lack of attention which the progressives have given it (every machine man, even the Governor, took time off to come down and back-slap every delegate while none of the adult progressives to speak of dropped around). The stand on the peace question is another example of reactionary strength but even more is a sign of confusion. We may be able to use the last part—"the active peace policy"—to explain what this means in towns of collective security and thus win the membership to a correct policy without butting into the platform head-on.

Certainly this convention makes it clear that we have got to concern ourselves a great deal more with the Young Democrats than ever before. The youth section of the Washington Commonwealth Federation must wholeheartedly take up the role of organizing the progressive forces in the Young Democrats to make the organization effective. Many progressives should become involved in the organizing drive and become known as good builders of the clubs. With this and with proper education of the membership, the Young Democrats of Washington can, in the near future become an effective instrument for winning the youth to the Democratic front.

The convention platform was so brief it covered only a single typewritten sheet, embracing nine points, in which they—

1. Reaffirmed their faith in the principles of the party and commended the leadership of President Roosevelt in serving the great masses of the people, protecting the right of labor to bargain collectively, and guaranteeing economic security for all.

2. Endorsed the administration for vigorously encouraging neutrality and an active policy of peace.

3. Favored retaining the present sources of revenue for institutions of higher learning and urged establishment of more trade schools.

4. Endorsed the administration's development of the Grand Coulee and Bonneville power projects.

5. Commended the National Youth Administration.

6. Endorsed the purpose of the National and State social-security programs.

7. Endorsed the principle of assuring a fair return for agricultural commodities.

8. Commended State and county officials for their administrations.

9. Endorsed the support given President Roosevelt by the State's entire congressional delegation.

One of the convention's final acts was to authorized a vigorous State-wide campaign to enlist young men and women who are benefiting from the New Deal program in the Young Democratic movement.



Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with the work of the American League for Peace and Democracy in the State of Wisconsin?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. In the State of Wisconsin, my office is directly across from theirs, and next to my office was the Spanish office, so that I kept working in between the two offices.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you acquainted with this conference, the Wisconsin Conference for Peace and Democracy, held on April 22, 1939 [referring to document]?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You knew of this conference?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know the individuals whose names are listed here?

Mr. GOFF. A good deal of them; as to some of them I am not quite sure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will ask you about a few of them. In particular, are you acquainted with Edward Nestingan?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is he?

Mr. GOFF. He is the student secretary, Y. M. C. A., at Madison, Wis. He is a member of the progressive youth group. He is a member of the Youth Congress, and also a Young Communist. He was recruited last year.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with Arthur Ludwigen?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is he?

Mr. GOFF. He is a former Socialist, now head of the Workers' Alliance, of Wisconsin. He is a Communist, a member of the State board of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with Bernadine Goodman?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. She originally was with the First Voters' Group. Now she is in charge of the Youth Forum in Milwaukee which is supported by a lot of prominent people. She is a member of the Young Communist League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know the executive secretary of the American League for Peace and Democracy in Milwaukee, Miss Margaret LeBuddy?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you know about her?

Mr. GOFF. She was recruited first by a man by the name of George Wilbur.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Recruited for what?

Mr. GOFF. Recruited for the Communist Party by George Wilbur, who is the son of Mr. Wilbur, who is the owner of the Wilbur Lumber Co. at Waukesha, Wis. George Wilbur was formerly a leader in the Communist Party. He went to Spain and, I understand, after he came back from Spain, after being a leader in the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, he left the party because of some things that had taken place in Spain which he could not stomach.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do not know what those things were?

Mr. GOFF. No, I do not know what they were.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know from your own knowledge that Miss LeBuddy is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. She was sent from Milwaukee to Washington to do work here, and was then sent to New York to do work there, and she is back again in Milwaukee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you say she was sent, sent by whom?

Mr. GOFF. Sent by the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have here a copy of the minutes of the National Board Meeting, of the Young Communist League, dated November 6, 1937. In these minutes the Pittsburgh conference of the American League Against War and Fascism is discussed at considerable length, and I suggest that these minutes be incorporated in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. That deals with the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The American League Against War and Fascism. It deals with the Pittsburgh conference, at which conference the name was changed to the American League for Peace and Democracy; that was 2 years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Does his testimony show that the officials in the American League for Peace and Democracy in Wisconsin are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct; the executive secretary, Margaret LeBuddy is.

Mr. GOFF. The executive secretary before Margaret LeBuddy was Dave Rein. He has written a book called Marxist Interpretation of Shakespeare. He is a Communist member of the State board there. We hold a lot of meetings in the league office in the evening. We meet up there lots of times.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean with the knowledge of the league officers?

Mr. GOFF. With the knowledge of the league officials; surely.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question about it being a Communist organization, is there?

Mr. GOFF. No question about it at all.

The CHAIRMAN. So understood among the Communist circles throughout the country?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I never could see how anybody could have any question about it, myself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I do not know how much of these minutes on the American League you would like to hear at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us hear some of it.

Mr. MASON. I would like to hear a good deal of it. We have still got a lot of doubting Thomases in this country on the question whether the American League for Peace and Democracy is a united-front organization.

The CHAIRMAN. They will not be after they read their files and correspondence.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Reading from page 4 of the minutes of the Young Communist League dated November 6, 1937:

The principal question that faces the comrades in the A. W. F. is the lack of an adequate solution to answering the question of the relation of the Y. C. L. to the A. W. F. and to the rest of the youth peace movement, and especially the A. Y. C. We cannot understand why, when Browder paid such close attention to the P. C. P. D. and building of the A. W. F., why leading comrades of the Y. C. L.

write articles and speak as if there were no such organization as the A. W. F. C. R.'s article in the October Communist speaks of representatives of youth in the labor movement: "The representatives of youth in the labor movement, who formed the largest section of youth at the American Youth Congress, could have a tremendous effect upon the Government's foreign policy if they would help mobilize labor organizations for the positive peace program put forward by the American Youth Congress."

I ask you if Comrade Ross is being criticized here for not remembering that the American League was a vehicle for the peace policy of the Young Communist League.

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the purport of that paragraph?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

The A. W. F., particularly in New York City, is the organization which has involved the trade-union movement against war and fascism to a greater extent than any other organization in the peace movement. There are 200 unions in N. Y. C. working with the A. W. F. for a realistic peace policy mentioned and the youth in the trade-union movement, three weeks after Japan invaded China had collection cans, petitions, and carried on the program of the A. W. F. In many unions there is the possibility of setting up of youth branches of the A. W. F. which will take a program for educating the rest of the members of the union. This is true in the Jewelry Workers, the U. E. R. W., and other unions.

Another point is our relationship to the A. Y. C. When the A. Y. C. has a convention, our youth committee undertakes this in a serious manner. Of the 100 delegates from N. Y. we can claim the responsibility for 30. On the other hand, when it comes to the P. C. P. D., the comrades in the A. Y. C. do not pay attention to cooperating with the comrades in the A. W. F. even on minimum tasks such as a letter from the A. Y. C. to use with leaders of organizations who would respond to a letter from the A. Y. C. better than from the A. W. F. We must understand our relationship to other organizations.

Then follows a discussion on the Pittsburgh convention of the American League, and what steps are to be taken to assure a good delegation to the congress.

Every possible step is being taken in New York. One thousand organizations have been written to, assignments made, and follow-up work being done.

What are the assignments that are referred to, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. That is, the party member in that group is assigned to get himself elected.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it customary for party members to receive assignments regularly with reference to tasks in the united front movements?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Including getting elected to congresses.

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer for incorporation in the record these minutes from which I have read.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would read some more about that Pittsburgh convention. According to those minutes, a thousand Communists were assigned to work in and around New York in these other organizations for the purpose of getting themselves elected to leading posts, leadership positions, is that correct?

Mr. GOFF. That is not quite correct.

The CHAIRMAN. State the correct situation, then.

Mr. MATTHEWS. "One thousand organizations have been written to, assignments made, and follow-up work being done." I asked Mr. Goff

what that referred to, and he explained that party members are given assignments to get themselves elected from organizations, or to work actively in those organizations, on behalf of the American League.

The CHAIRMAN. A thousand organizations to which assignments have been made? Is that what the minutes say?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That have been written to and assignments made. Then it is illustrated by the following:

We invited the organizations in the Christian youth movement. The president of the Epworth League in New York is interested in participating, etc. Such organizations as Young Judea will have observers. Every effort is being made, but we could use three or four people to help us.

Then Henry Winston, the administrative secretary of the Young Communist League, speaks as follows:

We had a discussion on the set-up of the Congress. It is a very broad congress, much wider endorsement than before, and we were discussing the possibility of having a triple form of set-up for the youth following the Congress. (1) Individual membership groups, (2) Affiliation of existing organizations to the A. W. F., (3) Building of peace councils in a number of cities and institutions and affiliating them to the A. W. F.

In other words, they are laying out the program subsequent to the Pittsburgh congress for the work of the American League Against War and Fascism; is that your understanding, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. 'We discussed the question of organizing a youth session in Pittsburgh. This youth session would take up questions of the World Youth Congress with J. C. reporting'—

Who is J. C.?

Mr. GOFF. Jce Cadden.

Mr. MATTHEWS [reading]:

National Youth Day, boycott of Japanese goods, the question of Spain, and a whole number of questions, the Negro question bringing in the struggle against reactionary ideologies, etc. The problem is that there will be only three hours for the youth session and we could not have so many reporters, but we should condense the topics under one or two general headings with two or three people reporting, and the main discussion should be on organization of youth activity following the Congress.

In other words, here are the Young Communist League mapping out a program, what their program would be at the youth session of the American League Against War and Fascism, in Pittsburgh. And so the whole minutes go on to indicate that the thing is set up, cut and dried, by the Young Communist League. Is that correct, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer these minutes for incorporation in the record.

(The minutes referred to are as follows:)

Please destroy  
after reading.

#### MINUTES, NATIONAL BOARD MEETING, NOVEMBER 6, 1937

- Agenda:* 1. Information on Philadelphia Convention—MT, JK.  
2. People's Congress for Peace and Democracy—GS.  
3. Information on Illinois Negro Youth Congress—AH.  
4. Visual Education—FF.

1. *Information on Philadelphia Convention.*—We had a huge meeting of 1,200 people and about 80% were young people. It was a very successful meeting.

CR or W were present representing the board. The preparations were good. We started with an arrangements committee of 32. All were representatives from branches and the work was divided among them. The committee worked pretty well until the last week or so when it fell apart.

We sold about a thousand tickets in advance. We had many girls, new people in the league who sold 40, 50, 30 tickets, all in the shops. This was something not done in the past and proves that the newer people get right into the work and are not afraid of tackling people on the Y. C. L. in the shops. In Strawberry Mansion, a middle-class area, we sold 250 tickets. Many non-league people worked with us in our preparations and volunteered to participate in the convention.

A two day session followed the mass meeting. We had 68 official delegates; 71 visitors; 20 students; 55 workers; 34 office workers; 26 official delegates and visitors are unclassified; 1 full-timer from the T. W. O. C., one from the L. W. O.; 2 full-time L. C. Lers; 56 trade-union members; employed 90, unemployed 29; out-of-towners: 8 delegates and 6 visitors.

The panels were fairly good, we wanted the problems of the branches discussed and tried to get from the membership what they wanted to do. We spent much time preparing the discussion leaders and in spite of that one or two were good, the others very weak. We had round tables on "My branch and the neighborhood," "My branch in the trade union," education, and students. After the discussion on the report given by R. G., somehow we didn't get the people to respond and speak on the report, but finally we got going and got some good results. At the last convention we got a lot of resolutions but nothing was done. This time we made a few very concrete resolutions on peace and building out of town.

A lot of other resolutions were passed on girls, education, set-up of the League, on election of new officers, executive committee, etc. J. K. was elected executive secretary and I think that was one of the most surprising things that took place, everybody was happy about it. It is the first time we were able to make a change by keeping R. G. in the district and there isn't the business of R. being demoted and K. taking his place and something being the matter with R. After the executive committee met and analyzed the whole convention and took steps to carry through the plans.

The Y. C. L. Star has been the voice of the League for the last year or so. Until the convention the Y. C. L. Star was just another magazine but nobody ever looked up to it. During the convention, the committee working for the Star reported to the arrangements committee and with their help they put out one of the best magazines I have seen put out. It will be the permanent organ.

We fell down on recruiting. We forgot about recruiting at the mass meeting for the convention with the result that only 30 or 40 joined. Everybody complained that Browder's speech was too short. It was only 5 minutes and he was the main speaker. But I think we were at fault because Browder didn't get to speak until 11 o'clock.

Leaders for discussions must be carefully selected. We can't give them 1 or 2 weeks to prepare. A recommendation we want to make is to have a course on how to lead discussions and make them effective. The leaders lacked information and didn't know how to present their topics.

A number of other things happened. We were able to make the branches compete in the sale of tickets and getting people there, etc. We gave three books for prizes and two radios which were actually given out. We gave two trips to New York. Everybody liked the gifts.

At the close of the convention resolutions were made to recruit 100 members by March 1 and to raise \$500 by March 1. October 15 the drive started and we will have a membership meeting on Nov. 10. We are back in our old headquarters and everybody wants to build the place, etc. If we can recruit 1,000 members and \$500 the League will be making a big step forward.

Recommendations which I think should come out from the national office on information: To pay strict attention to education and how we organize the education. In Philadelphia if we can organize the education and give them the kind being asked for, we could grow faster. We need leadership for education and in the branches, the branch presidents need the most training. We have about 5 or 6 people on the executive committee who want to go to school. We want also, if possible, F. F. to come in and make arrangements for leadership on education and how to organize it. J. K. and other representatives from the executive committee should be invited to sit in on meetings here and it will be very helpful.

*Question to M. T.*—C. W. The branches in the I. L. G. W. U., have they grown?

M. T. Yes and no. The union activity has grown but our branch hasn't because they have the same people there. They need some new forces.

S. B. In the discussions to what extent were you able to record steps forward in branches becoming involved in issues of the community, taking up problems of jobs, etc.?

M. T. There was discussion at the convention but no actual work has been done with the exception of Strawberry Mansion where the branch is participating in the youth council set up by youth organizations from the Jewish organizations.

C. W. Were there any delegates from the U. E. R. W.?

M. T. Two Party reps.

C. W. Anybody from hosiery?

M. T. No.

P. A. What is the status of Negro work?

M. T. Very poor and that is one of the things I forgot to mention. There was a good deal of discussion on Negro work and the direction we are going. We decided we will concentrate on Negro districts. J. P. addressed the convention and brought in 5 or 6 people who are youth leaders but not in Y. C. L. The membership is very small, about 20-25 with about 10 or 11 active members.

G. G. How many did you have altogether as fraternal delegates from mass youth organizations not in the Y. C. L.?

M. T. There were some young people from a number of organizations, one from the West Side Civic Youth League, J. P. who addressed the convention and about 20 visitors were non-Y. C. L.

G. G. How was the question of China and Spain placed before the convention and what is being done on it by the League?

M. T. It came in the peace round table and C. R. spoke on it. There is not very much activity around it now. It wasn't the highlight of the convention.

G. G. What is the composition of the leadership now, national, industrial, social?

M. T. The Executive Board has 6 gentiles, 5 Jewish, 2 Negro, 3 girls, 1 student.

G. G. Is the leadership working collectively?

M. T. It started in that direction but most of the work is now centered around 4 or 5 people who carry the work out. The executive committee meets every 3 or 4 weeks. H. P. is working with the C. I. O. as organizer, J. K. is executive secretary, R. G. is president, M. T. and H. P. vice presidents, and H. R. administrative secretary.

G. G. There are still too many Jewish comrades as against the others.

H. W. I agree with what M. T. said, she gave a very good picture of the convention. The question of Spain was raised but not sufficiently. C. R., recognizing this main weakness, made his entire speech around the question of Spain and China, the boycott of Japanese goods and the fight for an effective peace policy. There is an ability to organize the youth in Philly as was seen by the fact that they organized a mass meeting of 1,200. During the preparations the majority of the membership of the League was activated. If Philly is to grow to an organization of 100 by March 1st they have to continue as they did with the preparations. They have the leadership that is able to carry that through. In Scranton we discussed the question of launching a large youth club of 200 or 300 members which in itself is a form of reconstruction. They have a corps of young people who have connections and influence in Scranton and a large popular youth group there, based on the satisfaction of the immediate needs of the young people there is quite possible.

I think we should receive the report including the recommendations and proposals. The recommendation on education should be carried through and F. F. should go into Philly to help direct and guide the work.

There is a tri-State membership drive between Philadelphia, Connecticut, and New York and on Nov. 21 there will be a conference of these same States with a report from the national office to widen the recruiting drive, a report by the State organizers of these States and discussion from the branches and we will work out concrete plans.

J. K. On the leadership elected at our convention: The leadership was about the best we could really elect at this district convention. 27 members were elected to the executive council. Nationality: 5 Jewish, 4 Negro, 1 German, 1 Russian, 5 Irish, 1 or 2 English.

On the question of work with this leadership, we can say that our district will strengthen its work in the coming months. Already we can see the results of this leadership and the work in the district is beginning to change. These leaders now feel the responsibility of work in the district. One of the comrades, right after the district convention went back to the branch and began to work out plans to open a center. After two weeks they have a center now in which they have a branch and behind the work of the center they organized all kinds of activities. A few Negro comrades were elected to leadership, one of them Comrade W. S., an excellent comrade with possibilities for leadership and good contacts with Negro youth. He was assigned to go to Lancaster where there is a possibility that a Negro group will affiliate to the Y. C. L., it has about 35 to 40 members. Another member elected to the district leadership after the convention went out and organized 40 to 50 young people on certain current events. The comrades know that in Scranton where we didn't have any league, nothing was done there. Now we have two comrades on the district committee in Scranton, they have 27 members and started a recruiting drive for 100. Last Sunday they turned in 5 applications and the week before 6. In two weeks in Bucks County, a comrade in the farm area on the district committee is working there and things are beginning to pick up.

Most of the leadership elected feels the responsibility and have some leading work to do in the district and even though we are not able to stimulate the recruiting drive at present, we can see results of the convention and we are taking steps to organize some education classes for these leading comrades to develop further and to get a broader outlook of the movement and to have an understanding of Marxist-Leninist education.

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2. *People's Congress for Peace and Democracy.*—The principal question that faces the comrades in the A. W. F. is the lack of an adequate solution to answering the question of the relation of the Y. C. L. to the A. W. F. and to the rest of the youth peace movement and especially the A. Y. C. We cannot understand why, when Browder paid such close attention to the P. C. P. D. and building of the A. W. F., why leading comrades of the Y. C. L. write articles and speak as if there were no such organization as the A. W. F. C. R.'s article in the October Communist speaks of representatives of youth in the labor movement: "The representatives of youth in the labor movement, who formed the largest section of youth at the American Youth Congress, could have a tremendous effect upon the Government's foreign policy if they would help mobilize labor organizations for the positive peace program put forward by the American Youth Congress."

The A. W. F., particularly in New York City, is the organization which has involved the trade-union movement against war and fascism to a greater extent than any other organization in the peace movement. There are 200 unions in N. Y. C. working with the A. W. F. for a realistic peace policy mentioned and the youth in the trade-union movement, three weeks after Japan invaded China had collection cans, petitions, and carried on the program of the A. W. F. In many unions there is the possibility of setting up of youth branches of the A. W. F. which will take a program for education the rest of the members of the union. This is true in the jewelry workers, the U. E. R. W., and other unions.

Another point is our relationship to the A. Y. C. When the A. Y. C. has a convention, our youth committee undertakes this in a serious manner. Of the 100 delegates from N. Y., we can claim the responsibility for 30. On the other hand, when it comes to the P. C. P. D., the comrades in the A. Y. C. do not pay attention to cooperating with the comrades in the A. W. F. even on minimum tasks such as a letter from the A. Y. C. to use with leaders of organizations who would respond to a letter from the A. Y. C. better than from the A. W. F. We must understand our relationship to other organizations.

On the Pittsburgh convention: Very little has been done among youth despite the fact that the general membership in the A. W. F. is below the age of 25. They are not involved in bringing youth to the A. W. F. but in bringing trade-union and fraternal organizations and adult groups to the A. W. F. It is expected that at the congress there will be from 2¼ to 3 million trade-unionists represented by both C. I. O. and A. F. L. from basic industries. From New York city about one-half million will be represented. On youth representation outside of New York, the comrades in the national office have no adequate information. The proposal is that the Y. C. L. check through the league and the party

to see what work is being done to get delegates from youth organizations. From New York there will be a very large delegation including organizations which have never before been close to the A. W. F.

T. M.: What steps are being taken to assure a good delegation to the congress?

G. S.: Every possible step is being taken in New York; 1,000 organizations have been written to, assignments made and follow-up work being done. We invited the organizations in the Christian Youth Movement. The president of the Epworth League in New York is interested in participating, etc. Such organizations as Young Judea will have observers. Every effort is being made but we could use 3 or 4 people to help us.

H. W.: We had a discussion on the set-up of the congress. It is a very broad congress, much wider endorsement than before and we were discussing the possibility of having a triple form of set-up for the youth following the congress. (1) Individual membership groups, (2) affiliation of existing organizations to the A. W. F., (3) building of peace councils in a number of cities and institutions and affiliating them to the A. W. F. We discussed the question of organizing a youth session in Pittsburgh. This youth session would take up questions of the World Youth Congress with J. C. reporting, National Youth Day, boycott of Japanese goods, the question of Spain, and a whole number of questions, the Negro question bringing in the struggle against reactionary ideologies, etc. The problem is that there will be only 3 hours for the youth session and we could not have so many reporters, but we should condense the topics under one or two general headings with two or three people reporting, and the main discussion should be on organization of youth activity following the congress.

I think it is necessary to have delegates from the Y. C. L. to the congress. The students are organizing a conference in Pittsburgh the day before with 20 or 30 young people and they will take all the people over to attend the congress. A few outstanding youth leaders will be present but that is not official.

We would be doing valuable service if we were able to utilize our positions in the trade-union movement and the other broad movements in getting these leaders to attend. In the last two days we took emergency steps in sending out letters, writing to districts. We have to speed up the activities to get broad groups present. There should not be the excuse that this congress is narrow. It is very broad and our league must recognize this problem. Our league should begin to look on the A. W. F. in that light of bringing into it the most advanced sector of anti-Fascist young people.

S. B.: There are some good developments on the boycott. Comrade P. S. was called in by the Grant Co. and they said—Here's the situation. We have a million and a half dollars worth of goods and if we don't sell it, Japan has the money anyway. You can go before the board of directors and discuss our future policy in connection with the sale of Japanese goods. This was done with the effort of one branch which threatened to picket the store.

The comrades in the A. W. F. are working under some difficulties not understanding the entire direction of the movement in which they are working and for them there has been the feeling that they have been neglected. The comrades have to understand that the peace movement is developing in many streams and at the same time the A. Y. C., particularly in New York City, has not concentrated their activities on the peace question, but particularly on the social-disease campaign. I feel also that there has been a tendency on the part of the A. W. F. to narrow its conception of the peace movement, particularly in the localities. At the time of the conference for Spain there was resistance to building an independent organization. I think in the localities, where possible, to build up committees around such questions as the boycott of Japanese goods, or building a home for Spain, etc., it should be encouraged and even if not part of the A. W. F. at the beginning they are objectively strengthening the whole of the anti-Fascist movement.

On the P. C. P. D. in New York we have to admit that the P. C. didn't catch fire, not because the comrades didn't understand the importance. But we had a discussion with the county organizers and they said we just can't throw the league into every congress and movement that develops. We decided to have a few people in every county work with G. S.

G. G. I think the following: Frankly, that it is quite an impossible task to expect that we are going to get organizations to affiliate and be active in the A. Y. C. and the A. W. F. It's hard enough to get them to do one of these. And you can't go to organizations every other week and ask them to send delegates to some congress. That doesn't mean that the A. W. F. youth activi-



ties should decline. We have to find its special role and relationship to the whole.

First, get the congress to endorse the A. Y. C. as an expression of the movement for peace and democracy among young people, to endorse the activities of the A. Y. C. and to encourage young people and organizations to become part of it.

Second, those organizations made up of adults and youth, and especially those who have a predominance of adults, should be drawn into the A. W. F. even though they are affiliated to the A. Y. C. Like the Y. W. C. A., the large majority is not made up of young people but of people over 25.

Besides that the A. W. F. should do something else. We should concentrate not on getting youth organizations to affiliate and set up councils, but establish individual membership groups and groups especially in settlement houses and Y's. The A. Y. C. is opposed to individual membership groups. The A. W. F. is for it, therefore, the A. W. F. could take those concerned with problems of peace and the fight against fascism and those groups connected with city organizations and these groups should serve to stimulate activities among youth in the neighborhoods or in particular institutions.

If we do not clarify the relationship of the A. W. F. to the A. Y. C. and we get delegates to the P. C., the day following we will be faced with the same problems. The A. Y. C. must deal more and more with the question of peace as the most important and burning issue. We cannot solve the problem by saying let the Youth Congress develop around a movement of economic and social problems other than war, and let the A. W. F. take over the peace field. We cannot do that but we must find the relationship of one to the other.

On the youth session in Pittsburgh: I don't think it's so bad to have a youth session of only 3 hours if we have something else in addition. That the important youth questions shall be brought to the Congress as a whole by selected speakers added to the order of business as well as the inclusion of points in the main reports. If we do that, then we can bring to the attention of the entire Congress the problems of the youth. On the World Youth Congress, J. C. should be invited as the secretary of the W. Y. C. committee to speak to the congress as such on the W. Y. C.; it is significant for the A. W. F. and the entire peace movement. The 3-hour session should deal with questions of organization. Likewise, with the student strike, it is not only a youth question, but the entire peace movement should know about it. It is the most important peace action in America. A representative of the United Student Peace Committee should make the report on the student peace strike inviting the labor unions to organize such actions and transferring it into a general people's action instead of just a student action. In that respect we would gain by having the questions posed to the entire Congress. Then at the youth session their problems would be of greater importance because they were called to the attention of the entire Congress.

H. W.: The delegates should be A. H. and C. R.

Motions: 1. All important youth questions should come before the Congress as a whole and the 3 hour session should be devoted mainly to organizational questions. 2. We should work to get the A. W. F. Congress to endorse the A. Y. C. and the A. W. F. should remain part of it. 3. Organizations with adults and youth, work to get them into the A. W. F. and affiliate. Our line should be to work to have the Congress go on record for the establishment of individual membership groups in neighborhoods and youth institutions and have them affiliate to the A. W. F.

G. G. The first point should be taken up with W. and others that certain youth questions should be taken up at the Congress as such. J. L. might be invited as the guest speaker on the student strike and J. C. on the World Youth Congress.

3. *Information on Illinois Negro Youth Congress.*—First of all, I think that the conference in Chicago was successful in every sense of the word. A mass meeting was organized on Friday night and was very well attended with a large majority of youth from various organizations. Most of the people present were young people. They had greetings from various representative groups. Mr. Browning, assistant State director of N. Y. A., presided. There were greetings from a representative of the mayor. The meeting was quite successful, a collection was taken up, there were about 500 at the meeting in a church. There were very few white people, less than 10, most of these were connected with the con-

ference in some way and were Y. C. L'ers, 60 organizations were represented, 150 delegates mostly from churches, about 350 observers. The organization of the conference was very good. It was an improvement over the last conference held in Springfield.

The discussions dealt with peace, church, education, marriage, democratic liberties, labor, etc. On the question of the church a very lively discussion took place. Most of the young people there were church members and quite progressive on the role of the church regarding Negro youth. They brought out the fact that it cannot exist unless it deals with problems affecting young people in the economic sphere and problems facing people of the world today. A young fellow, active in church work, brought this out in a healthy way and stated that most of the churches will find themselves without Negro youth unless they took up the question of trade unions, the role young people play in the organized labor movement.

On education, I don't know all the details because I didn't sit in on it. However there were some positive actions taken with regard to discrimination against Negro students, and bad conditions for Negro teachers.

In the democratic liberties discussion, the denial of civil rights of Negroes was brought up. Discriminatory practices toward the Negro students at the University of Illinois were assailed and proposals made that in the education panel and democratic liberties the question of organizing a committee to visit the Governor of the State would be discussed. For some time there has been a fight by the A. S. U. on the campus on the question of Negroes being served in the university restaurants. Recently some attempts were made to poison students, one was a Negro girl. A suit was filed against the proprietor but there is insufficient publicity and action on this. The democratic liberties committee and the education committee proposed the organization of a State-wide mass movement to bring pressure on the Governor for the appointment of a special committee to investigate discrimination against Negroes in education, invoke the Bill of Rights in Illinois. There was discussion with individuals on methods to use in combatting such acts of discrimination. Those in the Urban League thought that we shouldn't embarrass the Governor because he did sign the Bill of Rights and the matter should be handled through the courts. But the Congress went on record for a mass campaign. It also went on record condemning Italy and Japan and supporting the boycott against Japan. The attention of the Congress was directed to the situation in Ethiopia, and called for the support of all people in the fight of the Ethiopian people to regain independence.

They also endorsed the work of the A. Y. C., A. W. F., Y. W. C. A., Y. M. C. A., and urged members of the conference to become active workers in these organizations, especially in the A. Y. C., the Y. W. C. A., and Y. M. C. A., and to establish fraternal relations between the conference and white youth. Also the S. N. Y. C. was endorsed and the conference is to strive for fraternal relationship with this movement.

On the N. N. C. we felt it was not time to push the question on the floor about affiliation and we felt that this was correct after Dr. Burton came to the meeting and showed off his titles. P. R., who was active in the conference, felt that he was coming to the conference in order to take it over for the N. N. C., and she became uneasy about this, but we assured her it was not his intention and that we wanted to cooperate wherever possible. We didn't raise the question of affiliation or endorsement of the program, but on the question of the S. N. Y. C. and the Allegheny Negro Youth Congress the conference did endorse the work that the young people in the South are doing and the work done in Pittsburgh (but the A. N. Y. C. isn't there any more.)

The conference was a tremendous success and after the final session an executive committee of 35 was elected, with P. R. president, and 4 vice chairmen on the resident board, with J. G. and J. M. as members and C. I. as treasurer. The new leadership will be the kind of leadership which will be instrumental in involving all young people in the State in real work. With 22 communities represented at the conference, we had a thorough representation of young people throughout the State, and in the leadership we tried to place individuals who would be responsible for work in various communities after the conference. In this respect the congress was a really representative one of young people in the State of Illinois.

The C. I. O. was endorsed, as well as the participation of Negro young people in the labor movement.

It is necessary for our comrades who are the leaders of the youth movement in Chicago to maintain their identity as representatives of the N. Y. C. not by holding separate meetings but by examples of leadership as at the conference. Before the conference there was distrust between the people working for it, but after a few weeks of experience and seeing that all the young people were honest with one another, then they were taken into one another's confidence, and then P. R. always came to the comrades with her problems.

J. G.: No one can appreciate the struggle in the preparations for the conference, the work we went through, and how we got the confidence of each other. The Urban League sponsored the first and second conferences, and in its sponsorship we were able to put over the program we wanted. The N. Y. A. supplied us with all the facilities they could give us, mimeographing, etc.; also the chairman of the mass meeting and A. H. came there as the leading light of the conference. The Urban League allowed us the use of the necessary finances we needed and the money we raised at the conference was enough to pay them back.

There were representatives from social organizations, trade unions, church groups; even the Catholic Youth Organization was represented (a white representative), but we do have a Negro Catholic on the sponsoring committee. An example was set for all opinions of youth coming together and discussing problems without any differences and we felt that we might have provoked more discussion if we had more time on the program adopted, but the unanimity of opinion came as a result of groups coming together and working it out beforehand. Recruiting into the league will show the results of this conference. There were no Y. P. S. L.'s there. The question of Justice Black was not discussed.

C. J.: How many girls were there?

J. G.: There must have been about 50% girls. The chairman is a woman, the four vice presidents are men, the secretary and two assistants are girls, and C. L. is treasurer. The weakness is that the first vice chairman is head of the N. Y. A., three vice chairmen are N. Y. A. people, the fourth is head of the Big Brothers in Danville, Ill., and the secretary is national president of the National Junior League and an N. Y. A. person.

G. G.: Was the question of China and Spain raised?

JG: It was discussed in the peace committee and they went on record condemning Italy, Germany, and Japan as fascist powers, makers of war, and endorsing the boycott against Japan.

GG: I think we should endorse the work of the comrades. There was only one point mentioned by A. which doesn't refer to Chicago directly but has an indirect bearing. That is the fact that in Allegheny County the N. Y. C. is no longer in existence. That is a very important question. I don't know whether it has been discussed before, but we have to get out of the habit of discussing a congress and then never discuss it when it falls apart. I am for having C. R. and A. H., when they go to Pittsburgh, to make a special investigation of the reasons for the collapse of the Allegheny Youth Conference and for a special discussion on that so that we check up and make it difficult for successes that we have one month to become dismal failures the next.

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4. *Visual education.*—The Visual Education Press has developed the question of education to a greater extent than we have and has many plans for future development. They have charts on history of the labor movement, presenting forms of social production, primitive Communism, feudalism, fascism, Negro question, trade unionism, surplus value, Japanese boycott, Spain, China, etc. G. and I have had discussions in the last few days on the question of visual education and study outlines in general. We ran into difficulty on the question of study outlines so as not to duplicate the party outlines. We have come to the conclusion that not only should we issue study outlines in the old form, but make use of charts and lectures accompanying them put out by Vis. Ed. Press and also work on outlines of our own at the same time on youth problems, YCL juvenile delinquency, and with the people in Vis. Ed. Press work out plans and other charts for the branches. They agreed and we can insert pages in the lectures orientating for work in the YCL. The proposals are:

1. To undertake sending out charts as the present form of study outlines, concentrating our time for putting out pamphlets and other printed material.

2. To write to all districts for their opinion and after hearing from the districts to send out letters to the branches.

The proposals were adopted.

G. G.: We have to make a radical change in the system of education, rather we have to establish a system of education, a popular system and there is a lot to this visual education method. It has gone over big in the C. I. O. and it can go over in a powerful way among the youth. I noticed the "China Unites" special outline. It is heavily written, it contains valuable material but it is difficult for a comrade in the branch to find his way out, what to bring out, what to emphasize, how to build an outline. We should do away with these outlines, use the material of the Vis. Ed. Press, change the speech outlines and work out this method as the method of popular education among youth. If this method is going to go over and if we are going to make a change in the educational work generally, the leading comrades bear the first responsibility.

At the moment we cannot think that all branches can get a complete list of the charts. The method used should be that in every district, and in New York every county, should have a complete file of the charts and speakers' outlines and a system worked out whereby the branch can hire the charts for one night and pay a small fee. In this way the county or district can get money with which they will be able to buy more charts or have special charts made, so we can have a file of charts on every possible question. This is a good method to develop our comrades in speaking. We should take steps at the district convention to push this method and see that it's organized so that all charts are gotten directly from the national office for national control and we will know to what extent education below is going on.

We can have the charts for 75¢ apiece and new charts we want made they will also make for us at the same price. We can use that method to develop and solve the problem of education below as the first step.

I propose further that at a future meeting a special report on our whole educational work be made and following that we should prepare for the national plenum of the League at which the question of education should be one of most importance if not the most important question discussed.

H. W.: We should adopt the motions and the staff should be responsible that they are carried out.

C. W.: I propose that for December 4th we organize a conference for trade union active Y. C. L.'ers for Connecticut, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and New Jersey to discuss changes in methods with which our comrades work in the unions. (Adopted.)

Proposal adopted to hold full meeting of Board and invite National Council members in New York on Wednesday, November 10th at 7:00 p. m. to hear report by G. G.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the witness know about the American League elsewhere than in Wisconsin?

Mr. GOFF. I was at discussion groups in the national committee in New York, and we discussed the matter of Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. From your experience in the Communist Party, was it generally understood by the Communists that the American League throughout the country was under their control?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. And it was generally understood toward this last Congress when they changed the committee that we would have to do something to get the "red" scare off. It was coming to a point where they were going to ask some of the Communists to withdraw, some of the leaders, to try to prove that we were not trying to dominate the congress, because even after some of the big shots went out we would still have enough people in to control it anyway.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the reason that Earl Browder and Clarence Hathaway got off the executive board, is it not?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were a member of the national committee of the Young Communists for 2 years?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And were the affairs of the American League frequently discussed at the national bureau?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And minutes frequently pertained to the work of the American League?

Mr. GOFF. I got a delegate to the youth congress meeting in Wisconsin, and I went to the league to find out who the delegate was, and they gave me a list of Young Communists and told me to take my pick.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you, yourself, on the program of the American League Against War and Fascism in Milwaukee, in 1937?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I see your name on this page, Reading by Kenneth Goff.

I show you a memorandum which has to do with the Workers Alliance.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you give that reading on?

Mr. GOFF. Mark Twain's war prayer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify this memorandum?

Mr. GOFF. This is the proceedings of the unemployment conference, supposed to be called by the leaders of the railroad brotherhoods, the C. I. O., and the Workers Alliance, presided over by Harold Christoffel, leader of the Allys-Chalmers Union in Milwaukee. He formerly was a Young Socialist, and now is one of the special members of the Young Communist League and of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was his connection?

Mr. GOFF. He attended as a delegate from the American Youth Congress.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer this as an exhibit, not to be included entirely in the record.

Mr. THOMAS. What railroad brotherhoods were present?

Mr. GOFF. It was the Milwaukee group; I think the railway conductors; I am not quite sure.

Mr. THOMAS. It was a local?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know or not, Mr. Goff, that A. F. Whitney, the head of the Railway Brotherhoods of America, is vice president of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. GOFF. I did not know that. That is since the new set-up. I have not looked over that. They have in the Railway Brotherhood of Wisconsin one man who works out of the party continually, does nothing else but works in the Railway Brotherhood, bringing them over close to the Communist Party. In this last May Day parade, I could not walk with the marchers, so I rode in the artificial train along with the leaders of the Railway Brotherhood. They were in the May Day parade.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Goff, you have identified James Lerner as the Youth secretary of the American League for Peace and Democracy, have you not?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the National Youth secretary of the American League.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question but what he is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. GOFF. No question.

The CHAIRMAN. He does not even deny it, does he?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No. I think he is publicly on record. And you identify this pamphlet as one of his?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Goff, would you be good enough to give some of the facts regarding the accident in which you lost a limb?

Mr. GOFF. The time I lost my limb, I was sent to Sheboygan, Wis., to speak at a hall to the Workers Alliance, to raise funds for youth work which were to be used by the Y. C. L. This is something I want to bring out before I go into that, because I do not think it will be brought out in any of these documents. When they raise funds for Spain, when they raise funds for the Austrian Refugee Committee and for these different organizations, a great deal of those funds never get to the organization itself, because it is used by the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. How do they manage to do that?

Mr. GOFF. Because of their leadership in these organizations. They decide how much is going to be set aside for their own use, and how much they are going to send over.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you give some specific instances where you, yourself, saw money diverted?

Mr. GOFF. I saw money from the Spanish committee diverted by John Sekat.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By John Sekat?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For what purposes?

Mr. GOFF. This was for the Spanish group. It was taken over for the party to pay party office rent and to pay up some of the party functionaries, who had not received their salaries for the week.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean the organization of Mr. Jacobs, of that national organization.

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; they were out at the meetings.

Mr. MASON. What is the name of that organization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. There were two organizations originally. Originally, they had one called the Medical Bureau to Aid the Spanish Democracy, and the other was a North American Committee to Aid the Spanish Democracy. They merged into a partnership, retaining both names. Then the two names were dropped, and the name became the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign.

Mr. MASON. That is the one of which Harold Ickes is the national chairman and of which Leon Henderson is the local head?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will it be followed up later by an audit of the books to discover any defalcations?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; I understand that the committee's auditors will go into the books.

The CHAIRMAN. They will find out whether moneys have been misappropriated?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. GOFF. In the Youth Congress, there was no financial report for the Youth Congress in regard to how much money was used for this,

that, or the other purpose, or the loss of money, as in the case of Joe Cadden, and others. They live off of the Youth Congress, as they have in Milwaukee, as in the case of Bograd, so he could do all he wanted to do in his field.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were going to give some illustrations.

Mr. GOFF. I was referring to that night when I was to speak at a meeting, when an accident occurred and the automobile threw me under a rapid transit train. And everything from that moment, the party got in touch with. They had the party to hire a lawyer before I got out from under the influence of the ether. During that period of time, the party was to handle the case. I wanted a trial of the case, and to fight the charges. There was sworn evidence that through the loss of my leg—they needed the money at the time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who needed it?

Mr. GOFF. The party wanted it. Finally, they told me they had settled the case for \$5,000. That was the offer. The party lawyer got one-third of the money. Then, after that, they continually got money from me for different uses, such as sending boys to Spain and such as sending delegates to the eighth convention of the Y. C. L. A lot of those different organizations got money from me, promising to return the money, but afterward, when I asked for the money they said, "You should consider that as a contribution to the cause."

Mr. THOMAS. How much of the \$5,000 did you get?

Mr. GOFF. About \$1,000, or a little better than that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You stated this morning that you were a delegate to the eighth national convention of the Young Communist League, held in New York City?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you were also taken as a guest or observer of the activities of the national committee of the Young Communist League, of which you were a member?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you appear in both capacities in the congress?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How did you distinguish between your appearance in order to be two persons at the same time?

Mr. GOFF. During the congress, I sat at different times among some of those who were not supposed to be members or delegates. Then, when the day came when I must make a report for the state of Wisconsin, I appeared as John Keats. Then I would leave my artificial leg at the hotel and come down on crutches.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In that way, you appeared as John Keats, and then when you appeared with your artificial limb, you appeared as Kenneth Goff as a guest of the convention?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you mistaken at that convention as a veteran of the Spanish civil war?

Mr. GOFF. No, sir; but they were very sympathetic with me when I appeared in the other capacity, because I took my leg off. Then they thought I was a veteran of the Spanish war.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a young looking man to be mistaken as a veteran of the Civil War.

Mr. GOFF. I was mistaken as a veteran of the Spanish Civil War. I pointed out some things here, and this is in regard to church work.

In the different fields the Young Communist League would use beautiful girls. They would use young white girls in recruiting for the organization, especially in Negro districts. They would use good looking white girls, and they were supposed to go in and treat those people right when they were recruiting them in those organizations. That is one reason why the Y. C. L. today has as one of its biggest problems to try to get Negro girls. They cannot well approach them because they do not like the attitude of the party in sending white girls to recruit Negro boys.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any other illustrations of the tactics they employed in their recruiting?

Mr. GOFF. I think I have brought out how they would get ahold of those boys.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have some estimate as to the number of members of the Young Communist League at the present time?

Mr. GOFF. It runs around 10,000 in New York. It is hard to say what the number is. The strongest districts are New York, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, and California. Those are the strongest districts. In the southern district, I do not know the number, because they are under cover. They have no record of how many there are. The two strongest districts are, first, New York, and then California. Then it is a toss up as between Milwaukee, Detroit, and Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. California gets a great many of these things. They hold up pretty well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any idea of what proportion of the members of the Young Communist League are employed in industry?

Mr. GOFF. Quite a few of them are in the trade-union movement. In Milwaukee, Chicago, New York, and Detroit many of them are in the trade-union movement. In Detroit the majority of the members of the Young Communist League are in industry. A larger number of them are in industry in Detroit.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you mean in the automobile industry?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; especially. The C. I. O. has had to have an educational group, group sports, and different things. In that way they get recruits to go into industry.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In view of the fact that you have been in the Young Communist League and the Communist Party, let me ask you if you have any knowledge concerning the attitude of the party and the Young Communist League toward the support of the United States Government in the event of a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union?

Mr. GOFF. It is definitely understood that the members of the Young Communist League and the Communist Party are loyal to the Red Army. Loyalty to the army in the party means the Red Army. In other words, the Communist Party and the Young Communist League would regard support of the United States in such a conflict as supporting a capitalist country. The United States is regarded by them as any other capitalist countries in the world. Their only allegiance in war would be to the Soviet Union, because that is where the thing was established.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, it is not a matter of being against war on moral grounds, but it is simply a question of doing what you know would help a certain nation, that nation being the Soviet Union?



Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is borne out by the fact that Communists who have appeared before the committee, when pressed to answer the question as to what they would do in the event of war between the United States and Russia, invariably say they would not support the United States. Every one of them who has appeared before the committee has said that.

Mr. GOFF. I asked the question at one time which almost brought me under discipline. I asked how could we trust Stalin when, in these Trotskyite trials he seemed to be against the people who had been around Lenin and who had formed the revolution in Russia. Some of those men, Nicolai Bukharin and Paul Reddick wrote books that were read by the members of the party then, but now they are destroyed. They cannot read the books of Bukharin, Reddick, and others of the old leaders. In that connection, I saw a picture or caricature of Stalin once looking in a looking glass at himself, and he was saying, "That fellow looks suspicious; he looks like a Trotskyite, and I had better shadow him." That said enough, and I saw that myself. The rank and file think that if you're not true to the Soviet Union, or to Stalin, who is the leader of the proletariat, which is really the ruling class, then you are not true to communism. You must have every alliance with that. You must do that, or you cannot do a single thing. That must be carried on there, because when you begin to doubt that, you begin to doubt the very existence of it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Goff, you said something at the beginning of your testimony that rather impressed me. You mentioned the fact that you had studied for the ministry, and I gather from what you said that your main interest in some of these questions was one that sprang from your religion; is that right?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Therefore, you were concerned about the suffering of people, and wanted to make their condition better.

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. And probably there were certain feelings that you had with regard to the needs of poor or pressed people, and you wanted to try to lighten their load. Therefore, I will ask why did you join the Communist Party. I do not ask you to give a detailed explanation, but what were the things that were told to you that let you into the party?

Mr. GOFF. It was the same thing as in other movements. It is hard to say.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, you felt that here was a militant movement that you thought at that time was really trying to improve the lot of the people generally?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you found out that you had been mistaken about it?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; that it was not, in fact, the fundamental purpose of the Communist Party. That is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. What were the principal things that led you to that conclusion?

Mr. GOFF. Well, the continual change of policies of the party, instead of working through on one straight line. Instead of that, they continually changed the policy. I am not definitely opposed

to war. I mean if the United States were invaded, I would be willing to serve my country, but I do not want to participate in a foreign war and see millions of Americans killed on the battlefield for the aid of some other countries that will not pay their debts. They were in favor of the Oxford church pledge. I was not a complete pacifist, and I thought they were sincere in their declared hatred of war. I thought it over, until one night in a Methodist Episcopal church meeting, a young girl from the Young Communist League was in charge of the worship. She stood all the boys up there at a table, bringing candles with them, and putting them on the altar. They were taking the vow and signing the Oxford pledge. She said to me, "Comrade, why don't you come down and sign?" I said to her, "Before you can make any impression on me, explain how when you look at your card in the Young Communist League, instead of this, it is for a revolution in which blood must be shed when you take over everything from the bourgeois."

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, you found that the things you were supposed to do were things that were dictated to you from some other source, and that it was a case where you were in conflict with your own conscience completely?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were you also impressed with the fact, as time went on, that those changes in the party line were matters that not only did not always follow your own conscientious views, but were also dictated from outside of your own country?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did that have an influence with you?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; it bothered me because, in the first place, because I never found the party giving both sides of it. There was a question of a lot of things in regard to the Soviet Union, and I wanted to hear both sides of the story. They would not let me go there and look around for myself. I asked them, when I wanted to go there, if I could go around like everybody else, and find out about things in Russia, but they said, "You will have to take the charted course like everybody else." Another thing that bothered me more than that was when I questioned them as to why they wanted to take hundreds of our boys from this country to Spain. I helped to recruit some of them. They said that they were fighting for the cause in Spain. They said they were fighting for the cause in Spain, yet the Soviet Union was not sending a single soldier there. Another thing that impressed me was the fact that the party was always talking about civil liberties. They wanted to have a true democracy, they said. They wanted to have the right to speak in the auditorium, but they did not want the Nazis to have the right to speak in the auditorium.

Mr. VOORHIS. From your own personal standpoint, what would you say would be the most necessary thing to be done in America in order that American youth, as a whole, would not be misled by this business?

Mr. GOFF. Providing jobs.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, if this committee succeeds in revealing all the facts about the Communist Party, you say that would lead many young people, and older people, too, to see the fallacy of

the philosophy, or the fallacy of belonging to such an organization, but there would still be a big job left in solving the economic problem of American youth.

Mr. Goff. Yes, sir.

Mr. Voorhis. The truth of the matter is that a great many people who are not Communists have been working very hard to solve that problem.

Mr. Goff. Yes, sir; there is another thing I have noticed, and I wonder if you have ever noticed that foreigners who come into this country are able to get jobs. The foreigner has somebody looking out for that, and, when he gets here, he gets a job right away. He has a foreign organization that is in contact with industry. He immediately secures a job, whereas you see young American boys always walking the streets looking for jobs. The American boy walks the street looking for a job, and oftener than not he is turned down.

Mr. Voorhis. If the American youth could get jobs, how far do you think the Young Communist League would go?

Mr. Goff. Not very far.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think you completed one or two points there in connection with your last statement. Is it not a fact that the leaders of the Communist Party are not there on account of poverty or the lack of jobs? In other words, this committee has contacted leaders of the party, and were questioned as to whether they had jobs before they went into the Communist Party. It was developed that one of them resigned as a fingerprint expert in the Department of Justice when he went into the party. They were generally men of that type. In the case of the leadership, it was certainly not the lack of jobs that caused them to go into the party.

Mr. Goff. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. It is also true that the party has a certain element of the intelligencia that go into it for intellectual reasons. They are not there for the lack of jobs.

Mr. Goff. They are usually led into it by the writers of books. They are also led into it through professors on university campuses who are supposed to be teaching certain subjects, and gradually come around to the Marxian theory. A lot of that work is done on university campuses.

The CHAIRMAN. That has nothing to do with economic conditions.

Mr. Goff. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So if professors, or the so-called intelligencia element, form the leadership of the Communist Party, their activities were not brought about because of their economic plight or lack of jobs.

Mr. Goff. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The rank and file are the ones who enter it because of the economic conditions which exist?

Mr. Goff. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Earl Browder also made the statement that a great majority of these people in the Communist Party were employed in good jobs, many of them being skilled workmen. That causes me to wonder whether he was telling the truth about the matter.

Mr. Mason. He did not tell the truth about other things, and I do not think he did about that.

The CHAIRMAN. You were talking about the labor movement in Wisconsin, and I understand from your testimony that the C. I. O. is controlled and dominated to a large extent by the Communist Party in the State of Wisconsin.

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that from your own personal knowledge?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know the regional director in the State of Wisconsin, Costello?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; but not of the region. I think the region takes in the Chicago area. Costello is the head of the organization in the State.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they made much progress in the A. F. of L.?

Mr. GOFF. They have in certain unions.

The CHAIRMAN. But, generally speaking, they have no control over the A. F. of L. in Wisconsin?

Mr. GOFF. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that situation outside of Wisconsin? Do you know of any industries in which the Communists exercise control over the labor unions?

Mr. GOFF. In the Detroit area they have a large Young Communist League element in the auto workers. They were brought into that, and they did a really marvelous work there. When they began with the auto workers in Detroit, they sent four or five leading men from Milwaukee to Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. They were sent from Milwaukee to Detroit to take over the labor situation?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; they got into the auto industry and took over the labor situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they do picket work?

Mr. GOFF. At one time when there was a strike they did that. That was the Workers Alliance. They were living in flop houses, and they used them for picket work.

The CHAIRMAN. At what other places outside of Detroit would you say they were in control of the labor unions?

Mr. GOFF. To a large extent in Chicago. They have a good representation there. I would not testify as to how many plants they control in the city of Chicago, but they control a considerable number there. Then the Young Communist League have delegates over there at Youngstown who give reports of the intensive work in the industries.

The CHAIRMAN. From your experience and contact with the Communist Party, what did you learn with reference to the labor movement nationally, and the extent to which the Communist Party had gained control of it?

Mr. GOFF. If you will recall, the Communist Party had their own unions. They had their own labor movement before the C. I. O. came along. For a long time they criticized Lewis. They published a pamphlet one time which was entitled "Lewis the Rat." There was a picture with the head of Lewis and the body and tail of a rat. Afterward they changed their whole tactics, and began to support the C. I. O. The idea behind the Communist Party in building up the C. I. O.

is to make a united front for labor, because they believe that the C. I. O. is virtually the backbone of the revolutionary movement in America. That was the idea they had about the sit-down strikes. They give them the idea of rising up against the bourgeois and destroying the existing order. That is the line they follow.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent have they infiltrated the C. I. O. throughout the country?

Mr. GOFF. To a large extent they have gotten into the labor unions. They take advantage of any mistake on the part of a leader. A few moments ago reference was made to Mr. Boileau, instead of to the man from Minnesota. That reveals the thing completely. They say, "Look here; here is a man accused of being a Communist who is not a Communist, and, therefore, they accuse a lot of other people the same way as being Communists when they are not Communists."

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, if a member of this committee should make a mistake, the Communists would be glad about that. They would make the most of anything of that kind.

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. If anybody mentions the name of Shirley Temple, we have the same thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Fellow Travelers have pretty much the same feeling, or do they follow the party line?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir. Fellow Travelers are generally people—I do not know how Dr. Matthews was—they are people who are a little scared about joining the Communist Party, but, at the same time, they use the Communist Party to help them in their work.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The newspaper in France to which Shirley Temple sent greetings has been suppressed by the Government as a Communist newspaper.

The CHAIRMAN. The paper of the American League for Peace and Democracy has also been suppressed. What is the name of that paper?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Cesoir.

The CHAIRMAN. What else can you say, Mr. Goff, with reference to the Communist Party control within the C. I. O. or the A. F. of L.?

Mr. GOFF. Nothing other than what was carried on in Wisconsin, where they would go into the different industries. A lot of members of the Young Communist League got jobs in the auto industry. There were a lot in the Allis-Chalmers plant. There is a Communist Party faction in every C. I. O. union in the country.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent does the Communist Party control the C. I. O.?

Mr. GOFF. In some sections they have it completely under control, while in other sections they are weak. It depends upon the power they put into a section.

Mr. THOMAS. You mentioned the bourgeois awhile ago. You stated that the Communist Party in the United States intended to purge the bourgeois. What do you refer to there, or what does the Communist Party regard as the bourgeois?

Mr. GOFF. I think the principal theory is that the bourgeois is the middle class, but they can easily say that they mean the ruling class, or everyone who believes in capitalism. We had a discussion at one time in which they tried to convince me with regard to that. I said

that I did not believe in capital punishment, and we had an argument about that. They said, "We will suppose a man in the South leads a mob of people to lynch a Negro." They said, "The best thing for us to do would be to see to it that the Government get the head of the mob and have him executed." I said I did not agree with that. I said, "I do not see how you gain anything by taking one life because of the loss of another." They said, "You should not look at it that way." The same in this way, if they are to wipe out the ruling classes they must wipe out the children of the ruling classes because the bourgeois ideology has already been imparted to them.

Mr. THOMAS. What do you mean by the middle classes? In the United States, I assume you refer to.

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Of course, we do not have classes. You mean middle classes in the United States?

Mr. GOFF. Middle or upper class.

Mr. MASON. Middle and upper classes?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; the ruling classes.

Mr. MASON. In other words, if the Communists in the United States had an opportunity, they would wipe out both the middle and upper classes?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What is their position on religion?

Mr. GOFF. Well, they claim their position on religion is not to suppress religion: they think the modern minister is doing a job a little different from that done by the Greek Orthodox Church in Russia. Yet when I told them that I wanted to keep my religion they promised that I would not have to change over to that idea.

But all the time they gave me books on dialectic materialism, which is their religion. And they gave me books such as Lenin on Religion and Marx on Religion. Lenin says the growth of religion is the beginning of all creeds; Marx says that religion is the opiate of the people. They laugh at religious people. They are atheists; and if the time ever came through a revolution in this country, they would organize a movement of atheism in this country, because the Communist movement could not exist with religious people. They would have to have dialectic materialism; that is the fundamental basis of their belief. They told me that I would have to change my religion if we ever had a revolution in this country, because, if I kept my religion, I would have to be purged from the party because of my religious belief. That it would not be well for those in the leadership of the party to have a religion. They pointed out what happened to Gorky.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you account for the fact that members of the Communist Party can accept blandly the leadership of the Comintern, of the International, in view of the Soviet-Nazi pact, when the people in the Communist Party all of the time have been fighting nazi-ism?

Mr. GOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. How can they succeed in changing their policy: how do you account for the fact that they have made a complete change of policy?

Mr. GOFF. Well, you see Browder will send out a report after a thing like this happens, and the members of the party, for a day or two, are sort of walking around in a daze. But they usually wait for information aside from the capitalist press; Browder will send out a statement to party members stating that the action taken would be explained to them, not through the bourgeois or the capitalist press, but interpreted through information coming from Soviet Russia, in such cases as the Nazi-Soviet pact. And when that comes through they do not condemn what has been done. They will say, "What have we been waiting for, a world revolution?" And if this thing is going to happen, if the world is going to be dominated by one group, it should be dominated by the Socialist.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any question in your mind that the Communist Party is completely controlled by the Soviet Government?

Mr. GOFF. There is no question in my mind whatsoever. From the very first time that I was there, I could realize it was completely dominated by the Soviet Government. You could never say a single word against them, and at all times the things that were brought before us, all of the time, of course, Stalin's interpretation was used completely. Everything went back to Lenin or to Karl Marx; it was Leninism or Karl Marxism. Karl Marx's book constitutes the bible of the Communist Party.

And, take for instance the pictures that we have to bring to our minds how we are to work as Americans. We have the picture of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, along with that of Earl Browder, Stephen Foster, Lenin, and Stalin; they are compared together.

George Washington—the Communist Party says that they are the twentieth-century Americans.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your age, Mr. Goff?

Mr. GOFF. 25.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions, gentlemen?

Do you have anything else to suggest or does that about cover the information you have?

Mr. GOFF. There was one other thing I was going to say when you were talking about the French Communist Party.

While we were in New York at the eighth congress of the Youths' Communist League, at this eighth convention a steamship, the *Paris*, came in while we had that meeting in Madison Square Garden, and when Earl Browder had just concluded his speech, and these other speakers, Greene, Gil Green, and Stephen Foster, and Angelo Herndon, a group from the steamship *Paris* came to the meeting, a whole bunch of people who were supposed to be workers on the steamship *Paris* and they gave the Communist salute to the organization.

And one of them who could talk English spoke to us and gave us greetings under the Communist flag of the steamship *Paris*.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent, in your opinion, have the Communists gotten into the schools and colleges; that is, from your observation?

Mr. GOFF. They have set up in the high schools, organizations among the high-school students who are boring from within to build a youth league.

In the colleges they are carrying out a plan of strikes; that is the main thing, the student strikes. And they raise different questions among the school children and in that way hope to get hundreds and hundreds of members of the youth in the movement.

And then on the campus they have student movements among the student groups.

And also in the universities, and at the campus, and they also have church groups. For instance, in Madison one of the student activities carried on by the Young Communist League related to the advisability of going into the R. O. T. C. For a long time they were opposed to taking any part in the R. O. T. C., did not believe in the R. O. T. C., but they have changed.

Mr. VOORHIS. They have changed their position?

Mr. GOFF. They have changed their viewpoint since we now have collective security that has brought about a revolution in the viewpoint with respect to the R. O. T. C.

Mr. MASON. You referred in your earlier testimony to the youths at the University of Wisconsin, of the Beta House.

Mr. GOFF. That was a fraternity house which was turned over at that time by the university.

Mr. MASON. That was just turned over to the group to use as a home while there?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Turned over by the university itself?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. The facilities of the school were turned over.

The CHAIRMAN. You have covered generally the situation in the schools and colleges?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What schools and colleges are you talking about?

Mr. GOFF. The schools in Wisconsin and New York; they have gotten fairly good control; and in Chicago, the students in that city, but where they have made headway among the students is mostly in two types.

For instance, there is a professor in the University of Wisconsin, Professor Windspear, who is a Communist, who addresses his group of students on the subject of mystery of religion and theory and things like that. He talks on the mystery of religion, and then he works along that line among the students to get them to join the Youths' Congress or the Young Communist League.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name?

Mr. GOFF. Windspear. And they have other men in that school.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his first name? Do you know his first name?

Mr. GOFF. Mr. Windspear's name is mentioned in that pamphlet, Peace and Democracy. I think the initials are A. D. Windspear.

The CHAIRMAN. What else do you know along that line?

Any questions, gentlemen? Do you care to say anything else, or does that about cover it?

Mr. GOFF. Well, churches; they haven't worked very successfully, not as well as through the student groups through the colleges and universities, but they have gotten along fairly well in the churches.



For example, in one of the churches in Madison, in the Epworth League, they were having a discussion one evening on the question of what Christ would do under certain circumstances. And during that discussion several questions were raised. They were discussing E. Stanley Jones' book on what the church should do, that the church people should try to do something or that communism would do it.

And in the course of that discussion questions were asked what Christ would do in the event of certain crises, for instance, in the event of a sit-down strike, and the Communists would lead the discussion down to the point where they would almost get them to admit He would use force.

Finally someone who seemed to get wise raised the question whether they were having a Communist meeting. And the minister said no, and he could prove they were not, and at that he asked for a raising of hands on how many Communists were there, and of course nobody raised his hand. At the same time I knew there were 10 of us there, and not a single hand went up.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions, gentlemen?

Mr. MASON. Do you know anything about the Methodist League for Social Service that has headquarters in New York, of their taking the words of Methodists and misusing it as a Communist organization, a front, which Harry Ward refers to?

Mr. GOFF. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. How are they going to destroy your testimony? You were a member right up to date; what method will be used to tear down your testimony?

Mr. GOFF. I can say what the Middle West feels, all right; they will be saying that I am a Trotskyite; that I am taking orders from Trotsky or that I might have been a spy sent to work on them. I know what they will be saying; they plan it before time.

But they will find a way to do it; they will have dozens of them working on it every day and every night until they finally hit upon a plan.

But what I am wondering is, what chance I will have to answer it when they try to discredit my testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we can fix that up at the proper time; that is something the committee can determine; you will have an opportunity to come back, if necessary.

The committee will go into executive session.

(At 4:17 p. m. the committee went into executive session, after which an adjournment was taken to a date to be announced later.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES.

*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10:30 a. m. in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Dies, Voorhis, Thomas, and Mason.

Also present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee; Mr. J. B. Matthews, director of research for the committee.

## TESTIMONY OF WALTER G. KRIVITSKY, FORMER MEMBER, SOVIET MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, THROUGH AN INTER- PRETER, BORIS SHUB

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Whitley, do you have a statement to make at this time?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Krivitsky does not have sufficient command of English to testify in English; so for that reason, Mr. Boris Shub, who is thoroughly conversant with the Russian language, will act as interpreter. Mr. Krivitsky will answer the questions through the interpreter.

The CHAIRMAN. Is an oath required of the interpreter?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir; I think it would be well to have him sworn also.

The CHAIRMAN. In the same form?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir; in the same form.

(Thereupon the chairman administered the oath to the witness, W. G. Krivitsky, and the interpreter, Boris Shub.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you make a preliminary statement? I suggest that you speak distinctly and loudly.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you state your full name?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. I was born Samuel Ginsberg. Since 1919, and through the fall of 1937, my official legal Soviet name has been Walter Krivitsky.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born, Mr. Krivitsky?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. I was born in a city in western Ukraine, which was a part of Poland until last month, but which is now a part of the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. When were you born?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. I was born June 28, 1899.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you first become connected with the labor movement?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. In 1915.

Mr. WHITLEY. When and where did you first become connected with the Bolshevik movement?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. In 1917, in the Ukraine.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you join the Russian Bolshevik or Communist Party?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. In 1917.

Mr. WHITLEY. Describe your activities for the Communist Party during 1918 and 1919.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. This was the first period of the revolution. At this time I worked as a party worker for the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where was that work performed?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. This was in the Ukraine and in White Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you first become connected with the Soviet intelligence work?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. During the Russo-Polish war in 1920.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did you remain in the service of the Soviet intelligence?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. I worked for the Soviet Military Intelligence from 1920 until my break with the Soviet Government in 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, for approximately 17 years?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What position did you occupy on behalf of the Soviet intelligence from 1920 until the latter part of 1937?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. From 1921 until 1923, I worked for the second and third bureaus of the general staff of the Red Army. In 1923 I was sent to Germany to prepare the world for a German revolution and to organize the manpower for a German "red" army. From 1924 to 1926 I worked for the third bureau of the general staff of the Red Army. In 1925 I became the central Russian chief of the third section of the Soviet Military Intelligence. From 1926 until 1933 I worked in the third section of the Soviet Military Service and in the second section of the Soviet Military Service. In 1933 I was appointed director of the War Industries Institute, and worked in that capacity for a year. In 1934 I returned directly to the intelligence work in the general staff, and continued in that capacity until my break in 1937. In 1936 and 1937 I was chief of the Soviet Military Intelligence for western Europe. In Soviet terminology, western Europe includes Poland and Germany particularly.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you break with the Soviet Government?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. In December 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why did you break with the Government at that time?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. During the years preceding 1936, all of us hoped that the party or through the party we would gradually enter into a period of greater democracy in the party and through the party in the country as well. This was the period when the constitution was being prepared. In the decisive year 1936, when the country was looking forward to this change, Stalin turned and purged all of the elements which would have been the basis of this democratization of the country and of the party. In 1936 and 1937 he destroyed all of these elements in the party, in the administrative machinery, in

the army, among the workers, among the peasants, and among the party intellectuals.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean the elements on which the old Bolsheviks were counting when this democracy was being instituted in the country?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Not democracy, strictly speaking but a slackening of the dictatorship.

Mr. WHITLEY. More freedom?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. More freedom to some extent.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right; continue.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. In 1937 he destroyed 35,000 members of the officers' corps of the "red" army, and Stalin sent from 300,000 to 400,000 members of the Communist Party to imprisonment or exile, and sent millions of the population to concentration camps. For many years since Lenin's death Stalin had been fighting every form of opposition in the country in laying the ground work for his totalitarian dictatorship. This process reached its climax in 1936 and 1937. At that climactic period no one could remain in the party or remain in a Government position without taking a direct and active part in the purge himself. Stalin's Government demanded that I take an active part in the purge. This I refused to do, and I broke with Stalin.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. I came to the United States in November 1938.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you in a position to explain to the committee the relationship between the Soviet Government and the Communist International and its various sections, including the American Communist Party?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir. I was in a position for 20 years where I could observe closely the various relationships between the Soviet Government and the Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have an opportunity to observe that relationship both in Soviet Russia and abroad?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you explain to the committee first, Mr. Krivitsky, the relationship between the Soviet Government and the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Will you repeat that?

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you explain the relationship between the Russian Communist Party and the Soviet Government?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The highest governing body in the Soviet Union is the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. It is also the highest governing body of the Russian Communist Party. Stalin's only official position is that of general secretary of the Communist Party and member of the Political Bureau.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you mean that the most powerful body in the Soviet Union is the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that Political Bureau is in effect the Government of the Soviet Union?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir; although, as a formal matter, there is a council of peoples' commissars, but the decisions and decrees originate

with the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. The only position Stalin occupies in the Russian Government is that of general secretary of the Russian Communist Party and a member of this Political Bureau?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. That is absolutely correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the relationship between the Soviet Government and the Communist International?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The Communist International is not an organization of autonomous and independent parties. The Communist Parties are nothing more than branch offices of the Russian Communist Party. The Communist International that operates in Moscow is nothing more than an administrative body which transmits the decrees reached by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, the Communist Party of Soviet Russia?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir; the Communist Party of Soviet Russia.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you develop that, or draw out the fact that the Communist Parties in other countries are nothing more than branches of the Russian Party?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir; I will develop that.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The first three chairmen of the Communist International—Zinoviev, Bukharin, and Molotov—were at the same time members of the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party. It was a matter of common knowledge, so far as the first two were concerned, and inasmuch as Molotov was premier of the Soviet Union at the time he was chairman of the Communist International, but the latter fact was played down.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, when Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party in the United States, testified before this committee, he stated that the Communist Party of the United States was not subject to any control or domination of any kind from the Soviet Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think that it is correct in that connection, Mr. Counsel, to mention the fact that he did admit that the Communist Party of the United States and its members obeyed instructions of the Communist Party or they had to get out of the International?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And while he denied control, he stated what in effect was the same thing, that they had to go along the lines of the International or they had to get out of the party; that is the same thing.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right. I was making the distinction between the Communist International and the Soviet Government itself.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. According to Mr. Krivitsky the Communist Party of Russia is the policy bureau of the Soviet Government.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand his testimony, the political bureau of the Communist Party of Russia controls the Russian Government.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And in turn controls the branches of the Communist Party throughout the world.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. He says that the Communist Party in other countries are merely branches of the Russian party, which is, in effect, the Russian Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you comment on the testimony of Mr. Browder to the effect that the Communist Party is not subject in any way to control or instructions from the Soviet Government?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. I take it that Browder says that Stalin does not influence the political course.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is correct.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. As I have already explained, the various Communist Internationals do not exist or depend on the parties which are capable of influencing the decisions reached by each other.

On paper in the institution of the Communist International Stalin and Browder occupy identical positions, that is, both are general secretaries of their respective parties.

Browder has never had the slightest influence upon the control of Stalin's policy in the Soviet Government. Browder is not responsible for the purges in Russia, and Browder is not responsible for the measures, the political policies taken by Stalin.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I understand the distinction, Mr. Krivitsky, you make in your thought, is that on paper they occupy the same position, each one being general secretary of the Communist Party in his own country, but you are pointing out that the similarity, or that equality, merely exists on paper; is that correct?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continue, Mr. Krivitsky.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. As proof of the fact that Browder has no influence upon Stalin's policy, foreign policy, there is the Nazi-Soviet agreement.

Until August 23, 1939, the American Communist Party, the line of the American Communist Party was collective security and an uncompromising fight against fascism. Twenty-four hours after this pact was signed Browder reversed his position completely, rejected collective security and his fight against fascism, and he now seeks to popularize the new policy to the American people.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you give us an example, Mr. Krivitsky, of how the Comintern carries out or transmits Stalin's commands to these various Communist Parties throughout the world?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Particularly in the field of Stalin's foreign policy, it is possible to get across a good picture of how Stalin controls and uses the Communist Party.

In 1935 Premier Laval of France came to Moscow in connection with the Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Pact.

It became known to us and we knew about it, that Stalin had given certain guaranties about, concerning the loyalty of the French Communist Party in the event of war, loyalty to the Government, to the French Government.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Stalin was in a position to give the Premier of France assurance as to the conduct of the Communist Party in that country?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. That is absolutely true.

Mr. THOMAS. I think you have made it very clear that Browder has no influence on Stalin but you have not yet made it clear as to the extent of the influence of Stalin on Browder.

Mr. WHITLEY. That will be brought out, and he will show the machinery through which that is done.

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand the last testimony was that Stalin gave assurance to the French Government that the Communist Party in France would be loyal to France?

Mr. WHITLEY. In the event of trouble.

The CHAIRMAN. In the event of war?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. In 1939, after the pact with Hitler, and since Stalin has been supporting Hitler, the French Communist Party abandoned this position completely and is now engaged in a war with the French Government, and Thorez, the general secretary of the French Communist Party, is a deserter from the French Army.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the attitude of the Soviet Government toward the Communist International, the Comintern, Mr. Krivitsky? In other words what place does the Comintern occupy with reference to the Soviet Government?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The Russian Communist Party within the Communist International, as a formal matter, is merely a section of the International, and its aim is to convince the other Communists, foreign sections, to adopt identical policies as they originate in Moscow.

Until 1923 the Soviet Government hoped for revolutions in Europe and various Communist sections were instructed to follow that course, accordingly.

After 1923 the Soviet Government no longer could hope for revolutions in Europe and the rule of the Communist Party abroad changed accordingly.

This must not be taken to mean, however, the Soviet Government and its leader, Stalin, came to the conclusion to dispense with the Communist International. Quite the contrary; they decided to use the International for other purposes, namely, for their own internal and foreign policies.

The fact that Stalin requires the Communist International for his own internal policy became very clear during the purges. The Russian people don't know the position of the Communist International; they imagine it to represent the working-class movements within Europe and America, relying on the authority which the Communist International has, in the eyes of the Russian people, and on Stalin who is able to use the Communist International, the authority of the Communists International, to convince the Russian people that the working classes of Europe and of America support him in his purges, and in his war against the Russian people.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, he uses the International to convince the Russian people that he has the workers of the world behind him?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Absolutely true.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you understand, Mr. Counsel, that Stalin controls the Communist International himself?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. I think he has already explained that, Mr. Chairman, that the Soviet Government in effect is the Political Bu-



reau of the Communist Party of Russia and that the Communist International and its branches in various countries are just branches of the Communist Party of Russia.

The Comintern, the administrative branch, according to Mr. Krivitsky, is just the channel through which Stalin transmits his orders to the Communist Parties of the world.

The CHAIRMAN. But he has not made this clear. The Communist Parties throughout the world make up the Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And he said they undertook to create the impression that they have no influence on each other.

Now what is the relative influence exercised by the Russian Communist Party, in the Communist International, as compared with the other Communist Parties? Do they dominate the Communist International?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Of the authority and whatever prestige the Communist Party has, through that Communist Party of the Soviet Union they are able to completely dominate all of the other sections and if the other sections do not like they get out.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the point. In other words as I understand it, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union completely controls the Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And in turn the Political Bureau of the Russian Government controls the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And in turn Stalin controls both as general secretary of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I understand him, Stalin uses the Communist International to support not only his internal prestige and policy, but his foreign policies.

In other words he has just given an illustration as to how he uses the support concerning his internal policies; how he uses it to justify the purges by making the people in Russia believe that the Communist International—that is, the Workers of the World—was behind him.

Now will you give an indication as to how he uses that to carry out his support of foreign policies? Will you continue, Mr. Krivitsky?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. As far as the foreign policy is concerned: Every time there is a change in the foreign policy of the Soviet Government the representatives of the Communist International, who are in fact representatives of the Soviet Government, receive their instructions as to the best method of transmitting this new line to each foreign section of the Communist International and how to spread and popularize Stalin's policy in each country.

The last example particularly was how the Communist International, through its newspapers, magazines, and other organs, succeeded in developing and explaining the new foreign policy of Stalin to the people of the various countries.

Furthermore, if it were not for the work of the Communist Party abroad, and of the sympathizers during 1936 and 1937, the purge could have never been carried out successfully.

This demonstrates very clearly the extent to which Stalin needs them.

Mr. THOMAS. I do not quite understand the reason for that; that is, why the purges depended upon the policy of the Communist Parties abroad.

Mr. WHITLEY. My understanding of that Mr. Thomas, is that the purge of Russia—

Mr. SHUB (the interpreter). He is perfectly willing to answer that.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; let him answer.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The greatest purge in 1936 and 1937 was the war against all institutions of the country, political, economic, and military. The only support which Stalin had for those purges in Russia was from the secret police.

It is evident that he required some support from abroad for all these measures.

All the support which Stalin required from abroad was organized by the sections of the Communist International.

Mr. THOMAS. You mean by that moral support?

Mr. WHITLEY. Public opinion.

Mr. THOMAS. Public opinion.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. I understand.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. In Russia he could hope for no moral support.

Mr. WHITLEY. Anything further, Mr. Krivitsky, with reference to the manner in which he used the Communist International?

What about the recent pact between Hitler and Stalin; does that illustrate the use of it?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Would you repeat that question again?

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the recent Stalin-Hitler pact further illustrate the manner in which Stalin uses the Communist International and the foreign sections to support his policy?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. I believe so.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, my question is that he uses the International machinery to try to popularize the pact?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. It is quite evident that this last step taken by Stalin, which shocked the entire world, had to be popularized through some medium.

Stalin had been emphasizing for a number of years that he was collaborating with the democracies and that he would fight for the defense of small nations against aggression by Hitler. After Stalin had abandoned this policy, through secret diplomacy, he required the Communist International to explain that change to Europe and America.

Mr. THOMAS. How does Stalin transmit his opinion in regard to the pact to the Communist Party here? What I am trying to bring out is the fact that it was 2 days before the Daily Worker announced the stand of the Communist Party. How was that transmitted; through what channel was it transmitted?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Immediately after the pact was signed, Dimitrov, chief of the Communist International, and Manuilsky, his assistant, received instructions to transmit the new instructions characterizing the new policy. These instructions are transmitted to the representa-

tives of the Communist International who are resident in every country where there is an important Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, would they be transmitted through the Embassy here, or direct to the representative?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Sometimes the representative of the Communist International works in the Embassy; other times he is here illegally.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, do you know, in this particular case, in the particular case of the United States, whether they would be transmitted through the Embassy or direct to Earl Browder?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. I believe that in the case of the United States, in this particular instance, since it was a matter of such great importance, that it was transmitted through the Embassy.

Mr. THOMAS. Just one more question. Does Stalin completely dominate Earl Browder's Communist Party policies here in the United States?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Completely.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, will you explain to the committee the processes, or the procedure, by which the Soviet Government, through the Communist International, maintains complete control over the foreign parties or groups? What mediums does it use?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. With every country where there is an important Communist Party, and certainly in the United States, there is a representative of the Communist International sent from Moscow, who works directly with Earl Browder, the general secretary of the American Communist Party, and transmits to him instructions concerning the political course of the American Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now is that Comintern representative, so-called Comintern representative, in effect a representative of the Soviet Government?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. As a practical matter, he is a representative of the Soviet Government.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Krivitsky, what are the functions of these so-called Comintern representatives in the various countries where there are important Communist Parties? Just what do they do?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. I want it understood that there are sometimes several of these representatives.

Mr. WHITLEY. Sometimes more than one?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes. There is usually one representative whose function it is to guide the political line of the Communist Party. There is also a representative for technical purposes—a sort of a liaison man to transmit instructions, money, mail, passports.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, he transmits all those things from the Comintern, or the Soviet Government, to the party in the country where he is stationed?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you say that one of his functions is to direct the political line of the party in the country where he is stationed? To what extent does he do that?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Inasmuch as the political line is decided in Moscow without consulting the American Communist Party members in any fashion, instructions transmitted to the Comintern representative are absolute.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, who is the real leader or head of the Communist Party in the United States, Mr. Krivitsky? Is it its general secretary, Mr. Earl Browder?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean is he subject to instructions of the Comintern representative?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Absolutely. The moment he stops obeying these instructions, he ceases to be a member of the American Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. And, then, do you mean that the actual head of the American Communist Party is the Comintern representative who is here at the time?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes; absolutely.

Mr. THOMAS. But is not the actual head, the absolute head of the Communist Party here, Stalin?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes; of course—Stalin, who gives his instructions through his representatives.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, you have explained the manner in which the Comintern representatives function in the foreign parties. Do the Communist parties in foreign countries send their representatives or delegates to the Comintern in Moscow?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes. The Communist parties have their representatives in Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that all of the parties, or some of them?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Not all the parties; only the parties which are of some importance to Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, what are the functions of the representatives from the foreign countries to the Comintern; what authority do they have?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. According to the formal constitution of the Communist International, these representatives and delegates are supposed to take a part in reaching the decisions of the Communist International. In reality, this is never the case; they are merely figureheads.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do they just approve policies that have already been decided upon?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Will you repeat that question?

Mr. WHITLEY. Do these representatives which these foreign parties send to Moscow, to the Comintern—do they just approve policies which have already been decided upon?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. That is their only function.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are there many instances in which the delegates from the foreign parties disagree?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. There have been such instances. Whenever this has occurred, the Soviet Government has taken appropriate measures against such individuals. These measures range from transfer to Soviet office positions to imprisonment, exile, and execution.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, if any of the delegates do not agree, they are disciplined for questioning the policies that are laid down by the Comintern?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes; but the word "discipline" is entirely too moderate.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, are the important leaders of Communist parties in foreign countries sometimes called to Moscow to be disciplined for action they have taken in their countries?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. This is a normal practice of the Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. And under what circumstances would a leader of a Communist party in a foreign country be called there for discipline? What would be the circumstances?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. If he does not follow the instructions which he has received from Moscow and carry out the policies which he is notified to execute.

Mr. WHITLEY. He would be called there and disciplined for that?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does that apply particularly to illegal or underground parties? In other words, does Moscow have a little freer hand in disciplining the leaders of those parties?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Obviously it is easier for them to deal with representatives of illegal Communist Parties, because these individuals have no protection. And by this means, in the last few years, they have destroyed—that is, Moscow has destroyed, through its secret policies, virtually the entire central committees of the Polish, Hungarian, German, and other illegal Communist Parties.

(Thereupon, at 11:45 a. m., the committee went into executive session, at the conclusion of which a recess was taken until 1:30 p. m.)

#### AFTER RECESS

The committee reconvened pursuant to the taking of the recess, Hon Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. All right Mr. Whitley.

#### TESTIMONY OF WALTER G. KRIVITSKY—Resumed

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, at the time we adjourned for lunch you were testifying with reference to the manner in which the Comintern have frequently called in the leaders of parties in foreign countries to Moscow where those leaders were disciplined for some infraction of the rules or policies laid down by the Comintern. Is that a regular procedure?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what does this discipline of these party leaders consist of: what manner of discipline is meted out?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The number of foreign Communist representatives who were recalled to Moscow to be disciplined and to be punished has never been determined. It certain runs into many hundreds. I will mention the names of a few of the leading German, Polish, Hungarian, and Austrian Communist leaders who were summoned to Moscow to be punished.

Punishment began with demotion and ended with execution in many cases.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you give us those names of the leaders?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes. Some of the German Communist leaders are Heinz Newman, a former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, and a member of the Reichstag. He was arrested in May 1937, and shot.

Hans Kiepenberger, a former member of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party and a member of the Reichstag. He was arrested and shot.

Remmele, a former member of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party and a member of the Reichstag, who was arrested and shot.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean after being recalled to Moscow for discipline?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes—in all of these cases, after recall to Moscow and after a considerable period of imprisonment.

Mr. THOMAS. Well were all these people citizens of Germany?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes; they were all citizens of Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. Citizens of Germany and leaders in the German Communist Party, but they were called to Moscow and disciplined there.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Max Hoeltz, a former leader of the German Communist Party and a member of the Reichstag. Max Hoeltz was in Moscow in 1934. He wished to return to Germany, because he disagreed with Stalin's policies, but was not permitted to leave the Soviet Union. He was shot by the secret police and, as a camouflage, a report was issued that he had drowned. An important leader of the Soviet secret police gave me these facts.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are there any other party leaders in foreign countries, Mr. Krivitsky, who have been disciplined?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. I will now mention the names of several Polish leaders.

Dombal, a former member of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party and a former member of the Polish parliament. He lived in Moscow as a refugee and worked in the apparatus of the Comintern. He was arrested in 1935 and shot in 1936 as a Polish spy.

Lenski, a former member of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party. He was arrested in May 1937 and shot the following month.

Henry Howski, a former member of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, arrested in May 1937 and shot in July 1937.

Bronkowski, a former member of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party and a member of the high command of the Red Army, arrested in May 1937 and shot in July 1937.

The most famous Hungarian Communist leader, Bela Kun, was arrested in May 1937 and shot that same year.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is sufficient, Mr. Krivitsky.

Now, as I understand it, all of those were leaders of foreign parties who were subjected to the Comintern discipline because they did not follow orders, or for some other infraction of the rules or instructions?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The matter cannot be put as simply as that. At this stage of the purge it was no longer a question of whether they

agreed or disagreed with the political line of the party; it was simply a question of Stalin's distrusting them for some reason.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, Earl Browder, in his testimony before this committee, stated that the World Congress of the Communist International, such congresses being held in Moscow from time to time, was made up of elected delegates from the various Communist Parties and that the World Congress is the supreme authority of the Communist International and all affiliated parties and that it is the only body competent to decide upon, and adopt, programs and policies binding upon all of the parties throughout the world.

I would like to have your comment upon that procedure and what the rule of the World Congress is.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. As a practical matter, congresses of the Communist International are called to ratify decisions already reached, rather than to reach any decisions of their own. The last congress of the Communist International took place in August 1935. The last congress of the Comintern, in 1935, adopted the policy of the popular front, of collective security, of defense of small nations which might be the victims of aggression, and of collaboration with democracies, and an uncompromising war against Hitler.

There has been no congress of the Communist International since August 1935, and August 1939, when the pact was signed.

This pact destroys completely the entire policy laid down at the seventh and last congress of the Communist International. For this reason Browder is inaccurate when he says that a congress of the Comintern is necessary in order to change the policy of the Comintern. The policy was changed by the pact, and adopted—the new policy. This pact was the decision of Stalin and the political bureau of the Russian Communist Party, and it was adopted immediately by all foreign Communist Parties, including the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, what is the source of the finances for the operations of the Comintern and the foreign parties of the Communist Party—the Communist International?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The chief source of finance is the Soviet treasury.

Mr. WHITLEY. To what extent does the Soviet Government, through the Comintern, subsidize the activities of foreign parties, including the party in the United States?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. People in the highest circles know that no Communist Party anywhere in the world is in a position to cover perhaps 10 percent of its expenses and expenditures. We knew that the balance—that is, a figure of approximately 90 percent—was covered by the Soviet treasury.

Mr. WHITLEY. Through the Comintern machinery?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Through the operations of the Comintern.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who decides how much the parties in the various countries are to receive by way of subsidies, Mr. Krivitsky?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. As I have already indicated, each Communist Party, or rather the more important Communist Parties, are in contact with a representative of the Comintern from Moscow. The question of expenditures is discussed with him, and he makes recommendations. He makes these recommendations to Dimitrov, chair-

man of the Comintern, who transmits them to the political bureau of the Russian Communist Party.

MR. WHITLEY. And does the political bureau of the Russian Communist Party make the final decision as to the amount of the subsidy to be granted?

MR. KRIVITSKY. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, how are the subsidies or the funds allotted to the various foreign parties transmitted to those parties?

MR. KRIVITSKY. That depends upon the position which the party occupies in the particular country. If the country maintains diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, the task is a comparatively simple one. The money is transmitted through diplomatic channels. When the party operates illegally, in a country which does not maintain diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, money is transmitted through couriers traveling illegally.

MR. THOMAS. Mr. Krivitsky, do you mean to say, then, that in the case of the United States the funds are transmitted through the diplomatic channels existing between the United States and Soviet Russia?

MR. KRIVITSKY. While this is probably one of the channels—that is, through the embassy—it is not necessarily the only one. There might be other and illegal ways of transmitting money as well.

MR. THOMAS. That may be so; but, as I understand the witness, he means to give the impression that one of the ways, however, in the case of the United States is through the embassy.

MR. KRIVITSKY. Yes.

MR. THOMAS. And does the witness want to tell the committee why he makes that kind of a statement? I mean, what sort of proof he has to substantiate it.

MR. KRIVITSKY. I make the statement on the basis of my observation of the practice in other countries of Europe with which I am more closely acquainted.

MR. WHITLEY. Are there any other channels, Mr. Krivitsky? For instance, are funds sometimes transmitted through the trade organizations in the foreign countries, such as Amtorg in this country?

MR. KRIVITSKY. Yes; that is one of the channels used.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, how did the Soviet Government finance the Communist Party activities in other countries during the early days following the revolution, and before the Soviet Government had any currency?

MR. KRIVITSKY. During the early days of the Soviet regime, before the government had any appreciable currency at its disposal, its chief source of revenue was in gold and jewelry which had been confiscated and which was in the possession of the Chekov. The Chekov, for all practical purposes, was the Soviet treasury at that time. And during those years Comintern money—that is, funds for Comintern activities—were transmitted in the form of gold and jewelry, requisitioned by Zenoviev, chief of the Comintern, who communicated with Djerzhinski, first chief of the Chekov.

MR. VOORHIS. During what years was this?

MR. KRIVITSKY. Approximately until 1922 or 1923.

THE CHAIRMAN. Ask him in that connection, Mr. Counsellor, for what purpose does the Soviet Government transmit cash now? In other words, this committee has testimony that Mr. Carp was given,



as he admitted, \$100,000 in cash that he brought to the United States, but there is evidence that he actually had \$400,000 in cash. For what purposes does the Soviet Government now transmit cash? What is the necessity? That is what I want him to answer, if he can. Why, since they can transmit this money through diplomatic channels, or by legal methods, would they, as in the case of Mr. Carp, transmit cash money, and he would put it in his safe?

MR. KRIVITSKY. The obvious reason is that cash—there can be no check-up on it, as would be true in the case of checks or money orders of any kind.

THE CHAIRMAN. All right.

MR. WHITLEY. Did you finish your answer to the last question?

MR. KRIVITSKY. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. In other words, Mr. Krivitsky, during the early days following the revolution, the Soviet Government, instead of sending currency, sent the confiscated jewels and gold to the other countries where they were converted into cash to carry on party activities in those countries?

MR. KRIVITSKY. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, will you explain to the committee the functions of the Military Intelligence Service of the Soviet Government?

MR. KRIVITSKY. Soviet Military Intelligence has approximately the same function as the military intelligence of any other country. The unique feature of the Soviet Military Intelligence is that it is able to enlist and recruit members of the Communist Parties in the countries in which it operates.

MR. WHITLEY. In other words, it is similar to the military intelligence service of other countries with that exception, that it uses the members and officials of the Communist parties in other countries to carry on its activities?

MR. KRIVITSKY. That is absolutely true. The leaders of every Communist Party consider it their duty to aid the Soviet Military Intelligence in its work.

MR. WHITLEY. Will you explain, Mr. Krivitsky, to the committee, the functions of the organization known as the Ogpu?

MR. KRIVITSKY. The Ogpu, which is the Soviet secret police system, replaced the old organization known as the Chekov in 1923. "Chekov" is a Russian abbreviation for "extraordinary commission." This body was founded in 1917. In 1934 all of the functions of the Ogpu were transferred to the newly created Commissariat for Internal Affairs. The secret police in this Commissariat is now known as the Chief Department of State Security. The functions of the secret police in this new organization are identical with the functions of the Ogpu.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as the secret police system of the Soviet Government is generally known as the Ogpu, I think it would be well, for committee purposes, to continue to refer to it as such, even though Mr. Krivitsky states that the name has in recent years been changed. It is still known to the public as the Ogpu, and its functions are the same.

THE CHAIRMAN. All right.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, will you explain the difference between the Soviet police system and the police systems in democratic countries?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The chief difference is that the Soviet secret police has unlimited powers. (He wants me to underline the fact of "unlimited powers.") It acts as police, prosecutor, judge, jailer, and executioner. During the great purge in 1936 and 1937 the courts became a fiction, and the purge was carried out through the Ogpu from the beginning to the end.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, does the Ogpu deal primarily with political offenses in the Soviet Union?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. In recent years all offenses, practically, have become political offenses. Ordinary cases of theft by peasants from collective farms are considered political offenses. By the terms of a Soviet decree of April 8, 1935, thefts by children over the age of 12 were made capital political offenses.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that the type of democracy that the Communist Party of the United States defends and wants, Mr. Krivitsky?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. I should like in this connection to distinguish between the leaders of the Communist Party and the rank and file. I believe that the rank and file, on the whole, does not know what is going on in Russia. The leaders know the truth and defend things which they know to be lies.

Mr. THOMAS. Right at that point: Why do the leaders here in the United States, such as Earl Browder, defend conditions in Russia when they and he know they are lies?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. I cannot answer that question without passing moral judgment on the leaders of the Communist Party. I have no desire to do so. I merely wish to state the fact that they are in a position to know the truth.

Mr. THOMAS. They are also in a position to know better. Go on.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, are there any other differences between the secret police of the Soviet Government and the secret police of other countries?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The important difference is that the Soviet secret police operates outside the territory of the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are its operations outside of the territory of the Soviet Union very extensive? Does it operate in many countries?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes. The Soviet secret police operates in every country in which the Soviet Union has definite interests.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is there a special branch of the Ogpu for the purpose of carrying on operations in other countries?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes; there is a special division in the Ogpu known as the foreign division, which directs all of the extra-territorial operations of the Soviet secret police.

Mr. WHITLEY. And how does that foreign division of the Ogpu operate, Mr. Krivitsky? How does it function?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The foreign division of the Ogpu in Moscow is organized into sections for each of the important countries in which the Ogpu operates. Each section sends its agents into the countries involved.

Mr. WHITLEY. Into the countries represented by that section?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Represented by that section.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, what is the relationship between the Military Intelligence Service of the Soviet Government and its secret police or Ogpu?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. For many years the Soviet Military Intelligence and the foreign division of the Ogpu operated independently although they coordinated their activities whenever necessary. Beginning in 1935 and 1936, when Stalin no longer trusted the high command of the "red" army, he quite naturally distrusted the Military Intelligence as well, and placed it under the control of the Ogpu.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, will you explain to the committee just what functions the Ogpu or the Soviet Secret Service performs in foreign countries where they operate?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The first job of the Ogpu is to spy on all soviet citizens in the country in which a section of the Ogpu is operating. This means all the soviet officials, employees at embassies, of trade organizations, beginning with the Ambassador, down to the last clerk. The Soviet Government does not take the loyalty of its officials for granted abroad any more than they do when they are in Russia. Second, the Ogpu spies upon Russian emigrants. In earlier years these were White Russian emigrés, but in recent years they have come to be the so-called Trotskyite oppositionists as well.

Mr. WHITLEY. What are some of the other functions performed by the Ogpu abroad?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The Ogpu is interested in having the records of all the friends and enemies of the Soviet Union in each country. It makes this list. I wish to make it clear in this connection that I am not speaking of Russian citizens, but of citizens of the country in which the Ogpu operates, Americans, Frenchmen, and so forth, who at some time or other have evidenced friendship or hostility toward the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, would the secret agents of the Soviet Government consider a public committee such as this as an enemy worthy of their attention?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir; to the extent that this committee is engaged in exposing to the American public some of the crimes of the Stalin regime, I have no doubt they are the target of the Ogpu's very active interest.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are there any other functions of the secret police operating in foreign countries?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The Ogpu is interested in the entire political and economic life of this country and of every other country in which it operates. For this reason, it has had agents planted in all the important institutions, governmental and otherwise, in all institutions which in some fashion concern the Soviet Government and its interests.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, you mentioned a moment ago that Ogpu agents compiled much data concerning individuals in foreign countries who are considered to be enemies or opposed to soviet policies or programs. Do they take any positive action in those countries where an individual, in their opinion, becomes sufficiently dangerous to the Soviet Government?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir. In addition to the passive role of espionage, there is an active role beginning with their compromising those people and discrediting them, and extending to kidnaping and murdering them if necessary.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you mean to say that the secret police or Ogpu of the Soviet Government go so far as to engage in kidnaping or murdering people of foreign countries, and on the territory of foreign countries?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir; I mean exactly that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you, of your own knowledge, know of any such instances?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you mention some instance which you know of your own knowledge where that has occurred?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. In Spain the Ogpu killed Mark Rein, Kent Landau, Andrea Nein, and a young Englishman whom I referred to as a friend. Unfortunately, I cannot mention the name, because I do not have the permission of his family in England to do so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were those individuals you have named, all persons who were murdered by Ogpu agents on the territory of another country?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. I cannot say that they were killed on Spanish territory. They were either killed in Spain or later on in Russia.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was the reason in the case of those people?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Mark Rein's only crime was that he was a Russian social emigré, and during the period immediately preceding the trial of Bukharin and Ryko, the Ogpu was anxious to link Bukharin and Ryko with Russian social emigrés abroad. For this purpose Rein was kidnaped and later disappeared. Landau and Andrea Nein were considered to be followers of Trotsky in Moscow, although it is not strictly accurate. The Englishman, whom I call "friend," was in the service of the Ogpu himself, and he was said to be a sympathizer with Trotsky.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any other instances that have occurred in other countries?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. At Paris the Ogpu kidnaped and killed Generals Kontiapoff and Miller. White Russian generals, and in Paris the Ogpu kidnaped and killed Rudolph Klement because they considered him a Trotskyite. In Switzerland the Ogpu murdered Ignace Reiss who had worked for the Soviet Government for many years. They did this when they learned that Reiss, as a result of the Moscow trials, had decided to break with the Soviet Government.

The CHAIRMAN. There is one point that has not been made perfectly clear, although I think it is implied, and that is whether or not the Communist Party officials in the United States are required to cooperate with and aid the Ogpu and the Soviet Military Intelligence agents in this country.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir; insofar as they are members of a disciplined political party, it is their duty to render assistance to the Soviet Government in every sphere in which it operates.

The CHAIRMAN. Would that apply also to members of the party as well as officials? In other words, are members of the party who are stationed in industry and in the Government, or some other strategic positions, required to furnish aid to the Ogpu agents?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir; it is their duty in every position in which they are located or stationed, governmental or industrial.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, if there are 100,000 members in the United States, the Ogpu would have aid and cooperation from 100,000 people if those people were to follow the discipline of the party: Is that right?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir; 100,000 is the theoretical number at their disposal.

Mr. SHUB (the interpreter). He wants to change that slightly. He says it means potentially that every member of the Communist Party is available for the Ogpu and Soviet Military Intelligence if he can meet the qualifications required of him by the Ogpu for Military Intelligence.

The CHAIRMAN. Would they get information from a party member who might be entirely innocent? In other words, if they can get information from any member of the party, do they make a practice of doing that? What I mean is do they use members of the party and friends of the party in the country in getting information with reference to this country?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir. It very often happens that a member of the party furnishes information of this kind to individuals whose identity he does not know, without realizing that he is thereby engaged in espionage.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you say that the Ogpu has any agents in our United States Army or Navy?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Undoubtedly, they do have agents in the Army and Navy.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, he does not know that with reference of the United States of his knowledge, but he knows how they operate by watching the operations in other countries.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir; it must be assumed that in the United States, as in other countries, one of their objectives is to obtain military and naval information.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, it is reasonable to assume that the Ogpu has agents in the Army and Navy today?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if you are in a position to tell us whether, or not, much information is obtained by the Ogpu agents in the United States and transmitted to Russia. Do you know that from your contacts and experience?

Mr. WHITLEY. He has had close contact with agents who operated in this country for years, although he has not operated here himself personally.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. I have no immediate first-hand knowledge of that, because I was never occupied with the American question so far as espionage is concerned, but I have no doubt that the machinery was probably as good here as it was in other parts of Europe.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you be in a position to say whether or not information obtained by the Ogpu with the cooperation of the Communist Party in the United States is now being made available or would be available to Hitler in the event of any necessity? In other words, are there agents of the Ogpu in the United States cooperating with German agents and Italian agents working in this country, and are we now confronted in this country with a combined espionage problem?

Mr. SHUB (the interpreter). He is formulating his answer to that question now.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir. Cooperation between the Soviet Red Army and the German Reich began before Hitler came into power. There were occasions when they cooperated in espionage and exchange of military information through the two Army commands. Inasmuch as Stalin's pact with Hitler is really an alliance of the two Armies, operating in specified zones, I have no doubt that such exchange of military secrets and information, as well as other forms of collaboration, is indispensable to both Hitler and Stalin.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to be sure I understand that. Did you say that cooperation between the Reich and the Red Army was being carried on before Hitler came into power in Germany?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to know a little more about that, Mr. Krivitsky.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes. It is a matter of common knowledge, I believe, that until the Treaty of Rapallo, in 1922, and until Hitler came into power the Red Army, the "red" representatives of the Reichswehr, trained its officers and men on Soviet territory and thereby evaded the prohibition of the Treaty of Versailles.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, in Soviet intelligence and secret-police circles, is the United States considered to be a difficult country in which to operate and in which to obtain information?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have heard the matter discussed in those circles.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, do you know whether the Soviet Government put pressure on the Loyalist government of Spain to stage trials, purge trials, similar to those which were conducted in Russia during the 1936-37 purges?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. During the great Moscow demonstration trials, Stalin was disturbed at the effect that those trials had abroad, and he was, therefore, very anxious to stage similar trials in other countries of Europe so as to convince world opinion that the Moscow trials and confessions were genuine.

Stalin thought that it might be possible to stage such trials in countries in which Russian influence was very strong, primarily Spain, and to a lesser extent, Czechoslovakia.

In Spain, where the Ogpu had friendly hands, he had the Ogpu prepare the grounds for such trials.

In Czechoslovakia, where his position was not as great, efforts were made in this behalf and ended in failure.

Mr. WHITLEY. And, as I understand it, the purpose of these trials as staged in Spain, after having been prepared by the Ogpu agents, was to convince the rest of the world the opponents and enemies of Stalin in other countries, as well as Russia, were Fascist and Nazi agents. Was that the purpose?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes; the purpose of these trials, outside of the Soviet Russia, as well as in Russia also, was to demonstrate that all opponents of Stalin were Fascist agents.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, what other means did the Ogpu and the military intelligence use for the purpose of trying to convince the

world outside of Russia that the Moscow purge trials were genuine and that the opponents of Stalin were Fascist and Nazi agents?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. That would depend upon the country and upon the position and strength of the Communist Party in the particular country.

Where in some countries this was accomplished mainly through press propaganda, in other countries through the political activities on the part of the Communist Party.

In other words, where the position of the Soviet Republic and of the Communist Party was stronger, attempts were made to influence the conduct of Government officials.

I have an example in mind. I know of my own personal knowledge that after the leading generals of the "red" army were shot by Stalin in June 1937, the Ogpu and the Soviet Military Intelligence prepared special files of alleged evidence which purported to show that the generals executed were Nazi and Fascist agents.

This file was prepared for the specific benefit of President Benes, of Czechoslovakia, and through military channels it reached President Benes.

President Benes at that time relied upon the promise of Soviet military assistance in Czechoslovakia against Hitler, and Benes was in a position where he had to believe the evidence, the alleged evidence, in the file.

I know of my own personal knowledge that he attempted to convince other chancelleries of Europe that Tukhachevsky and the other leading generals of the "red" army were Nazi spies.

I believe that in view of the present situation—that is, the Nazi-Soviet pact—it is time for President Benes to reexamine and recall his mind to the information which was prepared for his benefit for the Soviet Military Intelligence and by the Ogpu.

Mr. THOMAS. They shot them first and prepared the evidence afterward?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, do you know anything concerning the disappearance of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, who disappeared in New York City June 4, 1937?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. No. I have no first-hand information. I could express an opinion based upon my experience in previous cases, but I prefer not to.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, will you explain to the committee just how the Ogpu accomplishes its function, its mission, in foreign countries; the mechanics through which it operates and the sources it utilizes?

All of this will be repetition of his answer to your question a moment ago, but I think he will show the sources they use very clearly if he repeats it again, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The chief of the local Ogpu has a staff perhaps of five or six people who have come with him from Moscow.

The operative staff of the Ogpu, however, is recruited from the ranks of the local Communist Party.

The resident Ogpu agent obtains these people through the members of the central committee of the local Communist Party with whom he is in contact.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is one member of the central committee or the national committee of the local Communist Party designated as contact man for the Ogpu chief?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Sometimes there is one member of the central committee for that purpose. At other times there may be two or three members of the central committee who are in contact with resident agent of the Ogpu.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, the actual work of obtaining the information—say, it is industrial secrets or carrying out crimes, including kidnaping and murder, that is performed by the resident Ogpu chief and his immediate staff sent there from Moscow—are those activities carried out by the members of the local Communist Party recruited for that purpose?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Orders for this purpose come through from Moscow through the local chief of the Ogpu or his staff. The actual work is done, however, by the people recruited from the local Communist Party, ordinarily citizens of the particular country in which the Ogpu is operating.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, have you ever heard discussion in the Soviet official circles with reference to the extreme close relationship between the Ogpu agents in the United States and the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes; I have. Until a few years ago the American—until a few years ago Moscow had a very low opinion of the political worth of the American Communist Party, and the opinion of the Soviet people was that since this party did not perform any important political roles that it might as well be put to practical use in the interests of the Soviet Union.

Mr. THOMAS. Right at that point, will you develop that point of the situation: You say up until a few years ago the Soviet Union did not have much regard for the political activity of the Communist Party here.

Mr. WHITLEY. I presume you mean that in recent years that Moscow had had higher regard for the political worth of the American party?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. After the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, with the adoption of the popular front and the Trojan horse tactics, as Dimitrov referred to it, the value of the importance of the American Communist Party to Moscow increased tremendously.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, does the Ogpu agency in the foreign countries receive assistance and cooperation from the Soviet diplomatic representatives in the countries in which they are operating?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. As a matter of fact, all of the employees of the Soviet Embassy are subject to the orders of the local Ogpu chief.

However, the local Ogpu chief may not always trust all of these people, and he maintains contact with only those in whom he has implicit confidence.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, do the Ogpu agencies operating in foreign countries also utilize the services of the Communist Party sympathizers and of members of the Communist Party front organizations?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. I am not entirely clear as to what you mean by "front organizations." I know that these people are recruited for the Ogpu from the Communist Party and from organizations which are regarded as sympathetic with the Communist Party, and that



often for a particular job it was more advantageous to use a person who was actually not a member of the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever, Mr. Krivitsky—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). Have you finished with that thought?

Mr. WHITLEY. No; I have not.

Do you recall any instances in which the members of the League for Peace and Democracy—I believe the name of the predecessor organization was League Against War and Fascism—was extremely useful to you in your intelligence work in France?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes; we have very often required the work of such people in France for our work.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to ask a question there, if I may.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is it not true that a very great deal of care in the selection of people for such work? What I mean is that the mere matter of fact that somebody was a member of some organization, or even if he were a member of the Communist Party, would not be, I take it, sufficient to mean that they were going to be entrusted with secret work of this character. Is that right?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes; of course. Very great care is exercised in selecting people for such work. Before any individual is recruited a very thorough investigation concerning him and a lengthy file is prepared with all available information as to his background and other qualifications; and in any case, even when such individual has passed the tests made of him, he will ordinarily receive a position removed by considerable distance from the center of such activities.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, awhile ago you said that a distinction should be made between the rank and file of the Communist Party and leaders.

Now, would that apply to things like this: I mean persons who had or had not been members of the party, would they be informed of the full implications of what was being done, of all the ramifications of this organization, or would they gradually be told of them over a period of time, to see how they would take it, whether they could be trusted with more information as time went on?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. The new recruit to the party, in the first instance, is furnished very little information concerning the political program of the party and its institutions.

After he has been in the party for some time and after he has shown certain qualifications or indicated a desire to engage in such work, then he may be recruited for other more serious tasks.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to go back a little to some of the testimony you gave a moment ago.

Mr. Krivitsky, you mentioned that the value of the Community Party in the United States has increased in the past 2 years. The answer was not exactly clear to me, and I would like to know why it is more valuable and how it is more valuable.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. In connection with the decision of the Soviet Government at the time, or about the time, of the Seventh Congress to collaborate with democracies, in consideration given the American Communist Party, it adopted a new policy of working in a democratic way, and that this was of great importance to Moscow. Moscow needed the sympathy of the American people during that time, and of the American Government.

Mr. THOMAS. You mean now that it has gotten the sympathy of the American Government?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. No. He meant to say that the Soviet Government attempted to win the sympathy of the American people and of the American Government, and for this reason the American Communist Party received instructions to work in a seemingly democratic fashion. I believe that when they embarked upon this democratic policy, and so long as they clung to it, they did succeed in increasing their influence considerably.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, can you give the names of some of the military intelligence officers whom you knew and who have worked in the United States along the lines you have already indicated—that those officers did work in the United States and other countries?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean Ogpu agents?

Mr. WHITLEY. No; military agents, first; then we will get some Ogpu agents.

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Yes. Some of the resident chiefs of the Soviet Military Intelligence in this country have been Felix Wolf. He was the chief of the Soviet Military Intelligence in this country from approximately 1924 to 1929.

Alfred Tilden, chief of the Soviet Military Intelligence in this country from approximately 1929 to 1933. He later commanded motorized detachments of the White Russian military district. He was arrested in May 1937 and shot.

Boras Bykov, chief of the Soviet Military Intelligence in this country since 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Krivitsky, are the names that you have given the real names of these individuals and the names under which they operated in this country?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. These are their real names—the names under which they were known in Soviet Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what names they used or have used while they were operating over here?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. No; I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now can you name some of the chiefs of the Ogpu who were known to you and who have operated in the United States?

Mr. KRIVITSKY. Some of the resident chiefs of the Ogpu in the United States were Alexander Karen, from about 1929 to 1933. He was also the assistant chief of the foreign division of the Ogpu.

Valentine Markin, chief of the Ogpu in this country about 1933 and '34. He was killed in New York in 1934 under circumstances which have never become clear.

Boras Shpak, chief of the Ogpu in this country during 1936 and 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, that completes the material that has been prepared and that Mr. Krivitsky had planned to present today. He could continue, but it is a logical breaking point in his material.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(The committee thereupon took a recess until tomorrow, Friday, October 13, 1939, 10 a. m.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10 a. m. in the caucus room, House Office Building, Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Dies, Starnes, and Voorhis, members of committee.

Also present: Mr. Matthews, director of research for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Now, Mr. Malkin, will you please come around.

## TESTIMONY OF MAURICE L. MALKIN, NEW YORK CITY

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand; you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you give your full name?

Mr. MALKIN. My name is Maurice L. Malkin.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where do you live, Mr. Malkin?

Mr. MALKIN. 434 East Sixteenth Street, New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. MALKIN. I was born in Russia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. MALKIN. I was born November 10, 1900.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. MALKIN. February 27, 1914.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a citizen?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you naturalized?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. MALKIN. April 15, 1926, at the southern district court, New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Malkin?

Mr. MALKIN. I have been a member of the Communist Party since its inception in this country in 1919.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long were you a member?

Mr. MALKIN. I was a member for 16 years, up until 1936.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this your membership card in the Communist Party [exhibiting]?

Mr. MALKIN (after examining). Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a membership card in the Workers' (Communist) Party of America, American Section Communist International. Name, M. L. Malkin. Admitted charter member. Signed "District Organizer, William W. Weinstone."

Mr. Chairman, we have here numerous letters of introduction or credentials made out to Mr. Malkin, especially for the International Labor Defense. I will ask him to identify them one by one, rapidly, for the record.

Is that a letter of credentials from the International Labor Defense, signed by Carl Hacker, district organizer, for you, Mr. Malkin [exhibiting]?

Mr. MALKIN (after examining). Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that—a letter of credential, you say?

Mr. MATTHEWS. A letter of credential.

The CHAIRMAN. What does it say; just read it.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

OCTOBER 19, 1931.

CREDENTIAL

*To Whom It May Concern:*

This will introduce Comrade M. Malkin, who has been appointed as special organizer for the International Labor Defense to do field organization work in the Albany section.

Please give him every assistance possible.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that document?

Mr. MATTHEWS. October 19, 1931.

Here is another dated October 1, 1931:

*To Whom It May Concern:*

This is to certify that the bearer is authorized to act in the name of the International Labor Defense. Any courtesy extended to him will be appreciated. Thanking you.

Fraternally yours,

CARL HACKER,

*International Labor Defense, District Organizer*

Is that another one of your credentials?

Mr. MALKIN (after examining). Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Another one dated November 17, 1931:

*To Whom It May Concern:*

This will introduce Comrade M. Malkin, who is authorized to represent the International Labor Defense.

Any cooperation given him will be greatly appreciated by the above organization.

Fraternally,

M. STERN,

*District Organizer Section.*

The CHAIRMAN. I think that it is important to say that in all these witnesses we have had, we have introduced documents to show that the witnesses are acting in the capacity in which they represented.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Yet, in spite of that, stories continue to go out saying that "He claimed he was"; "he said he was"?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Yet, as a matter of fact, here are documents, as there have been in the case of every witness, showing his authenticity.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This one is signed, "M. Stern, district organizer secretary."

Will you please identify Mr. Stern, Mr. Malkin?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. He is. He is at present an organizer in one of the textile workers' unions of the C. I. O.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And who is Carl Hacker, who signed the first one?

Mr. MALKIN. Carl Hacker is district organizer of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Carl Hacker is a district organizer?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where he is located?

Mr. MALKIN. He is a district organizer of one of the districts of the Communist Party—I don't know where.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Malkin, we have here a letter from the Workers (Communist) Party of America, dated November 9, 1928, signed by William W. Weinstone, district organizer, instructing you to be present at a meeting of the district executive council [exhibiting].

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that the district executive council of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. That is the district executive committee of the district committee; that is the New York district.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You received those instructions, did you?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

(The letter above referred to is as follows:)

NOVEMBER 9, 1928.

M. MALKIN.

DEAR COMRADE: Please be present at the meeting of the district executive council to take place Sunday, November 11, at 1:30 p. m. sharp, at the district office.

Fraternally yours,

WILLIAM W. WEINSTONE,  
*District Organizer.*

Mr. MATTHEWS. Here is a letter on the stationery of Labor Unity, official organ of the Trade Union Educational League, dated June 1, 1928:

To All Labor Unions, Workers' Clubs, and Whom It May Concern:

Comrades: This is to certify that the bearer of this letter, M. L. Malkin, is a correspondent for Labor Unity, a staunch unionist, and a comrade in whom the greatest confidence can be placed. We hope that you will extend to him all courtesies, and give him such information and opportunities as will make it possible for him to give us the facts about the labor situation in your localities. Comrade Malkin has been prominent in the Furriers' struggle here.

Fraternally,

VERN SMITH,  
*Editor, Labor Unity.*

Did you receive those credentials?

Mr. MALKIN (after examining). Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is Vern Smith?

Mr. MALKIN. Vern Smith is a member of the Communist Party and was formerly editor of Labor Unity and a member of the national committee of the Trade Union Educational League—that is, formerly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever serve as these instructions indicate?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As correspondent for Labor Unity?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a copy of Labor Unity. What is the date of that publication?

Mr. MALKIN (after examining). That is August–September 1928.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There appears on page 31 an article entitled “Misleaders of Labor in Chile, by M. Malkin.” Did you write that article, Mr. Malkin?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And another copy of Labor Unity dated—

Mr. MALKIN. July 1928.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dated July 1928, in which an article appears on page 12 entitled “The Mineola Case Again, by M. Malkin.” Did you write that article?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you write other articles for Labor Unity as a correspondent?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; also the Daily Worker.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were also correspondent for the Daily Worker?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you travel extensively in these connections in the United States?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We have here a credential on the letter head of the “Joint Unity Committee of Independent Trade Unions,” dated June 28, 1935, which reads:

This is to certify that Brother Maurice Malkin has been appointed to represent the Joint Unity Committee at the Unemployment and Relief Conference on Friday evening, June 28th.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL NESIN, *Secretary*.

Will you please describe, briefly, the nature of the Joint Unity Committee of Independent Trade Unions?

Mr. MALKIN. It was a committee organized or sponsored, I believe, by the Communist Party for the purpose of bringing pressure upon Congress for more relief and W. P. A. and P. W. A. projects. It is a committee of trade unions to get all American Federation of Labor and independent unions together for that purpose.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We have here a letter on the stationery of the International Labor Defense dated June 6, 1930, addressed to Mr. Malkin and signed by Samuel A. Darcy. This letter is a two-page letter and I will not read it. What is the purport of that letter, Mr. Malkin?

Mr. MALKIN. While I was imprisoned for the Furriers' Union during the 1926 furriers' strike at Comstock, that is, being transferred from Sing Sing, I disagreed with the International Labor Defense in the nature and the way they defended my case, and also asked them for an accounting of all funds that they have collected under my name and in my name for the purpose of defending the *Mineola case*. In-

stead, I accused them of misusing these funds for Communist purposes. I had broken with the Communist Party at the time; I had broken previous to my entering Sing Sing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify Samuel A. Darcy?

Mr. MALKIN. Samuel Darcy was assistant secretary—assistant national secretary of the International Labor Defense. He was later an organizer in San Francisco, Calif., for the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he an organizer in San Francisco, Calif., during the general strike in 1934?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the Samuel Darcy who was recently indicted for perjury in California?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

(The letter last above referred to is in full as follows:)

JUNE 6, 1930.

L. M. MALKIN,  
*Comstock, N. Y.*

DEAR COM. MALKIN: This is to acknowledge your letter dated May 30th addressed to Com. Maurer.

We discussed this letter in the National Buro of the International Labor Defense and have the following to say in regard to it:

We have carefully gone over all our work in connection with this case. Altho we can see some minor shortcomings in connection with our work, yet in the main the International Labor Defense has done everything it possibly could in the case. If you have any concrete criticism we would be glad to hear you make it in a comradely spirit. Your attitude that our activities are misrepresenting our claim that we fight for the defense of class war prisoners is impermissible. Your further statement that we have done nothing in the case except hinder and sabotage hardly deserves even an answer. You seem to have the attitude that the International Labor Defense is identical with the United States Government, and that all we have to do is order the opening of the prison and all prisoners are free. We have received a number of similar letters from you before, but had decided to overlook the charges you made in view of the fact that you are at present in a difficult position to answer any argument that we may make. The International Labor Defense has defended thousands of class war prisoners, and we have received a note of appreciation in practically all cases, and not the abuse which you have heaped on the national committee in your last letter. We must now insist that you send us another letter in which you retract the charges that you make against us as having consciously fed you on lies and have misrepresented you in this case. If you do not retract these statements, then we again intend to take this up in our national buro and see what can be done.

As for the steps which you propose to take. You have the legal right to take any steps you wish in this case. However, let us assure you that we still have every interest in the handling of this case, and we advise you against such steps. They can only hurt your position and in nowise help either yourself in particular, or help the working class as a whole. We have discussed this matter with your brother. We have presented to him all the various sides in the matter and we believe that he will write you the same point of view that we are communicating you herewith. Should you decide that we are to handle the case, we insist that everybody, including your brother shall withdraw and leave us completely in charge. Under the circumstances we do not see our way clear to continue in this matter under any other conditions.

I want, in addition, to take this opportunity to inform you of the exact status of the case. The application to the Governor is now filled out and awaiting signature by certain individuals who might help to get a granting of the request which we make in this application.

We have every hope and confidence that you will see the error of the position you have taken in the last letter, that you will realize that we have done everything we possibly could in the matter, that we intend further, with your agreement, to do what we can in order to defend you. But we cannot continue under the charges which you have made in the last letter. We therefore expect to hear from you in the course of the next few days in which you state

that you understand this question in the light that we are presenting it to you here.

Comradely yours,

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE,  
SAMUEL A. DARCY,  
*Assistant Secretary.*

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now I show you a letter on the stationery of the Trade Union Unity League addressed to you, signed "Wm. Z. Foster," dated February 18, 1930. Will you describe, briefly, the purport of that letter?

Mr. MALKIN. I have received greetings from Foster when he came back from Russia on my heroic stand in prison, and so on, and defending the views of workers and going to prison for the workers, and he was actually surprised to hear that I was still in prison, because he thought I was already out by the time he came back from Russia.

I also complained to him of the way the International Labor Defense acted in my case, in my defense, and that is a letter in which he answered me on the question, he has taken up with the International Labor Defense about it.

(The letter referred to above is in full as follows:)

FEBRUARY 18, 1930.

M. L. MALKIN.

#10061, Box, 51, Comstock, N. Y.

DEAR COMRADE MALKIN: Your letter received and glad to hear from you. I am sorry to learn, however, that you are having difficulty with the I. L. D. I am taking the matter up with them to see if something can be done to ease the situation. You should not take any hasty steps about the matter.

We have just completed a meeting of our board which continued for the last three days. It was a very fine meeting and showed the real growth of our forces generally. You would have enjoyed being present.

Today we are sending you a copy of our pamphlet on the Soviet Union. I hope that it will while away a few hours.

I am buried in a barrel of work now connected with our board meeting.

Fraternally yours,

WM. Z. FOSTER.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, we have a letter on the stationery of Shorr, Brodsky & King, dated March 20, 1930, and the letter is signed by Joseph R. Brodsky.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the same Joseph R. Brodsky who appeared before this committee in the defense and was representing Foster and others.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. MALKIN. And Earl Browder.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct. And his partners in the law firm are Isaac Shorr and Carol Weiss King.

Is Carol Weiss King the attorney who represented Harry Bridges at the recent hearing of the Labor Department in San Francisco?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state the purpose of that letter, Mr. Malkin?

Mr. MALKIN. I have known Mr. Joseph Brodsky for the past 20 years and I also complained to Mr. Brodsky of the way the International Labor Defense handled my case, because he was one of the attorneys hired by the union and the International Labor Defense to gather proper counsel and to defend me in that case. And I also complained to him through personal channels, instead of going



through the I. L. D., and he answered me in a letter telling me that he is very sorry of the attitude I have taken; he is surprised at my attitude, because I asked the I. L. D. to turn over all the funds and the records to the Civil Liberties Union.

(The letter above referred to is in full as follows:)

MARCH 20TH, 1930.

MR. M. L. MALKIN,

No. 10061, Box 51, Comstock, N. Y.

MY DEAR COMRADE MALKIN: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 10th, and I cannot help but state that I am disappointed at the tone employed by you therein.

There is nobody that appreciates more than I do the sacrifice that you have made, and I certainly sympathize with your present dilemma.

I have heard your matter discussed at meetings of the International Labor Defense quite often, and I understand that they have at various times taken it up with Mr. Levy, who now is in charge of the *Mincola cases*, and with Mr. Medalie.

I am frank to state that I am thoroughly unfamiliar with matters of parole, etc., and my advice with reference to such a matter would be valueless.

I think you will agree with me that personally I can do very little in such a situation, and I think that the I. L. D. is consulting with the proper persons to see what can be done under the circumstances. The struggle is becoming quite acute in New York, as you no doubt have learned through the newspapers, and I am up to my ears in work.

It is clear to me that if the authorities in this city carry out what seems to be their present intention you may have lots of company.

However, since you have brought the matter to my attention, I shall take it up personally with the I. L. D. and try to see if I cannot push them along if, in fact, I find that they are not doing all they can under the circumstances.

In the meantime, I can only advise patience and ask you once more to remember that you are where you are because of devotion to a cause, and this thought must sustain you as it sustains so many of us who are on the outside but whose turn it may be next to be on the inside.

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH R. BRODSKY.

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you have any first-hand information concerning Mr. Brodsky's membership in the Communist Party?

MR. MALKIN. In my opinion, ever since I had been a member of the Communist Party, I always considered Joe Brodsky a silent member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

MR. MATTHEWS. For what reasons did you entertain that view?

MR. MALKIN. Because Brodsky was close to the ninth floor, that is the Central Committee floor, on Thirteenth Street, that no other person could be as close as that except he was a member of the Central Committee.

MR. MATTHEWS. I show you a letter on the letterhead of the American Civil Liberties Union addressed to you, dated April 25, 1929, and signed by Roger Baldwin. The letter reads:

MY DEAR MR. MALKIN: I have talked with Miss Poyntz about your case and I find that the I. L. D. is so willing to aid you, that there is no point in our doing so, too. I know you appealed to us because you thought that the I. L. D. would not help a member of the opposition. But Miss Poyntz very properly emphasizes the fact that the I. L. D. is a working-class defense organization and will, at least under her leadership, make no distinction at all in aiding working-class cases.

I think for that reason, and since the I. L. D. has the record in the case, that they are better qualified to aid you in getting a pardon than we are. I have told Miss Poyntz that when the time comes to make an application for pardon, she could count on the hearty cooperation of the Civil Liberties Union in presenting it to the Governor.

Sincerely yours,

ROGER BALDWIN.

Will you please explain, briefly, who Miss Poyntz was in this connection, Mr. Malkin?

Mr. MALKIN. Miss Poyntz was acting international secretary of the International Labor Defense during the years of 1930 and part of 1929, and I asked Miss Poyntz to turn over all the records to the Civil Liberties Union, and instead of turning over all records to the Civil Liberties Union she told Baldwin they were still defending me; but at the same time, they did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Malkin, will you explain, in outline fashion, at least, what the *Mineola case* was in which you were involved?

Mr. MALKIN. The *Mineola case* arose during the 1926 fur strike.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In New York City?

Mr. MALKIN. In New York City. Now, in Rockville Center, that is part of Long Island, there was a shop there that did not go out on strike. A few people, or many—I don't know how many did—they did away with the shop and a few people were hurt. I, as chairman of the out-of-town committee of the furriers' strike, was around the neighborhood there at that time and I was arrested and held for felonious assault in the second district, in which later Ben Gold and most of the leadership in the furriers' strike were involved in that case. Myself and another fellow by the name of Franklin were indicted and convicted and we went to prison:

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why was Ben Gold and the other leaders involved in the case?

Mr. MALKIN. Because Major General Phelan, major general of the New York State National Guard—I really don't know his correct title, whether he was a major general or a brigadier general—he appeared as a witness for Gold and Shapiro—that they were in New York at the time when that assault happened in Rockville Center.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is Ben Gold?

Mr. MALKIN. Ben Gold is a Communist leader in the Fur Workers International Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And has been openly known as a Communist?

Mr. MALKIN. He denied in court at that time, but he has been admitting he is a member of the Communist Party for years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He has been a candidate for office on the Communist ticket a number of times, has he not?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; for congressman and also assemblyman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It has also been pointed out that those members of the Central Committee are members of the International committee by Mr. Earl Browder.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he also a member of the C. I. O.?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; that is another man.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; he is one of the directors; I beg pardon.

The CHAIRMAN. Ben Gold is a director of the C. I. O.?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. He is one of the 40 directors of the national board of the C. I. O.

Now, Mr. Malkin, will you describe the manner in which the Communist Party bores from within the furriers' union and your part particularly in that, or matters of which you know personally?

Mr. MALKIN. When the Communist Party was organized there was quite a dissension in the Communist Party's ranks as to the part Communists were to play in trade-unions in America. Some factions believed in what they called "Go out and build new unions; that there is no hope for the American Federation of Labor unions of ever to become radicalized in any way, shape, or form; there is no hope of saving them." The other faction believed in boring from within, that is, going in the American Federation of Labor and taking unions away from the hands of William Green and other reactionaries of the American Federation of Labor. Now this faction won. This faction was under the leadership of Charles Ruthenberg, William Z. Foster, Jay Lovestone, James P. Cannon, and the rest of the members of the Central Committee at that time.

Now, in 1923—no; that is, before the year '23—in 1922, we old members of the Communist Party were ordered to enter into American Federation of Labor unions for the purpose of building strong Communist factions within that trade-union and turning them over for the benefit of the Communist Party and for the benefit of the workers.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1922 you received orders from the central committee of the Communist Party—

Mr. MALKIN. Through Moscow.

The CHAIRMAN. Through Moscow?

Mr. MALKIN. Through Moscow; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that those orders came from Moscow to the central committee?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And, in turn, were transmitted to Communist Party members to get into the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. For the purpose of gaining control of as many unions as possible?

Mr. MALKIN. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. And then, having obtained that control, to break away and form a new organization; is that correct?

Mr. MALKIN. Correct. I think those orders were given through the international labor representative by the name of Johnny Pepper, whose real name was Johnny Pugani.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, Johnny Pepper was the representative of the Communist International?

Mr. MALKIN. In this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Who gave those orders to the central committee here?

Mr. MALKIN. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. And, following those orders, you and all other members did get into the A. F. of L. unions?

Mr. MALKIN. Right. In fact, those orders were given to Pepper by Lozovsky and Tomskey, leaders of the Red International of Labor Unions at Moscow.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you personally acquainted with John Pepper?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him as a representative of the Communist International in this country?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he so known by all of the leaders of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. MALKIN. He was known by all leaders; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There has been testimony here that Mr. Pepper was not known.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the statement by Mr. John L. Lewis in 1924, or along about that period, to the effect that Moscow had sent orders and sent their money to the United States to take over the American Federation of Labor—those statements by Mr. Lewis were absolutely correct?

Mr. MALKIN. Were absolutely correct; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lewis must have had the same information you had.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Which caused him to make this statement?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, he must have had some information; I would not say he had the exact information I had, because I happened to be one of the actees of the Communist Party at the time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, what was your success in capturing the furriers' union?

Mr. MALKIN. We did have success in the first trade-union in this country; that is, they captured the New York joint board of the furriers' union, comprising all manufacturing locals of the furriers' union in New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was your first strike in the furriers' union?

Mr. MALKIN. The first strike after we had taken it away was in February 1926, which lasted 17 weeks.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now will you please explain, Mr. Malkin, the connections which Arnold Rothstein, New York underworld king, had with the Communist Party in the fur strike of 1926?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; after we had captured the power in the furriers' union, we had a fraction meeting, that is a leading fraction meeting comprising all the leaders in the furriers' union, which had about eight of us, with the district committee of the Communist Party, and we attempted to work out ways and means of preparation for a strike.

The CHAIRMAN. That is for the strike of 1926?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right. First the question of legal material, that is, how to obtain attorneys that would be qualified to handle our union and our workings; second, how to obtain the support of the police; third, how to obtain funds. Ben Gold proposed Snitkin and Goodman, as men who were famous as criminal attorneys, who defended the famous *Hoffman case* at Staten Island, of which Samuel Leibowitz took over later and acquitted him. Goodman, that is, these two attorneys got in touch with Arnold Rothstein, a gambler in New York. He lent the unions about a million and three-quarters dollars—

The CHAIRMAN. He loaned the union?

Mr. MALKIN. He loaned the union, and the union gave him collateral; that is, a few people from Amtorg signed that they will

stand good for it. I really don't know the names of those people, because I was not one of the parties that were dealing in that question.

Now, besides that, he was supposed to get us in touch with gangsters in New York who were supposed to do special guerilla work for the furriers during the strike.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Malkin, on the death of Arnold Rothstein, some years ago, were receipts found in his papers—

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To indicate he had loaned money to the Communist-controlled furriers' union?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; the Jewish Daily Forward came out with photostat copies of receipts found in Rothstein's office or possession when he was killed, showing that he had loaned money to the furriers' union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Arnold Rothstein known as king of the underworld in New York at that time?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was lending money and supplying gangsters to the Communist Party controlled furriers' union in the 1926 strike?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; a co-worker was Jack "Legs" Diamond.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you tell why this alliance was brought about in 1926?

Mr. MALKIN. It was mainly a question of how much profit Rothstein could make. Rothstein was not a Communist by any means, but it was a question of getting a big percentage on the loan that he made.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was the inducement?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Rothstein assist the union leaders in making contacts with the police of New York?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir—not Rothstein, but Snitkin and Goodman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They did assist in making contacts with the police?

Mr. MALKIN. They made contact with the office of the Commissioner of Police at that time. I think McLaughlin was Commissioner of Police at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean his office, and not Mr. McLaughlin personally?

Mr. MALKIN. I would not think it was Mr. McLaughlin personally, but his office. Also, the Fifth Street precinct station, the Charles Street precinct station, the West Thirtieth Street police station, the Forty-seventh Street house, and the Clinton Street police station. Those contacts were for buying off the officials of those precincts, together with the second officials, sergeants, etc., including Johnny Broderick, the head of the New York Industrial Squad and Jesse Joseph, Barney Rudevitzky, Boyle, and Curley, members of the New York Industrial Squad. They received from \$45,000 to \$50,000 during the strike—that they should not molest the strikers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was this money borrowed from Rothstein used by the New York police to assist the Communist Party in conducting this strike without any interference?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. In fact, over \$110,000 was paid the police at that time, during that period of 17 weeks.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you state the time of Arnold Rothstein's death?

Mr. MALKIN. That was the latter part of 1927.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was shot, was he not?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; in some gambling den, or something of that kind.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were these payments to the New York police out of money which the Communist-controlled union borrowed from Arnold Rothstein ever made a matter of public record in any way?

Mr. MALKIN. I do not know, but it came out openly in the press in 1927 or 1928. I do not know whether it was made a matter of public record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the cloak strike of 1926?

Mr. MALKIN. The next union to be captured by the Communist Party was the New York Joint Board of Cloak, Suit, and Dressmakers Unions; also comprising 10 or 12 locals in New York City, having 60,000 membership. In 1926 the left wing of the joint board went on a general strike in New York, and over \$3,500,000 was spent on the strike, of which most of it went for the activities of the Communist Party instead of for the strike.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say that \$3,500,000 was raised?

Mr. MALKIN. It was raised; a part from a tax on the membership for the strike, and part from dues.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How did they make misuse of the money for the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. By falsifying receipts. Instead of being receipts for such things as work for the benefit of the strike, they would put it down there instead as going to the Communist Party for police work.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have other information of the same character, or information which indicates that the Communist Party has raised funds for one purpose and used them for other purposes?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. To my knowledge, ever since 1924 that was done. That is when the Communist Party organized the so-called Irish famine relief committee, of which Israel Amter was district organizer and Weinstone was on the Irish famine relief committee. Now, not 10 percent of the money that was collected, amounting to \$80,000 or \$90,000, ever went to Ireland. The rest of it went to the Communist Party in New York. Since then there have been many committees, like the Kentucky miners' committee, for the Pennsylvania miners, for the *Scottsboro case*, the *Sacco-Vanzetti case*, and the *Mooney case*. All of those committees were organized, but not 10 percent ever reached the purpose of the committee, or the real basis for the collections.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A large part was used for administrative expenses in raising the collections?

Mr. MALKIN. That is the way it was put down, but most of it went for Communist Party activities.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any system whereby the Communist Party levies any specific percentage upon these collections for its own use?

Mr. MALKIN. They never openly do it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I mean secretly.

Mr. MALKIN. Secretly they do, for the reason that in almost every case a Communist Party member is at the head of the committee, and

he is ordered by the district committee, or chairman of the Central Control Commission. Mr. Dirba, to do that. Dirba is chairman of the Central Control Commission, and he is instructed to give the funds to the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were there other instances during the 1926 cloak strike where the workers under their Communist Party control mis-used funds?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. The Communist Party misused funds for the police, Communist gangsters, and so forth. The Communist Party leadership in the cloak strike lost the strike, and they were removed from the leadership due to that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, the Communist Party lost control of the union as a result of the strike?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long did that strike last?

Mr. MALKIN. It lasted pretty nearly 3 months.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long had the Communist Party been in control of the leadership of that union?

Mr. MALKIN. Of that union for about a year.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is, from sometime in 1925 until sometime in 1926?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And as a result of their mismanagement of the strike, the Communist Party lost control of the union?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To your knowledge, have they had control of that union since that time?

Mr. MALKIN. No, sir. In fact, the Communist Party reorganized both the furriers' union and the ladies garment workers' union and used it for the Communist Party. In 1927 the Communist Party organized what they called the joint defense committee to collect funds for the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to develop that business in relation to the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. In what year was that strike that you say was conducted right after the Communist Party captured the union?

Mr. MALKIN. In 1926.

Mr. VOORHIS. And as a result of that strike—

Mr. MALKIN (interposing). They lost control of the union.

Mr. VOORHIS. And they have never regained control since?

Mr. MALKIN. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. On the contrary, is it not a fact that the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union today is one union that is strong in its opposition to communism, due to its own experience, and that it is doing most effective work in building up a strong and effective labor movement in America free from Communist influence?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. Now and then the Communists capture a local of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. There was one local where the leader was outstanding in the fight against communism. That is Luigi Antonini. He has never allowed the Communists to grow in his union, but has nipped it in the bud. He did not give them a chance to grow there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You named some members of the industrial squad of the police department of New York City?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please name them again, spelling their names?

Mr. MALKIN. Johnny Broderick was chief of the New York gangster squad, and his assistant was Jesse Joseph. Then there was Barney Rudevitsky, Curley, and Boyle. Perhaps there were a few more, but they were the leaders of the industrial squad. In fact, this industrial squad was supposed to lay off on sluggers, gangsters, or any union men that would intimidate strike breakers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you mean by "laying off"?

Mr. MALKIN. They would not arrest them or interfere with them in that territory.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was to permit Communists to engage in violence without molestation?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1927, did the party organize a joint defense committee?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How much money did they raise in that campaign?

Mr. MALKIN. For the *Mineola case*, around \$185,000 was raised in a short period for the purpose of defending the Mineola defendants.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many defendants were there in the *Mineola case*?

Mr. MALKIN. There were about 8 or 10. There were altogether 12, but 2 were freed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The other 10 received convictions?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you were among the 10 convicted?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How much time did you serve?

Mr. MALKIN. Those that actually served imprisonment—two were the only ones that served. The others were later out of court.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long did you serve?

Mr. MALKIN. I was sentenced to from 2½ to 5 years. I was in Sing Sing from January 1, 1929, until December 25, 1930.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was done with the \$185,000 raised for that purpose in 1927, or the money that was raised for defense purposes?

Mr. MALKIN. The leadership never used that money for defense, but they used it for Communist Party activities, for the Daily Worker, shop papers, shop nuclei, and so forth.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that the matter about which you wrote a number of leaders of the Communist Party, and received letters in return that were put in the record?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Malkin, will you please give us a very brief description of the trade-union organization of the Communist Party, beginning first with the Trade Union Educational League, then the Trade Union Unity League, and finally the Trade Union Unity Committee or Council?

Mr. MALKIN. When the Communist Party was organized, they did not have any trade-union organization. When William Z. Foster entered the Communist Party, he brought an organization with him



from the former steel strike called the Trade Union Educational League. He brought that organization into the Communist Party. They were supposed to function, or the policy was to bore within the American Federation of Labor unions and overthrow the leadership. The Communist Party captured them, and they were under the leadership of Communists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the slogan that they used in attempting to capture them for the Communist Party known as amalgamation?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; the slogan was the amalgamation of the unions, with everything in an industrial organization, and to organize the unorganized.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, the Communist Party had two slogans before the workers, under which they sought to organize the workers, or amalgamate the unions and organize the unorganized workers, and thereby accumulating trade-union power and throwing out the leadership of the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the year when Foster brought the T. U. E. L. into the Communist Party with him?

Mr. MALKIN. Foster brought it into the party in the early part of 1920.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did they change the name from the Trade Union Educational League to the Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. MALKIN. After the sixth congress of the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1928?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. After expelling Trotsky from the Communist Party in Russia, Foster brought back a new line of organization, or a new union. This was a trade-union outside of the American Federation of Labor. At that time they started to organizing new unions. One was of the miners, called the National Miners Union, in opposition to the United Mine Workers of America. Another was in opposition to the United Textile Workers. That was called the National Textile Union, which later led the famous Gastonia strike. Then, there were Needle Trade Industrial Workers Unions in opposition to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, and so forth. There were also other industrial unions in several industries.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long did it go by the name of Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. MALKIN. That existed from 1928 until about 1934.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Trade Union Unity League was in effect a series of dual unions in opposition to the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall what membership they claimed?

Mr. MALKIN. They were high. The national unions that they organized, comprising practically all throughout the period of their existence, had a membership of about 60,000 workers.

The CHAIRMAN. Of only about 60,000?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they purport to have?

Mr. MALKIN. They claimed 500,000, 800,000, and sometimes 1,000,000. As a matter of fact, it died a natural death, for they

had seen that all the other unions were coming into the N. R. A., under section 7a, under which labor had the right to organize trade-unions. After that, Moscow gave orders for them to go back into the American Federation of Labor unions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1934 a Trade Union Unity Committee was set up?

Mr. MALKIN. No, sir; that was a local committee. It was the Trade Union Unity Council.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you active in the Trade Union Unity Council?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have presented credentials showing that you were connected with the Communist Party union work in those front organizations?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. The Trade Union Unity Council was organized in 1934 after the liquidation of the Trade Union Unity League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was the international head of the Red International Labor Union in New York, in the Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. MALKIN. Tiesky Lozovsky. He is at present the Vice Premier of the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you understand this to be the fact, that in 1922 the Communist Party here received orders from Moscow to go into the American Federation of Labor unions, and organize factions in them for the purpose of capturing as many unions as possible?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; as many unions as possible. That was for the purpose of capturing the leadership of the American Federation of Labor, or unions in the American Federation of Labor, for the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. And following those orders, you did go into the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you stayed there until the N. R. A. Act was passed?

Mr. MALKIN. No, sir. We were expelled from the American Federation of Labor in 1927, when the executive council was re-organized.

The CHAIRMAN. You stayed in until 1927?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were expelled in 1927?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And then you started to set up your own unions?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Claiming seven or eight hundred thousand membership, when, as a matter of fact, they had a membership of about 60 000 all over the country?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you kept that organization going until the N. R. A. was in effect later?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1934?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When they came under section 7a. After that you received a second order from Moscow?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Ordering you to go back into the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; into American Federation of Labor unions.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you disbanded your own organization of Communist Party members and went back into the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now we have it up to 1934.

Mr. MALKIN. In the Trade Union Unity Council four were appointed as organizers for the purpose of organizing independent trade-unions in New York. They were left over from the T. U. E. L.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were they?

Mr. MALKIN. Juliet Stuart Poyntz, Sam Nessin, Rose Worthin, and myself.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that?

Mr. MALKIN. That was in 1934 and 1935.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The purpose of the Trade Union Unity Council, and of those four organizers, was to form independent unions?

Mr. MALKIN. To form independent unions where the American Federation of Labor was not organized for a period, and then in the American Federation of Labor, and in that way put a cleavage in the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What unions did you organize in that territory?

Mr. MALKIN. In that period we organized the food workers' union.

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand that you will show the beginning of these unions, or will show the beginning of the C. I. O.? Will you show the unions that led up to the present unions in the C. I. O.?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; there was the Food Workers Union, the Transport Workers Union, of which Michael Quill is the head.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Michael Quill a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; in fact, I have seen a statement here showing that Michael Quill was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you work with Quill in the organization of the Transport Workers Union, and did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; I was in the office of Sam Nessin, at 79 Broadway, when Quill, together with Hogan and another organizer, Santis, a former section organizer in Brooklyn, came into the office, and Mr. Nessin introduced me to him. He introduced us as Comrade Malkin, Comrade Hogan, and Comrade Quill. They were all assisting in the organization of the transport union. Those who came in the office and had conferences were Communist Party members, and knew all the policies.

The transport workers were to cooperate in building up a transport workers' union, with a fraction of party members. All that I think would have shown that Mr. Quill was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What other unions were organized?

Mr. MALKIN. The Hospital Workers League, the Pharmacist Union, and the Radio Workers, of which Mr. Carey was secretary, and which is a nucleus of the C. I. O.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Carey is the secretary.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; Carey is a member of the Communist Party, because the instructions we got in New York was from one of the leading members of the party, or Dejun, of the Aensko Radio Corporation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was the one in control?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; after that instruction we had a convention there. There was the head of the local radio work in Trenton there, because a short time before that there was a strike there which Carey organized. He came to the New York convention. We had many fractions, and there were a number of meetings with Carey.

The CHAIRMAN. At a later time, you will take up the various C. I. O. unions and show which are Communist-controlled?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; that was Camden instead of Trenton, was it not, Mr. Malkin?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; Camden, N. J. I knew it was in New Jersey. We organized the Furniture Workers Industrial Union, the Retail Salesmen's Union, the Office Workers' Union, the Newspaper Guild, the Mirror Novelty Workers Union, the Novelty Jewelry Workers Union, and some other unions.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, do you know what are the equivalents of these unions today? Take, for instance, the Food Workers Union.

Mr. MALKIN. The Food Workers Union, comprising at the present time about 60,000 members in New York, is in the American Federation of Labor under the head of the Hotel Trades Council. They have an agreement with the hotels in New York. They are led by J. Ruben and Mike Obermyer. In fact, Mike Obermyer is the Communist International representative from America, and goes to Moscow.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a Communist-controlled organization?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And it is affiliated with the A. F. of L.?

Mr. MALKIN. Affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the Transportation Workers; what is that?

Mr. MALKIN. Transportation Workers Union is led by a Communist, Mike Quill, Santos, and a fellow traveler named Connolly.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that an affiliate of the C. I. O.?

Mr. MALKIN. Affiliated with the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it have any members or any officers who are directors of the C. I. O.?

Mr. MALKIN. Mike Quill.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a national director?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the Hospital League, Hospital Workers League?

Mr. MALKIN. The Hospital Workers League is comprised of nurses and orderlies and all other workers in hospitals. It is organized and led by the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. It is organized and led by the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are in control of it now?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has it conducted a sit-down strike?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; in the Jewish Hospital in Brooklyn.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead and give us the head of that organization.

Mr. MALKIN. I really do not know who was reelected, but I was in full control—I helped to organize that union.

The CHAIRMAN. You have already told us about the Furniture Workers Union?

Mr. MALKIN. I organized that.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a Communist organization?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under the Communist Party you were charged with responsibility for the conduct and organization in the field?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the status of that union now?

Mr. MALKIN. C. I. O.; it joined the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. The Hospital League?

Mr. MALKIN. The Hospital League and Pharmacists.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it have any representative on the national board of the C. I. O.?

Mr. MALKIN. No; I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. It is completely controlled by Communists now?

Mr. MALKIN. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the Radio Workers?

Mr. MALKIN. Radio Workers, controlled by Carey; practically two-thirds of the executive board are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Carey is on the board?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He is on the national board?

Mr. MALKIN. He is secretary of the C. I. O.—

The CHAIRMAN. National board of the C. I. O.

Now, the furniture industrial workers.

Mr. MALKIN. The Furniture Workers Union is in the American Federation of Labor, and Peyzer is now in control of it.

The CHAIRMAN. He is in control of the union?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the executive committee?

Mr. MALKIN. The executive board: Two-thirds of the members are communists.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the membership?

Mr. MALKIN. It has about thirty to forty thousand members.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how many members the Radio Workers Union has?

Mr. MALKIN. The radio workers have—it must be between sixty and seventy thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the pharmacists?

Mr. MALKIN. It is very small.

The CHAIRMAN. Very small?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; how about the transportation workers?

Mr. MALKIN. The 'Transportation Workers' Union is in control of the I. R. T.—the Interborough Rapid Transit Companies; the B. M. T., and the busses in New York, besides other sections of the country.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the membership?

Mr. MALKIN. The total membership would be approximately 80,000.

Mr. VOORHIS. What percentage of them would be in New York?

Mr. MALKIN. The biggest majority of them.

Mr. VOORHIS. In New York?

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is, of Greater New York City?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The food workers—did you say how many in that union?

Mr. MALKIN. Between forty and forty-five thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. Mostly in New York?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let us get down to the other unions; you have already discussed the food workers.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the retail salesmen's union.

Mr. MALKIN. The retail salesmen's union was organized by the Trade Union Council.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, by the committee that you spoke of?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. And Clarina Michaelson is a member of the Communist Party since 1927, and is in charge of that union, while two-thirds of the executive board are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was Mrs. Michaelson's financial position?

Mr. MALKIN. Why, she had quite a few million dollars.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know how she spent some of that money?

Mr. MALKIN. The Communist Party used most of her funds.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For what purpose?

Mr. MALKIN. For propaganda, the Daily Worker, newspapers, shop papers, to pay for organizing, going out into the field and organizing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Clarina Michaelson was once active in the League for Women Workers?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The retail salesmen's union is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or the C. I. O.?

Mr. MALKIN. The C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it under the control of the Communists?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the office workers' union?

Mr. MALKIN. The office workers' union is under the control of the Communist Party.

There are two of them at the present time.

One is the office workers, stenographers, and accountants' union and bookkeepers; the stenographers' union is in the American Federation of Labor.

And the other is the Office Workers' Union No. 16, which is C. I. O. Mr. MATTHEWS. The United Office and Professional Workers of America.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the C. I. O.?

Mr. MALKIN. The C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that Communist-Party controlled?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under whose leadership was the U. O. P. W. U.—

Mr. MALKIN. The U. O. P. W. U., under the leadership of Merrill; but I don't know whether Lonis Merrill is a member of the Communist Party. He follows it hook, line, and sinker.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the next one?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The stenographers and assistants' union?

Mr. MALKIN. That is an A. F. of L. union, and they got rid of their Communist members.

The CHAIRMAN. Got rid of them?

Mr. MALKIN. Got rid of them.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the membership approximately of the office workers' union, the two unions, the ones that were controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. You see, the United Office and Professional Workers of America takes in quite a few industries. It takes in what they call the artists, the United American Artists; that is, artists in the W. P. A., artists in private industry, and individual artists; that takes in quite a few people.

The CHAIRMAN. About how many members?

Mr. MALKIN. They have got about, in New York, between ten and twelve thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. All right: the Newspaper Guild.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is called the United American Artists Union?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the leader?

Mr. MALKIN. Kent.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is Rockwell Kent?

Mr. MALKIN. I am not sure if he is a member of the Communist Party, but he is very very close to them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Kent has written some articles in the New Masses that he is a Communist.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. That is still better; I knew he was very close to them. The reason I said he was very close to them, if not a member, was because he was used at the Communist meetings, meetings where his name would bring prestige to the Communist meeting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether Kent presided at a demonstration at Columbus Circle this year?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At which the Communist Party held a so-called "stop Hitler" demonstration?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. I remember; I happened to be present at that time.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do they still want to stop him?

Mr. MALKIN. I doubt it.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; please get down to the Newspaper Guild. Did you help organize that movement?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; I did. I helped to organize the Newspaper Guild, and I happened to read in the press the question of Mr. Heywood Broun, and Mr. Zack's statement that he joined in 1928. He was a little in error. He did not join in 1928; he joined in April 1933; that is about a few weeks or months after the N. R. A. went into effect.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that to be true?

Mr. MALKIN. I know that because I used to meet with Morris Watson, also a member of the Communist Party at that time, and I happened to ask the question to Jack Stachel, one of the leaders of the Communist Party, why they didn't call Heywood Broun the clown.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you a question: That is the same committee which formed the Newspaper Guild?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Broun is now head of it?

Mr. MALKIN. Mr. Broun is national secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. He is also one of the national officers of the C. I. O.?

Mr. MALKIN. I think so; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He is one of the national officers?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it affiliated with the C. I. O.?

Mr. MALKIN. The Newspaper Guild was controlled by the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that is true?

Mr. MALKIN. Because I know if Morris Watson and Heywood Broun actually run the guild—

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). Do you know whether Heywood Broun is a member of the party now?

Mr. MALKIN. No; I do not think so, otherwise he would not be criticizing the Communist Party and disagreeing with them on the Russian-German pact.

Mr. VOORHIS. He could not be, then, could he?

Mr. MALKIN. He could not be. He left the Communist Party, in my opinion, because—I judge from one statement—he left the Communist Party right after he entered the Catholic Church.

Mr. STARNES. Was that because he wanted to get away from the German-Russian pact?

Mr. MALKIN. To a certain degree, that confirmed his Catholic faith; but it was finished off with Hitler.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, how many members are there of the Newspaper Guild? You are not trying to create the impression that all of the members in the Newspaper Guild are Communists?

Mr. MALKIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Or a great majority of them are in favor of communism?



Mr. MALKIN. In fact, I want to state that the biggest majority of the unions that I have mentioned are not Communists.

Mr. VOORHIS. Right.

Mr. MALKIN. Except the executives, and persons who are doing certain lines of work. That is true in the trade unions.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is not this also true, that when you say a certain union is controlled by the Communists that you mean that they hold key positions?

Mr. MALKIN. Right.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is what you mean by that?

Mr. MALKIN. The leadership is Communist, and a certain percentage of the membership, but not all the members.

Mr. VOORHIS. All right; that is the way control exists.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. There is only a Communist group in those positions?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. A closely knit group?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. That works very closely together?

Mr. MALKIN. Disciplined.

Mr. VOORHIS. Disciplined and therefore is able to exert an influence far beyond what would be justified by their number.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that correct?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. In fact, if they could get rid of a lot of Communist leaders in these unions and put real trade-union leaders in, they would become healthy unions again.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; let us take the Mirror Workers' Union.

Mr. MALKIN. The Mirror Workers' Union at the present time is in the International Workers' Union, an A. F. of L. organization controlled by the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean the international is controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. The international union, the parent organization, is controlled by them. That is the Jewelry Union. In fact, the American Federation of Labor recently expelled them from the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is not affiliated at the present time?

Mr. MALKIN. It still claims affiliation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the novelty jewelry workers?

Mr. MALKIN. The Novelty Jewelry Workers' Union is a local of the International Jewelry Workers' Union, which is not controlled by the Communist Party at the present time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But it was at the organization?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the first instance?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Communist have lost control of it?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have already mentioned the Food Workers' Union, which Ben Gold is the head of?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that is affiliated with the C. I. O.

Mr. MALKIN. That is affiliated with the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. And it is controlled by the Communists?

Mr. MALKIN. It is controlled by the Communists. They have got about 350 members of the Communist Party in that union in New York; that is a Communist fraction, and the leader, Ben Gold, and Potash, and Vinogradsky, Jack Schneider, and all the other leaders in it except one or two, are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this is a unit of the International?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members are there in that union?

Mr. MALKIN. The strength of the New York union is between sixteen and seventeen thousand members.

The CHAIRMAN. Sixteen and seventeen thousand?

Mr. MALKIN. Sixteen to seventeen thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. Sixteen to seventeen thousand?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have named unions having an approximate membership of between two hundred and three hundred thousand under the control of the Communist Party.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; more than that.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately what would be the total?

Mr. MALKIN. Oh, about a half a million.

The CHAIRMAN. About a half a million?

Mr. MALKIN. Together with the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. Affiliated with the C. I. O.?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And affiliated with these organizations sufficiently to give them a tremendous influence.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they are in control, although their strength is not sufficiently great?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. By being able to control the policies and activities of so many members.

Mr. MALKIN. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In the unions where they have considerable influence?

Mr. MALKIN. Correct. You see, in these unions the Communists' control is exercised in different ways; they work as a disciplined unit, and any worker in a general meeting who is not a member, who gets up and raises a question, is immediately booed as a Trotskyite, or a renegade, and, of course, the leadership uses its influence to boycott them or get rid of them, not as they do in the Soviet Union, where they go against the leaders, but they are liquidated; that is, they get them out.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they ever resort to violence?

Mr. MALKIN. They do. In fact, in the Furriers' Union, before this last strike in the present period, there has been developed in the furriers' union among the Communist leaders and the Communist use an organization known as the strong-arm squad, to see they did not bother the workers and did not agitate the furriers.

The CHAIRMAN. You say they had a strong-arm squad?

Mr. MALKIN. The strong-arm squad.

The CHAIRMAN. So if they cannot control a man through one way or another they will send this squad out after him?

Mr. MALKIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any instances in which that squad has been used?

Mr. MALKIN. It has been used in what they call—speak of as the Lovestone group, which is the unit with those who oppose the group against Ben Gold's leadership in the Furriers' Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other unions you know that are under the control of the Communist Party.

Mr. MALKIN. I have got a list of the unions here.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you let him give us the names of them.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to get the complete list.

Mr. MALKIN. Of course, I have mentioned the furrier workers, and the transportation workers, and the Communication Association.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you about the communications: Is that under the control of the Communist?

Mr. MALKIN. Absolutely; under Rathborne.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How do you know he is a Communist?

Mr. MALKIN. I have seen him down at the office of the Communist Party dozens of times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask one or two questions concerning him.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to ask you if this Rathborne was recently appointed a member of the National Youth Administration?

Mr. MALKIN. I really don't know; I really don't know whether he is the same one or not.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. You say that Rathborne is the head of that union?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Communist?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mr. MALKIN. I did not see him in the organization, but I have seen him in the district office of the Communist Party at 35 East Twelfth Street.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the only evidence you have that he is a Communist?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; besides I have spoken to a number of radio operators on ships, and parties who have told me that he was a party member.

The CHAIRMAN. What other officer in that union, the communications, is a Communist?

Mr. MALKIN. Now, I know it is controlled by the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you help organize this union?

Mr. MALKIN. No; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether the Communists helped organize it?

Mr. MALKIN. I know the Communists helped them.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do they permit individuals to go into the district office of the Communist Party who is not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. No; no nonmember will be admitted into that circle.

Mr. DEMPSEY. The district office is the inner circle?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Anyone goes there must be a Communist?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right; otherwise he stays outside.

Mr. DEMPSEY. In these various cases, such as unions, how many of these leaders are aliens?

Mr. MALKIN. Aliens?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes; not citizens.

Mr. MALKIN. I would say the majority of them——

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). Are not citizens?

Mr. MALKIN (continuing). Most of them are citizens.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Most are citizens?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What percentage of them are not? Very small?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Most of them are naturalized citizens?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, the majority are naturalized citizens.

Mr. STARNES. They had to get their citizenship to give them the Bill of Rights.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, about what would be the membership of the communications association?

Mr. MALKIN. They have got a membership of about, say, about five or six thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the character of the membership; where do they work?

Mr. MALKIN. These members, most of them, are radio operators on board passenger ships, freight ships, and all ships going in and out of the ports of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the telegraphers; telegraph operators?

Mr. MALKIN. There is a jurisdictional fight on whether they should go in or not.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a very important union, from the Communist standpoint?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, of course, because it controls communications throughout the world and on the seven seas.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any further questions on that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I want to ask him about some other unions.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you have got a list of the unions?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What would be the next one?

Mr. MALKIN. The next union would be the automobile workers, of the C. I. O.; formerly controlled by Martin, now controlled by the Communist Party, hook, line, and sinker—Wyndham Mortimer and Frankenstein; in fact, Mortimer never does anything without first consulting Frankenstein regarding the Communist Party decisions.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is not a majority of the executives of the Auto Workers' Union—you testified of them——

Mr. MALKIN (interposing). I would say that a big majority are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. How do you know that?

Mr. MALKIN. I happened to know that is a fact, because at the time of the dispute between Martin and Lewis I was directed to go with some leaders, former leaders of the Communist Party, and also leaders of the Lovestone group and formerly in control of the Communist Party, into the shop.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether Mortimer is a Communist?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; he is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have first-hand knowledge?

Mr. MALKIN. I did not see his application blank, but I know he is a Communist Party member.

Mr. VOORHIS. How many members of the executive board of the auto workers are Communists?

Mr. MALKIN. I really don't know, but I know they control a great big majority, otherwise they would not have been able to expel and get rid of Martin.

Mr. STARNES. Martin is not a Communist?

Mr. MALKIN. Martin is not a Communist. In fact, he was taking the advice of J. Lovestone for awhile, then he broke with Lovestone.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the next union?

Mr. MALKIN. The next union is the Office and Professional Workers Union. You have already had that.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MALKIN. And the Cannery Workers Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Let me get the full name of that. That is the Agricultural Cannery, Packers, and Allied Workers?

Mr. MALKIN. With Donald Henderson.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Henderson is a member of the board of directors of the C. I. O.?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right, and he is a member of the Communist Party if I ever was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he first secretary of the group out in the West—

Mr. MALKIN (interposing). He was active in the Imperial Valley, and also the Jersey strike at the time of the Consumers' Union.

The next union is the Federation of Architects, Chemists, and Engineers.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not complete with the Cannery Workers did you?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; he spoke of Henderson leading the strike in California among Imperial Valley workers.

Mr. VOORHIS. When was that?

Mr. MALKIN. That was around 1932 or 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that connected with this group of tenants?

Mr. VOORHIS. How do you know that Henderson led the strike?

Mr. MALKIN. I know that Henderson did because I saw that in the Daily Worker.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you mean that he went out there at that time?

Mr. MALKIN. He was out there and he was the leader of that strike. In fact, he initiated that union.

Mr. STARNES. Henderson did?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I want to get the correct name of the next union.

The CHAIRMAN. Before we leave the Cannery Union I want to ask this: Is that the union from which the farm tenancy group in Memphis withdrew due to charges that it was controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was correct.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; give us the next one.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next union is the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians.

Mr. MALKIN. The leader of that is Marcel Scherer, a charter member of the Communist Party; joined the Communist Party at Williamsburg Branch, Brooklyn, 1919. He is the head, and two-thirds of the executive board are members.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is a C. I. O. union?

Mr. MALKIN. That is a C. I. O. union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the next one?

Mr. MALKIN. Packing House Workers Union, a C. I. O. Jack Johnstone is the head; a charter member of the Communist Party. I do not know whether he is a Central Committee member or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; it was so testified by Mr. Browder, that he is a member of the national committee.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have mentioned the hotel workers?

Mr. MALKIN. Controlled by Rubin and Overmeyer.

The retail salesmen's union; the Italian actors union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now the Italian Actors Union?

Mr. MALKIN. The Italian actors union is a small union taking in only Italian actors.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that affiliated with the C. I. O. or the A. F. of L.?

Mr. MALKIN. I really don't know, but I know it was told to me by leading leaders in the Italian trade-unions they are controlled by the Communist Party under the leadership and guidance of Canata, who is also a leader of the I. W. O.—the International Workers Order.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that a Communist organization?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Headed by whom?

Mr. MALKIN. The International Workers Order is controlled by the Communist Party; two members of the central committee are the heads of it. One is Max Bedacht; another one is William Weiner. One is the president and one is the national secretary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, do you have any information on the State, county, and municipal employees' union?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; the State, County, and Municipal Workers' Union was organized by the Communist Party in 1933 or 1934 by one by the name of Flexer, under the name of Home Relief Bureau Employees Protective Association.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Home Relief Bureau—

Mr. MALKIN. Employees' Relief Association. He was assistant supervisor in districts 5 and 9 of the Home Relief Bureau at Spring and Elizabeth Streets.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the affiliation of the State, County, and Municipal Employees' Union?

Mr. MALKIN. They are C. I. O.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, what information, Mr. Malkin, do you have on local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers?

Mr. MALKIN. Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers has been captured by the Communist Party, that is, about 1935 or 1936, and due to the leadership of the Communist Party in that union a split occurred in that union and the other faction, under the leadership of Lefkowitz, left that union and organized some kind of a teachers' guild.

Now local 5 of the teachers' union is controlled by the Communist Party and Miss Dodd—I don't know whether she is a party member, but I know she is a very close fellow traveler—is what they call legislative adviser, and she is practically head, one of the heads of that organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is local 5 in New York City?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. Now, local 453 of the teachers' union is controlled by the Communist Party—that is the W. P. A. teachers' union, taking in all project workers under adult education.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it local 5 union from which such men as John Dewey resigned because of the Communist control of the union?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right—Communist controlled.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any information on the National Maritime Union?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. The National Maritime Union is an outgrowth of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, a Communist-controlled organization, formerly controlled by George Mink.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the affiliation of the National Maritime Union?

Mr. MALKIN. The National Maritime Union is controlled by the Communist Party and its leader, Curran, is a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point: Mr. Curran sent this committee a telegram in which he vigorously denied being a member of the Communist Party and disputed the testimony of this man Goff, who had a card with Mr. Curran's name autographed, in this—what was it, the Young Communist League card?

Mr. MALKIN. Do you mean Keats?

The CHAIRMAN. No: here is the card marked "The National Convention Committee": "Eighth National Convention, Young Communist League"; name "Kenneth Goff, City of Milwaukee" and on the back, according to Mr. Goff, is the signature of Joseph Curran, the autograph of Joseph Curran which he asked for during the course of the meeting. Now Mr. Curran denies that; he denies he is a member or ever has been a member of the Communist Party, or has ever been present at any of the meetings of the Young Communist League.

What are the facts with reference to that?

Mr. MALKIN. You see, if Mr. Curran would not be a member of the Communist Party the way he claims, he would never have received the support of the Communists in its leadership of the National Maritime Union, because the National Maritime Union happens to be one of the Communists' babies: it is an outgrowth of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, strictly a Communist union, of which Roy was a former leader, and George Mink.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Presently we will have some more information on George Mink, Mr. Chairman.

Have you any reason to have seen the signature of Joseph Curran in the past?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, I have seen Joseph Curran in 1924—no, that was in 1935, at a meeting, a fraction meeting called in New York for the purpose of clarifying the leading party members and its functionaries on the San Francisco general strike. Joseph Curran was there, but he was not a leader, of course, at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, have you any information, Mr. Malkin, on the Tug Men and the Tug Boatmen's Union?

Mr. MALKIN. That is also part of the Communist organization. It is also a small union, organized by the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it affiliated with the A. F. of L. or C. I. O.?

Mr. MALKIN. I really don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you any information on the Marine Machinists' Union?

Mr. MALKIN. Also controlled by the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you know about the situation in local 802 of the Musicians' Union in New York?

Mr. MALKIN. You see, Mr. Feinberg and Mr. Rosenberg—they are the leaders of local 802 of the American Federation of Musicians in New York. You see, I must explain these two members' affiliations because I want to be just to them; but, first of all, if these fellows would not be members of the Communist Party, they would not be following the line of the Communist Party so closely on the question of an American Committee for Spanish Democracy, or something like that, and American League for Peace and Democracy, and all other committees. On questions of resolutions, they always indorse Communist resolutions whenever it is proposed in their locals.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That completes the list of these unions.

Mr. MALKIN. All told, 23 unions of the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., controlled by Communists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Three or four of them you have designated as affiliates of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the other 20—

Mr. MALKIN. About C. I. O.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are C. I. O. unions?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

(The committee thereupon took a recess until 1:30 p. m.)

#### AFTER RECESS

The committee resumed its session at 1:30 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman), presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The attention of the Chair has been called to an article in the Washington Daily News that representatives of this committee have received records of the Socialist Party. As a matter of fact, this committee has never investigated the Socialist Party, and had nothing to do with the records that the police found in an abandoned car. After the police had the records in their possession which they secured from an abandoned car, they submitted them to this committee for its inspection. The committee inspected the records turned



over to it, but not for the purpose of investigating the Socialist Party, because we are not investigating that party. This committee has never received any records from anybody who refused to submit them. That has been our instruction all the time. If an agent goes into an office and asks for records, and if those in charge refuse to surrender them, our agent leaves the room. That has been done in every case. As a matter of fact, the records we have used have been surrendered by the people in charge of them, and in most instances the records we have obtained have been obtained by letters.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, reference was made this morning to a card which Kenneth Goff introduced in evidence on Monday, when he was on the stand here. It was the card of a delegate to the eighth national convention of the Young Communist League. Mr. Goff stated that several of his friends, when he was at that convention, autographed the delegate's card for him. Among the signatures appearing on the back of the card was that of Joseph Curran. We have here a letter bearing the signature of Joseph Curran dated February 24, 1937. While those two signatures have not been submitted to a handwriting expert, I think it would not take an expert to identify them as being the signature of one and the same person.

Mr. Malkin, this morning you outlined the unions and organizations in which you personally participated. Will you please go further and into more elaborate detail into the work in connection with the organization of the Transport Workers Union?

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder before you do that if I might clarify one thing: You said that the orders that were given from Moscow were that you were to go back into the American Federation of Labor Unions?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And resume the policy of boring from within?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you active in this movement at the time the C. I. O. was organized, or when the split occurred between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O.?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not that division, or breaking away of the C. I. O., was instigated from abroad? Do you have any information that Moscow had anything to do with that?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; but in all fairness to the C. I. O., while the Communist Party had the policy of organizing industrial unions and taking control of them, at the same time, it happened to be accidental that the Communist Party was able to maneuver into the C. I. O. I understand that the Moscow orders were to go into the C. I. O. as well as into the A. F. of L.

The CHAIRMAN. Into both unions?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But as to the division between the two unions—

Mr. MALKIN (interposing). No, sir; I am pretty sure there were no orders from Moscow on that question, because Lewis does not take orders from Moscow.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please go into detail and give concrete facts regarding your work in organizing the transport workers in New York City?

Mr. MALKIN. My work consisted of work for the International Labor Defense as a general field organizer, to see that all this business was going to the Transport Workers' Union, while helping them out in the organization, and getting our party members to cooperate with them in getting fraction meetings of party members to see and aid us in getting into those unions in respect of the organization. Now, so far as my work for the transport workers was concerned, I devoted my time to working out ways and means of mobilizing party members in the territory where there were transport workers. In that respect I would meet the leaders in that work, including Michael Quill, Hogan, and Santos at party headquarters.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were contracts obtained for them?

Mr. MALKIN. The first contract obtained for the Transport Workers' Union was that of the I. R. T. C. subway.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that contract the outcome of work you did?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; that was the result of some work I participated in.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you give further details of your work in the organization of the American Newspaper Guild?

Mr. MALKIN. It was practically the same, except that I did not meet Mr. Heywood Brown, the leader of the Newspaper Guild, because Heywood Brown was one of those party members who never came to party headquarters, because he did not want it known that he was a member of the Communist Party. Of course, there were quite a lot of them, or party members at large, who do not come to party meetings, and send their dues and donations by mail.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have anything to do with obtaining contracts for the American Newspaper Guild?

Mr. MALKIN. I was active in securing the first contract signed by the New York Post, with Mr. Stern. At the second conference I was out of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the first conference you were present?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was the first contract the guild obtained?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were active in obtaining that contract?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you known any Ogpu agents operating in the United States?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give some of their names, or as many names as you can recall, and state in detail the facts which disclosed to you their identity as agents of the Ogpu?

Mr. MALKIN. Now, the first one I must mention—I am sure he is a representative of the Ogpu and a party representative—is Mr. Dirba.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is his first name?

Mr. MALKIN. He also goes by the name of Lapin. He is chairman of the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party. That is what is called the discipline commission.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live?

Mr. MALKIN. He is a Latvian and lives in New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What contact or connection did you have with Mr. Dirba in your field of work that would involve the Ogpu?

Mr. MALKIN. My first contact with Mr. Dirba's work, in the field districts, as a field organizer, was that I was given orders to get the citizenship papers of people who were deceased. Those citizenship papers were supposed to be turned over to the field secretary, Mr. Hacker, and then they were turned over to the organization department of the Communist Party. They turned them over to Dirba because he was in charge of that work.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What were the citizenship papers used for?

Mr. MALKIN. To obtain false passports to bring in representatives of the Communist Party from European countries, or from Russia, and for use by Communist Party leaders in leaving this country and coming back.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Dirba's first name?

Mr. MALKIN. No, sir; I do not know it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How extensive was that system of traveling on false passports by members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. The system of traveling on false passports has been working since the organization of the Communist Party. The first one to try it was John Reed. During that period they were making those passports. That was done by Ludwig Martens. He was the first ambassador to this country from the Soviet Government.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was an unofficial representative.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; an unofficial ambassador.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How late did you receive instructions to collect citizenship papers and turn them over to Mr. Dirba for the purpose of obtaining false passports?

Mr. MALKIN. As late as 1932, in April and May.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is when you were a field organizer for the International Labor Defense?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You received instructions from Hacker?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; and Stern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. M. Stern?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A district organizer?

Mr. MALKIN. One a district organizer and the other a secretary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who else have you known as an Ogpu representative in the United States?

Mr. MALKIN. Mr. Alexander Trachtenberg, director of the International Publishers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City. The reason I name Mr. Trachtenberg and Mr. Dirba in this respect is because Mr. Trachtenberg, Mr. Dirba, and another man named Finkelberg were on the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you explain the connection between the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party and the Ogpu?

Mr. MALKIN. In Russia the Central Control Commission are members of the Ogpu. In every country in the world the Central Control Commission acts as agents to gather information in the particular locality or country, and they forward it to the Soviet Union, as, for instance, in reference to armament, industrial sections, industrial territory, and so forth, or information as to the strength of armies and navies.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, do you know whether or not the Ogpu representatives in the United States obtain information

about our Army and Navy, and about industrial concerns in this country?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that absolutely?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that during the time you were active in the party and had contact with the OGPU agents that they were getting this information for Russia?

Mr. MALKIN. I would like to state that in my own way. The Communist Party functions at the present time, as in the past, by having shop nuclei in industries. Every factory would have a group of Communists in it, and they would gather that information concerning the particular industry or factory. That information would be given to the Org department or organization department of the Communist Party, and the Org department would give it to the Central Control Commission. It would then be transmitted to Moscow?

The CHAIRMAN. You know that to be the fact?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That has been going on for some time?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. Lately, for instance, street nuclei have been organized, and there are territorial branches. In an important industrial nuclei, there would be three or more party members working. That consists of the so-called shop nuclei, and they get the information.

The CHAIRMAN. In whatever industry they have nuclei, they get information with reference to that industry?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They give it to the Control Commission of the Communist Party, and they, in turn, send it to Moscow?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They have nuclei in navy yards?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. For instance, there are members in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. They have had nuclei there for years. The nuclei, or members of the group, do not know that they are actually giving information for espionage, but they get this information about armament, calibers, how many men are employed, and so forth, and it goes to Dirba, of the Central Control Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. Dirba is still here?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They give him information in regard to the Brooklyn Navy Yard?

Mr. MALKIN. Not directly. It goes to the Org department.

The CHAIRMAN. It then goes to Dirba, and from him to Moscow?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, with the Moscow alignment with Berlin, that information would be made available to Hitler, would it not?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. In case this country should go to war with Russia, or against Russia, on the side of the allies, Russia will use that information in order to try to defeat this country.

Mr. VOORHIS. You testified earlier this morning about members of the unions that you said were Communist-dominated.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to know how many people, do you suppose, there are in the unions who know just for what purpose they are furnishing this information.

Mr. MALKIN. In the trade unions—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). He is not talking about trade unions. He is asking about the number of people who furnish information, and how many of them know that they are furnishing information that is to be used by Russia.

Mr. MALKIN. Very few of them know it.

Mr. VOORHIS. About how many, would you say?

Mr. MALKIN. The only ones that would know about it would be the Central Control Commission or the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The officials of the Central Control Commission would know, and the Central Committee of the Communist Party would know, but the other members do not know what it is about.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else along that line that you have in mind or that you know about?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. Another member of the Ogpu is Anna Louise Strong, who has been traveling to Russia and back practically two or three times a year, and who always visits the International Publishers before she makes any step. She is a member of the Ogpu. Another one is named Margaret Ungus. She also goes by the name of Cowl, and is the wife of Charles Krumbein, who is state secretary of the Communist Party in New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was she convicted for traveling on a false passport?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. The head of them is Dirba and Trachtenberg. Another one is George Mink. He was with the Ogpu in the American section in Spain during the Loyalist defense.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with recruiting for Loyalist Spain, do you know the name of "Mannie"? That name came before the committee last year, and I believe the name was identified as Mangold, who was a director of the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir: he was the first national secretary. I remember he was elected in 1924 as national secretary of the American League Against War and Fascism.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know him, or of his connection with recruiting people here for Spain?

Mr. MALKIN. I knew someone else. His name was Bidarian.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. MALKIN. Party representative for recruiting for the Loyalists.

The CHAIRMAN. He was in charge of recruiting for Loyalist Spain?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. There is another, George Mink, former national organizer of the Maritime Workers Industrial Union. He is a brother-in-law of Logodsky, one of the big chiefs in the Soviet Government now. I think he is assistant premier. He was chief of the Ogpu American section in Spain. He was also sent to Mexico to shoot Trotsky.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Phillip Ahrenberg?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you say a man was sent to Mexico to shoot Trotsky?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he go to Mexico?

Mr. MALKIN. He went to Mexico, but a Mexican Trotskyite recognized him, and he vanished. I do not know what happened. I know that plenty of American Loyalists who came back would like to get their hands on George Mink. He was responsible for shooting many Americans in the back over there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Phillip Ahrenberg?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. He was one of the former heads of the Trade Union Educational League, and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of America. He is traveling around now with the Ogpu.

Mr. VOORHIS. Obviously enough, this matter of the Ogpu is of very great importance. When you testify about a group of members of the party, you base that in every case on certain knowledge that you have of the facts?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; I do base it on that knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you had to report to some of these people.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. I had to report to different committees. Every member of the party when he joins the party must swear allegiance to the party and to obey any instructions without question. That is what is called party discipline. If you question anything, you are immediately expelled. You are not considered reliable.

Mr. VOORHIS. I wanted to be sure that you are positive when you say that somebody is a member of the Ogpu.

Mr. MALKIN. When I make that statement, I make it due to my knowledge of those people, and also from information I have received.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a man known by the name of F. Brown?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. He originally came from Italy. He is an Italian and wears a beard, or a Vandyke. He is also known by the name of Alpy and by the name of Marrinoni. He was sent to this country by Ercoli. Ercoli is a member of the executive committee of the Communist International at Moscow, in charge of the Italian section. Brown is also a member of the Ogpu.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree with Mr. Voorhis, that this is a most serious statement you are making. In fact, it is almost unbelievable that agents of the Russian Government would be operating in the United States. The fact is, however, that the committee has been shown clearly that the Communist Party is absolutely under the control of the Soviet Union; but here you are giving names of people who, from your own knowledge and experience with the Communist Party, are operating in this country and giving information to a foreign government.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It would be hard for the Chair to believe that but for the other information we have secured on the same line. In fact, I think that, perhaps, our Government has that same information.

Mr. MALKIN. These people I have named do not usually give their Ogpu credentials. I do not think they show them to anybody but

Browder, and Browder himself has nothing to say about the Communist Party in America, because he takes his orders from the C. I. representative in this country. They send their representatives to this country. There have been more than three sent. They are sent from Moscow to lead the party here. That is what they call the C. I. representative.

The CHAIRMAN. I have undertaken to get some information about that. I have requested the files in a case in the State Department, for the purpose of seeing what the State Department files reveal as to what the Soviet Union is doing in the United States, and what is the policy of this Government in regard to it, but for reasons stated by the State Department, they have declined to give us those files. I have a letter in which they declined to let us see those files. The Chair wants to caution you to be careful in furnishing names.

Mr. MALKIN. I know these people. I knew them during the years of my activity in the Communist Party. Those people do not do anything else for the Communist Party except to act in that capacity when they want information. When they want information gathered, or information about conditions in this country, they obtain it. They do not do anything else. They do not participate in the organization of trade unions directly, where their names would come to the forefront.

The CHAIRMAN. Other witnesses have testified to the same things that you have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have a list of the names that Ben Gitlow introduced here, or names of Ogpu agents?

Mr. MALKIN. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever talk to him about that list?

Mr. MALKIN. Not about that list. I have spoken to him about other matters, but not that list.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Both of them identify the same persons. That is the reason I asked if he had seen the list.

Mr. MALKIN. I have not seen it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is where two witnesses identify the same people as Ogpu agents. Mr. Gitlow did and Mr. Zack also. For that reason, I wanted to know if he had been talking to them about this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. No one knows how much vital information concerning the United States is now on file in Moscow and Berlin. We have obtained a great deal of information about that, with reference to military and other secrets that are in the possession of foreign governments.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Malkin, did you know Juliet Stuart Poyntz?

Mr. MALKIN. I have known Juliet Stuart Poyntz for at least 20 years. I worked with her, and I have been with her during her whole career in the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you associated with her in the work of the International Labor Defense?

Mr. MALKIN. No, sir; she was in the International Labor Defense when I was in Sing Sing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, you were associated with her in the sense that she was raising money for your defense; is not that true?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, I corresponded with her, but still I was not directly associated with her, because I split with them before going up.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you associated with her in the work of the Trade Union Unity Council?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were one of the four members of the council of that organization?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was she a member of the Communist Party when you first knew her?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; even before that. I think she was a member of the Socialist Party at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You knew her even before she was a Communist?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was she one of the earliest members of the Communist Party in this country?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was she one of the prominent members of the Communist Party in this country?

Mr. MALKIN. Juliet Stuart Poyntz was one of the most prominent members of the Communist Party in this country, because she was the only orator among the women in the Communist Party—the most popular, too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you last see Juliet Stuart Poyntz?

Mr. MALKIN. The last time I saw Juliet Stuart Poyntz was on New Year's Eve, 1937, at the St. Regis Cafeteria at Forty-second and Broadway.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have any conversation with her at that time?

Mr. MALKIN. I spoke to her. I did have a conversation with her, and she told me she was through with the party, and, of course, she knew that I was out. We discussed the party, and she told me that she was through and that she was writing a book exposing all this Communist Party labor movement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did she say at that time that she was writing a book?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; she said she was writing a book exposing the dirt and filth of the labor movement in the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have reason to believe that Juliet Stuart Poyntz was an OGPU agent?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. Mrs. Juliet Stuart Poyntz traveled for a few years, prior to her activity in the Trade Union Council, for the Communist International in different countries.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that just prior to 1934?

Mr. MALKIN. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. He is talking about 1936. He used the date 1937.

Mr. MATTHEWS. 1937; January 1.

Mr. MALKIN. January 1; New Year's Eve.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was 1936, then?

Mr. MALKIN. 1936 is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, December 31, 1936?

Mr. MALKIN. Correct; yes, that is 1936.



The CHAIRMAN. Be careful of your dates.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think the confusion here is whether New Year's Eve was 1936 or 1937.

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. This was New Year's Eve of 1937?

Mr. MALKIN. That is correct; New Year's Eve of 1937.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you met her in the St. Regis Cafeteria at Forty-second and Broadway, New York?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And she told you that she was through with the party?

Mr. MALKIN. Right; and that she was writing a book exposing the domination of the Communist Party in the trade-unions and the filth and dirt they had brought into the labor movement in general.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the disappearance of Juliet Stuart Poyntz?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, only what I have read in the press.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't say that, if you do not have any personal information.

Mr. MALKIN. The only personal information I know of is that I met a person who was connected with her disappearance. That was Schochno Epstein. He was accused by Carl Tresca of kidnaping Poyntz or having to do with her kidnaping or abduction. Now, I met Epstein about 5 or 6 months—it was on May 1, 1936, I met him on Broadway, and had a discussion with him. He tried to get me to go back to the Communist Party. He also told me I could go places, and he would help me if I would go back in. I had a bitter argument with him, and I left him. By the way, the Communist press denied that he was here in this country at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you saw him yourself?

Mr. MALKIN. I spoke to him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Had you known him for a number of years?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; I knew him in 1927.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You could not be mistaken as to his identity?

Mr. MALKIN. No. I went out with him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And after the parade in 1936 you met Epstein on Broadway and Forty-third Street?

Mr. MALKIN. On Broadway and Forty-third Street.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know any other facts of your own personal knowledge that are related to the disappearance of Juliet Stuart Poyntz?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. She cautioned me to watch my step. She knew that I broke with the Communist Party, and that in fact I was combating it in trade unions and organizations that I was a member of.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did she express any fear to you regarding her own personal safety?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. She used to turn around every few minutes and see who was watching us, and she did show fear.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not she was doing any research work at the New York public library at that time?

Mr. MALKIN. I really don't know; I can't say.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you seen Juliet Stuart Poyntz or Schochno Epstein since the two dates that you specified?

Mr. MALKIN. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This morning, Mr. Malkin, you mentioned the fact that the Communist Party in the Fur Workers Union obtained very large loans from Arnold Rothstein?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were a member of the Communist Party for 16 years?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you were one of the very active leaders of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. Right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you express a qualified opinion on whether or not that story of Arnold Rothstein's loans to the Communist Party is in any way an indication of the ethical level of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, the slogan of the Communist Party is to use all means to attain your ends; and the Communist Party, as a section of the Communist International—there is nothing beneath them they would not do to accomplish their ends. There is no such thing as ethics in the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it not true, however, that a very large number of Communist Party sympathizers, as well as Communist Party members, are in the movement for what they consider reasons of pure idealism?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, I would say the majority of the rank and file members of the Communist Party are really idealistic. They really think that the Communist Party is in existence for the purpose of bettering the conditions of the working class of America. Little do they know that the Communist Party as such does not represent the interests of American workers, but it represents the interests of Russia and Stalin himself. Stalin is the boss, and they carry out the orders of Stalin, but they really do not know the consequences of these things. They are just children, so far as that is concerned.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you say, on the basis of your 16 years' experience, that there is little or no idealism reflected in the actual operations of the Communist Party as directed from Moscow?

Mr. MALKIN. In my opinion there is no idealism whatever, especially at the present period; because 98 percent of the rank and file members of the Communist Party are not taught actually Marxism, Karl Marxism, or the program of the Communist Party, or what the main basis of their existence is for, but they are taught to obey Stalin and Russia under all circumstances. Instead of going to church, they should believe in following Stalin and Hitler at the present period. There is no idealism whatever. They are just children.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have had a great deal of experience in the organization of trade unions on behalf of the Communist Party. Have you ever heard the expression, "The trade unions are schools of Communism"?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. That expression was especially put into use by its original program of Communist work in trade unions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As a matter of fact, was not Karl Marx the author of the statement, "The trade unions are schools of Communism"?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; and Lenin enlarged upon it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And is it the basic theory of the Communist Party—

Mr. MALKIN (interposing). No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That they enter the trade unions, not for the purpose, let us say primarily, of obtaining better hours, wages, or working conditions, but in order to advance communism?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, it used to be that way, but now the trade unions are used primarily under the heading of the same slogan, but not for the purpose of advancing communism in America or the other countries outside of Russia, but for the purpose of actually helping Russia under all circumstances. In other words, it is a distortion of Marxism, communism, or Leninism.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, communism has come to be identified as the Soviet Union?

Mr. MALKIN. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And its present Government?

Mr. MALKIN. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the trade unions are used for the purpose of supporting whatever policies are dictated from Moscow?

Mr. MALKIN. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that what you mean to say?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give us a very brief outline of the tactics which the Communists customarily employ in organizing trade unions and conducting them?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, you mean organizing full trade unions or going into a trade union and attempting to capture the trade union as such?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I mean in the conduct of a strike; in the conduct of any negotiations which have to do with obtaining contracts—the tactics in general.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. If there are Communists in that trade union, in the leadership, they will use every method possible to try to, what they call, sign an agreement with the boss, and at the same time use that treasury that is supposed to be for the strike for the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do the Communists, in that connection, have a habit of organizing defense committees?

Mr. MALKIN. Oh, yes. In the olden days they used to be what they called welcoming committees. That is, the Communist leaders in the trade unions would organize what they called “slugging squads”: they would hire gangsters, like Little Augie, Jack Diamond, and Joe Strawberry—the underworld of New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean Joe Strawberry was actually employed by the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes: Joe Strawberry was employed by the Communist Party. You see, the professional gangsters would do the special work. If there was anyone that had to be eliminated, these gangsters would go out and do the work, because they would never mingle in the hall with the other strikers. The organization committee would get in touch with them and send them out.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you mean by sending them out?

Mr. MALKIN. For instance, if it was a shop that had to be broken up, ruined, or burned, or something like that, they would send them

out; or if the thing was too big for these welcoming members, these gangsters would go out.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And beat him up?

Mr. MALKIN. And beat him up; sometimes send him to the hospital, or even to the graveyard. I do not know that anyone was actually killed by any of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you know that it has been a practice to beat them up?

Mr. MALKIN. Right. In the 1936 strike I went to William Weinstone and I objected to the idea of using gangsters and bribing police. So Weinstone told me, "Either you obey the instructions of the party or you will be exposed."

Mr. MATTHEWS. To what extent does the Communist tactic in strikes become a provocative tactic designed to compel the employers and the authorities to use force against the strikers? Have you any experience of that sort?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, in that case it would be a question of what they call mass demonstrations in front of the factories, and summoning up committees to intimidate the employers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am thinking of the frequent writings of Lenin in which Lenin said that strikes were rehearsals for civil war.

Mr. MALKIN. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, in what respect could a strike be used as a rehearsal for a civil war?

Mr. MALKIN. Strikes could be used as rehearsals for civil war if a national general strike is declared; if the Communists could bring the strike to the point where a general strike would be declared in the country, and then the workers, what they call, take arms in their hands and defend themselves against the police or national guards or troops that would be sent.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they ever come near having a general strike maneuvered and instigated by Communists in this country?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; the San Francisco general strike, under the leadership of Samuel Darcy, district organizer of the Communist Party, and William F. Dunne, who was the representative of the Daily Worker.

The CHAIRMAN. They instigated that strike?

Mr. MALKIN. They started that strike.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it part of the strategy, then, of the Communist Party to have a Nation-wide strike?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was just one part of it?

Mr. MALKIN. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they attempt at that time to instigate strikes in other parts of the country?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It failed everywhere else except on the west coast?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And there it was successful?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Wait a minute. What do you mean by "successful?"

Mr. MALKIN. It was successful in that territory.

Mr. VOORHIS. I just want to point out that the truth of the business is that the real result of that was to set the labor movement back a long way.

Mr. MALKIN. That is true. But I mean to say that the strike began under the leadership of Harry Bridges. Bridges was taking guidance from Sam Darcy and William F. Dunne. Now, that strike, because it paralyzed practically the whole water front of San Francisco, Seattle, and all that neighborhood, gained sympathy in other sections of the labor movement in San Francisco, and that is how the general strike came about. It was successful in that territory.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was a general strike; that is what you mean by "successful?"

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, Communists do not call a strike for the purpose of improving the condition of the workers; is not that right?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about it from the Communist viewpoint.

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The point is that we have had testimony to the effect that the San Francisco strike that you have talked about was a part of a Communist plan at that time to have a Nation-wide strike.

Mr. MALKIN. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And that orders went forth to have the strike, but that they did not succeed anywhere except on the west coast; that is, they never did get the strike organized and under way except on the west coast. Is that right?

Mr. MALKIN. Correct; because William F. Dunne wrote a pamphlet called "The San Francisco General Strike" in which he outlined the aims of the Communist Party in that strike.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know anything that would make you qualified to speak on this: Just before the strike became general, the Governor called out the National Guard. My personal judgment is that if that had not happened, it probably would not have been possible to have brought about a general strike. Do you think that is true or not?

Mr. MALKIN. In my opinion, as far as that is concerned, due to my experience in the labor movement, a lot of times when militia is called out it helps to bring about more disturbances than before, because that angers—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). He was asking you about this particular place.

Mr. MALKIN. Especially in San Francisco. It did help.

Mr. VOORHIS. The conservatives, it seems to me, were largely maneuvered into a most difficult position; and that, you think, was a contributing factor?

Mr. MALKIN. That was a contributing factor; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of many strikes that were instigated by Communists in this country? I am not talking about whether they had just grounds, because they always go into places where there are some just grounds, do they not?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; of course.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean where they have instigated strikes or prolonged them beyond the time in which they should have been normally settled.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; the furriers' strike a year ago. The furriers went out on strike for a closed shop. The Manufacturers Association wanted to settle the strike 4 weeks after the strike was begun. Instead of that, they prolonged the strike practically 3 months, and then they settled it under the same conditions that the manufacturers wanted to give them, 4 weeks after the strike was declared.

The CHAIRMAN. Which meant a very large loss to the workers?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; it meant loss of time, loss of salary, and loss of jobs to some of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether the Communists were instrumental in calling any strikes besides the furriers' strike and the San Francisco strike, and did you participate in any of them?

Mr. MALKIN. I participated in the 1926 fur strike.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any money that the Communists have spent for the purpose of instigating strikes or prolonging them?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. In most cases where the Communist Party controlled the trade union and the strike was declared, money was to go in from the Communist Party to the trade union in order to keep up the morale of the strike.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the Communist Party contributed funds to support the strikes and to prolong them?

Mr. MALKIN. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any money that has ever come in from Moscow to be used in the United States by the Communist Party for any purpose?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. As far as money from Moscow, when the party was illegal, due to Attorney General Palmer's raids in 1919 and 1920, money used to come in through Ludwig L. C. K. Martens—

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the man who is on that list secured in London? Is Martens one of them?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MALKIN (Continuing). In the form of jewelry and in the form of English money; that is, pounds—but mostly in the form of jewelry, which was to be converted into money in this country; and since the party became legal, most of the money comes in through the profits of the Amkino in this country—that is the movie organization—and the Amkniga, which is the book department of the Soviet Union, which distributes all the publications of Russia in this country, and certain deals of the Amtorg.

The CHAIRMAN. What about money raised by other organizations?

Mr. MALKIN. Money is raised by other organizations like the League for Peace and Democracy, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the International Labor Defense, and different committees and organizations, like, for instance, the loyalist people, the democracy committee, or whatever they call that.

The CHAIRMAN. The North American Committee for the Relief of Spain, or something like that?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; of which Reverend Reisig was the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a well-known Communist, is he?

Mr. MALKIN. No; he is not a party member, but he is used as a dupe for the Communists. I am sure he is not a party member. He is also chairman of another committee, but the others are in control of that organization, and his name is just used as a rubber stamp.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether the American League for Peace and Democracy is a Communist-controlled organization?

Mr. MALKIN. It is; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Communists established it?

Mr. MALKIN. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. And they have run it ever since?

Mr. MALKIN. Correct. It was originally established as the American League Against War and Fascism.

The CHAIRMAN. And Dr. Harry F. Ward, who is at the head of it, is not a Communist?

Mr. MALKIN. I doubt whether he is a Communist, but he is a very close Fellow Traveler. I call him what they call a half or a quarter Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that the International Labor Defense is a Communist organization?

Mr. MALKIN. The International Labor Defense is a strictly Communist organization. It was organized under Communist sponsorship; Communists were always at the head of it, and it is still controlled by the Communist Party now.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the International Workers Order?

Mr. MALKIN. Also the International Workers Order is a strictly Communist organization. The fact is that two members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party are the heads of it—Max Bedacht and William Weiner.

The CHAIRMAN. They have approximately 155,000 workers in their organization?

Mr. MALKIN. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. So it reaches out; it has considerable influence, does it not?

Mr. MALKIN. Correct. In fact, originally they were split off of the left wing Workers Circle.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, through these various front organizations the party in the United States raises money?

Mr. MALKIN. Correct; and a few rich fellow travelers like Mr. A. A. Heller, who is an old timer, very close to the party for years and years.

The CHAIRMAN. And this woman; what was her name?

Mr. MALKIN. Clarina Michaelson.

The CHAIRMAN. Is she a rich woman?

Mr. MALKIN. A very rich woman. There is also another woman.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is that?

Mr. MALKIN. Grace Burnham, who is the owner of 799 Broadway, the building where all the Communist organizations used to be in. She used to be married to Burnham, one of the millionaires. She has a home in Croton-on-the-Hudson.

The CHAIRMAN. Has she contributed funds to the Communists and helped them out?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was she the woman who obtained considerable national publicity several years ago?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In connection with the "eugenic baby?"

Mr. MALKIN. That is right. In fact, Mrs. Burnham did receive that.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. We will not go into that.

Mr. MALKIN. She paid \$10,000 for it. It should be worth it.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Browder testified that these organizations were "transmission belts" for the Communist Party; that it was through these front organizations that they moved, as I understand his testimony. Is that correct? Is it through the front organizations and the labor movement that the Communist Party really exerts its influence in the United States?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, I would not express myself like Mr. Browder, because Mr. Browder might attempt to use some of what they call Stalinist camouflage over it. I would say that these organizations are mainly used as a front for the Communist Party for two reasons. One is to draw the dupes into the Communist ranks, to enlarge the Communist membership, to enrich its treasury, and at the same time to carry out the Communist work in the unions or innocent organizations that have nothing to do with Communists: that is, like a front.

The CHAIRMAN. In the course of Mr. Browder's testimony he said that the Communist Party appealed to a certain class of so-called intellectual people. In fact, he said that most of the members of the Communist Party were employed; that many of them were skilled workmen, and that poverty, while it might have had some little part in it, was not the cause of people joining the Communist Party. What is your experience? To what extent does Communism reach out among the so-called intellectuals—"parlor pinks," as the term is familiarly used?

Mr. MALKIN. Very little. The intelligent do not join with the Ghetto propaganda in this country. After all, they can still read and write. And a very small percentage of them are Communists except through the ranks, we will say, of the Artists Union—there is a very few; some of the writers of New Masses, and some of these small organizations like that. The more intellectual will not.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the people that Communism appeals to; that is what I want to know.

Mr. MALKIN. It appeals most to the W. P. A., unemployed. Those are relative. For instance, up to the present time, reading from the International Press correspondent's report, the American Communist Party, membership is comprised of 82½ percent from the white-collar workers; about 8 or 9 percent are actual factory workers. It is the white-collar workers, mainly, unemployed workers, W. P. A. workers, on relief who are the main backbone.

The CHAIRMAN. Now what, on the line of financing, can you say; is there anything you can add to the method by which the Communist Party is able to finance its operations and activities in this country?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. If the Daily Worker is in need of funds they sometimes run what they call a campaign for raising funds for a



certain committee. For instance, we will say there will be a strike somewhere down in Kentucky and they will put on a campaign, they will say to help raise money for the committee. Now that committee in Kentucky might receive 10 percent and 90 percent will be received at the Communist headquarters.

Now if there is still a shortage of money for use of the Communist Party they, of course, will tamper with the books; they will write down so much money received, we will say, from the Daily Worker campaign, of \$250,000 when they may have actually received say \$50,000 and the rest will be covered by Moscow finances.

The CHAIRMAN. The point I am thinking about and want to ask you is this: You know that one of the big arguments used by men like Pelley and Deatherage is that Judaism and communism is synonymous?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, that the Jews are responsible for communism in the United States. What is the fact with reference to that? You have been in the movement ever since it started.

Mr. MALKIN. The facts are, in these industrial cities, like New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, we might say about 50 percent, or maybe less, are Jewish Communists because of the fact that in the needle-trades industry there are more Jews than Christians in them and they would flock to the needle-trade union which is controlled by Communists.

That is not true in other sections of the country where 80 percent are non-Jewish members of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be correct to say that the Communist Party draws from practically every nationality?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It is more economical than racial?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the appeal to these people because they feel they have been discriminated against, or have been maltreated?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are the real questions rather than the question of race.

Mr. MALKIN. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You think so on account of the fact that the Communists are people of all races.

Mr. MALKIN. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct, is it not?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I want to ask a question there, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. I want to pursue a line of questions directed to you a moment ago by the investigator with reference to the tactics used by the Communist Party. How does the Communist Party set about organizing the trade-union movement?

Mr. MALKIN. Organizing it?

Mr. STARNES. Yes. You gave a long list this morning that you say had been organized. Tell us how they proceed.

Mr. MALKIN. I would get the party membership around that territory where a factory is located; they would distribute leaflets through

the workers, individuals, on unionism, on the question of bettering conditions in the factories; the question of shorter hours, the question, sometimes of vacations with pay; sometimes on the question of securing a job; or on the question of unemployment.

And on these questions we tried to get workers in the union and organize one local in that shop and then go to another shop of that same industry and follow the same procedure.

That is how we would organize them.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the way the work is done?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are the tactics that had to be used in the auto area, especially the Ford plant?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; with leaflets and discussions, talks to the workers.

Mr. STARNES. And if anyone interfered they would be interfering with the freedom of speech or freedom of the press.

Mr. MALKIN. And it would be.

Mr. STARNES. Yes. All right, how would you achieve control, where you wanted to seize control after the workers are in?

Mr. MALKIN. We would first of all check up on our list, how many party members we had in that industry; then we would order them to join the industrial union and in that union sometimes there may be a minority at first who are Communists and we would try to convince others to join the Communist Party. That is how we would get our members; or we might get a party man, make him a fellow traveler, someone who is sympathetic to the Communist Party; get them to attend meetings of the Communist Party and then we would proceed toward organizing and election as soon as we felt we had a majority in that meeting to take over the local.

Mr. STARNES. How would you beat down the opposition? Of course, naturally leaders are already in and I suspect that someone might be aware of what you were doing and offer opposition. How do you keep down opposition and bring them into line?

Mr. MALKIN. By first of all attacking them in the press, saying that they are misleaders of labor, that they are Fascists, that they are the agents of business and everything else, and so forth.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Now how do you initiate a strike? Do the Communists as a rule initiate strikes?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, if they do initiate a strike—the purpose of the strike, when they initiate a strike is that there is at least a little bit of cause for the strike; first of all, dissatisfaction in the ranks because of conditions in the factory.

Then they start out among the workers, while the workers are discontented with the conditions.

Mr. STARNES. Who first used or who first agitated or advocated the sit-down strike? Was that a Communist idea imported?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, I would not want to say the tactics were, but I would not deny that it was a Communist importation, but I would also think that it would also be the tactics of Lewis at that period.

Mr. STARNES. Something has been said heretofore by other witnesses with reference to the delay tactics of the party after the strike had gotten under way and after the committee had been appointed, selected to deal with the employers and they had gotten together

it was the common practice of the party to delay negotiations and to defeat an early settlement.

Mr. MALKIN. Well; I would not say it was the common practice of the party to attempt to delay a strike——

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Not strikes; to delay settlements.

Mr. MALKIN. To delay settlement. Sometimes that is correct; and in certain settlements I must say, in certain times it is sometimes necessary to delay a settlement because many times the employers would not meet the conditions. It all depends upon the conditions involved in the strike.

Mr. STARNES. What were some of the tactics used to delay?

Mr. MALKIN. Delay of settlement—coming back and reporting conditions which the employer is not willing to compromise; or delay of time when he will meet the employees, or where he says he cannot come to agreement on some question.

Mr. STARNES. What do they do; issue statements attacking the employer?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Place the failure of making a settlement on the employer?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; instead, reporting other conditions that the employers are unwilling to grant to them; commence press attacks on employers so as to defeat settlement.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Malkin, you have made some very serious charges before this committee involving a lot of questions, especially with reference to police officers in New York.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are quite positive those charges are true?

Mr. MALKIN. Mr. Chairman of the committee, I am positive that the leaders of the furriers union were tried for that in 1927 in New York City and Frank P. Walsh defended them.

The CHAIRMAN. They were tried for what?

Mr. MALKIN. Bribing police in New York City. In fact, the American Federation of Labor put charges against them.

The CHAIRMAN. That has been a long time ago and you are not charging that in recent years police officers have been taking money along that line?

Mr. MALKIN. No; I only stated that the police took money in that strike; that was a strike led by Communists. I do not know whether the police at the present time take bribes. Police do not give receipts.

Mr. STARNES. He stated the police at a certain period.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand.

Mr. STARNES. And referred to those specifically.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He only named specific individuals.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he did not ascribe it to the police department. He said certain individuals.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. STARNES. I cannot understand how anyone can misunderstand plain English language when the witness referred to specific occasions and to specific periods of time.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true but the committee wants to be very careful.

Mr. STARNES. The witness is not to blame if somebody cannot understand when he uses plain English language; it is just too bad and I do not think the committee is responsible for that lack of understanding.

Mr. VOORHIS. So far as that goes, Mr. Chairman, that is true, but as you say, the committee must be careful.

I would like to ask one or two questions of the witness.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. You spoke about the appeal that was made by the Communist Party to certain groups of people in America, and you pointed out very largely the groups were of people who were unemployed, people who were low paid, with little opportunity for the future.

Now, just for the sake of the record: That appeal that is made, under those circumstances, is a very different appeal, is it not, from the kind of activities that you described here, and other witnesses have described, in connection with the OGPU and in connection with the idealistic appeal?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And I presume that great care would be taken, under those circumstances, to keep the undercover work and the connection with the Soviet Union under control of Stalin and all of that completely out of the picture; is that true?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. In connection with the sit-down strikes—

Mr. MALKIN. Excuse me; I want to explain a little more fully the question you have just asked.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. MALKIN. That the basis of the appeal that the Communists use and the methods applied in recruiting into the Communist Party new members: They will take, for instance, the Workers Alliance and people who receive relief—and I am not talking about the W. P. A. section—the Communists have been more active through the Workers Alliance in obtaining relief.

Now, when a worker is unemployed and they see it, they put pressure on the supervisor to see that they get relief quickly.

And outside the W. P. A. jobs they will take the teachers, use the Workers Alliance, the white-collar jobs in the W. P. A.—the Communists are in control of the Workers Alliance. In New York we have got Sam Weisman; nationally you have Benjamin; and David Lasser. I don't know whether David Lasser is a Communist or not; I would not swear he isn't.

Now, on the job they will go out on the job through the organizations; they will approach the supervisor with a claim, or the grievance committee—they have not been fighting so much and have lost a lot of members in that way. But that is how they obtain their membership in the Communist Party, by recruiting them through such channels.

Mr. VOORHIS. On the question of sit-down strikes—I do not believe in them personally—but is this not also true, that in the very beginning that one of the reasons the sit-down strikes were used was because of the fact that it was during the years when the right to organize had been successfully resisted over a long period of time?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; I would say, like for instance, in the Ford, General Motors plants, and we will say in steel.

Mr. VOORHIS. Where it was practically a foregone conclusion that if a strike was conducted of any kind by any on the job, they would lose their job.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is one of the things I wanted to bring out, because you made the statement in answer to a question that the Communist regarded strike as a rehearsal for civil war.

Mr. MALKIN. A general strike. I do not mean just a plain small strike.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean a general strike?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, that would make a very important difference.

Mr. MALKIN. You see, according to the definition of general strike, according to the Communist definition of general strike, it isn't just an economic strike.

Mr. VOORHIS. No. The general strike is what you referred to?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. But the only thing that concerns me, because you mentioned one example, that of the Imperial Valley strike.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you stated that was a strike instigated and led by the Communists. I do not know; maybe that is true.

Mr. MALKIN. Henderson was one of them.

Mr. VOORHIS. I expect it is, but I also know that in cases of that kind there are many instances where the conditions of the people who are working are very, very tough. What I mean is, there might be good reasons for a strike to improve the conditions of people.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, then, it is evident to me, at least, that is the impression given that, by no stretch of the imagination, do you want to indicate that all strikes are the result of Communist activity?

Mr. MALKIN. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. And I was just trying to clarify that, because I think it would do a great injustice to the workers of America.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And obviously that is not the case, except in certain isolated instances. And personally I think it is of great importance that the American labor movement sees to it that it is not in any way dominated by Communists.

Mr. MALKIN. Of course.

Mr. VOORHIS. But I also think it is important for everyone to be careful that they are protecting the opportunity of these people to defend their rights to strike under certain conditions under which they have to live.

Mr. MALKIN. Right. You see the question of the Imperial Valley strike, and many other instances like that, actually where working conditions were such that the workers would be ready for anyone.

Mr. VOORHIS. I know; I know.

Mr. MALKIN. And I do not care who would have gone out there and organized them, as long as they were organized; it could have been done by the Communists or it could have been done by any-

body else, because of the conditions under which the workers were working.

Mr. VOORHIS. Of course, I think in some cases it is questionable whether it does improve conditions. I think the point you make is that they are not always proper.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Where the Communist states that conditions will be improved, and there may be times when they are not, but when they are left in a worse condition. I simply wanted to make plain what was referred to.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any further questions?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Malkin, did you have any first-hand experience with the strike of the miners in 1926 and 1927?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; I was a member of the Trade Union Educational League and an active member when the 1926 struggle in the miners came about. That is the time when Powers Hapgood and Brophy were active in that strike; and in fact, Brophy was running for office for president of the United Mine Workers against Lewis.

The CHAIRMAN. Powers Hapgood was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. Powers Hapgood was a member.

The CHAIRMAN. Brophy was not?

Mr. MALKIN. Brophy—he was very close to the party, but not a member of the party, that I know of although he received full support of the Trade Union Educational League and of the Communist Party at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. In his fight against Lewis?

Mr. MALKIN. In his fight against Lewis. He was visiting the Trade Union Educational League headquarters on numerous occasions. In fact, the party also raised a defense fund for Powers Hapgood when he was arrested in Pennsylvania somewhere.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean the party raised money in the fight against Lewis?

Mr. MALKIN. They gave him financial assistance; they sent out Communists like Pat Toohey, Tom Ribarich, and a few more organizers in the field to help Brophy defeat Lewis.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have identified, I believe, Mr. Malkin, the following, among others, as known members of the Communist Party who are heads of unions in the United States at the present time?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you check me, please, if I am wrong? Donald Henderson.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packers, and Allied Workers?

Mr. MALKIN. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. James B. Curry, United Electrical and Radio Workers' Union?

Mr. MALKIN. Right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Louis Merrill, of the United Office and Professional Workers Union.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Ben Gold, of the International Fur Workers Union?

Mr. MALKIN. Right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Joseph Curran, of the National Maritime Union?

Mr. MALKIN. Right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Harry Bridges, of the Longshoreman's Union?

Mr. MALKIN. I did not identify Harry Bridges, because I do not know whether he is a member of the Communist Party or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You said he took his instructions from Sam—

Mr. MALKIN (interposing). That does not make him a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, I want you to state just what you did say.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mike Quill, of the Transport Workers' Union?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Rathborne, of the Communications Association?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Wyndham Mortimer, of the Automobile Workers' Union?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Marcel Scherer, of the Federation of Architects, Chemists, and Engineers?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. And the Hospital Workers; and Hotel Trades Council.

The Packing House Workers; Jack Johnstone.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Packing House Workers?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. And, Gillmore, of the Teachers' Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions, gentlemen?

What was the name of the policemen that you charged had received money from the Communist Party during that strike?

Mr. MALKIN. They were the industrial squad of New York, under the leadership of John Broderick.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that he got money?

Mr. MALKIN. Oh, yes; he got money.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mr. MALKIN. Because I know he used to work with Isadore Shapiro, of the law committee; and he gave a report at a fraction meeting of the party of how much money was given the police department and how much the industrial squad.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you present when that report was made?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; I was.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is where you get the information?

Mr. MALKIN. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I want you to be very particular, and I want—

Mr. MALKIN (interposing). In fact, the Communist Press came out in 1930, and Jack Johnstone wrote the article in line with the criticism on the question of bribing police and bribing gangsters; that is in the Daily Worker in 1930.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you remember the month in which that article appeared?

Mr. MALKIN. I do not; I know it was a lengthy article, a half page.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the Daily Worker of 1930?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not have a grudge against the police, do you?

Mr. MALKIN. I never had anything to do with the police money.

The CHAIRMAN. It is very serious to come before a committee and make a charge of that kind.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We want information, and we do not want to smear the name of anyone.

Mr. MALKIN. I do not have a grudge against anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. I have heard that this man Broderick is a very substantial citizen who has retired, with a fine reputation, having served during six administrations, and I am very much concerned lest some witness defame the reputation of some good man.

Mr. MALKIN. I am telling you information that I heard from the chairman of the law committee, Isadore Shapiro.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know him?

Mr. MALKIN. I know John Broderick personally, and I have seen him a few times before.

The CHAIRMAN. You were never arrested by him?

Mr. MALKIN. Not by him.

The CHAIRMAN. And you say you heard the chairman of the fraction group make the statement that so much money was paid to the police department and how much to the industrial squad.

Mr. MALKIN. I never gave any money personally.

The CHAIRMAN. What we are concerned about here, as I said, is that people's names are not smeared. Of course, we are not responsible for the evidence; you are under oath, and we are here to receive the facts, and we just want to be sure that testimony is given about which there is not any question.

Mr. MALKIN. I am telling you exactly the same information that was given—practically the same information that was given—at the trial in New York on the question of bribing police, practically the same information.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was the result of that trial?

Mr. MALKIN. There was a dismissal on the ground of insufficient evidence; there was no receipt of proof that there was such a thing; they were defended by Frank P. Walsh.

Mr. STARNES. In addition to that, you stated under oath that you heard this man Shapiro give a report to the Communist fraction.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. To the effect that the money had been paid to members of this industrial squad.

Mr. MALKIN. Not only to the industrial squad, but also for fixing clerks and court attendants, and so on.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 3 p. m., a recess was taken until 10 a. m. of the following day, Saturday, October 14, 1939.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Dies, Starnes, and Voorhis.

Also present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

## TESTIMONY OF ROBERT PITCOFF

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Pitcoff, what is your address?

Mr. PITCOFF. 143 Lincoln Avenue, New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your business?

Mr. PITCOFF. Electrician.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. PITCOFF. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. By naturalization or birth?

Mr. PITCOFF. By naturalization.

The CHAIRMAN. When were you naturalized?

Mr. PITCOFF. In 1930.

The CHAIRMAN. What country did you come from?

Mr. PITCOFF. Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you come from Russia?

Mr. PITCOFF. In 1914.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you join the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. PITCOFF. In 1926.

Mr. WHITLEY. By whom were you solicited or recruited in the party?

Mr. PITCOFF. By a man by the name of Carl Brodsky.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he a brother of Joseph Brodsky?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Joseph Brodsky being an attorney in New York?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of your own knowledge that Joseph Brodsky is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PITCOFF. During my membership in the party, it was a well-known fact that he was a member of the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. What position did you hold in the Communist Party, or what work did you perform for the party?

Mr. PITCOFF. At the inception of my membership I was a member of the section executive committee, which was a local committee, of which I was secretary, of the building trades department of the T. U. E. L. Then I had a position as manager of the transportation control department of the Amtorg Trading Corporation.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did you hold that position in the Amtorg?

Mr. PITCOFF. Close to 4 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your duties as transportation-control manager were what?

Mr. PITCOFF. I had threefold duties. My first duty was to plan out and secure steamer space for cargoes that were to be shipped from the United States to Russia. Coincident with that, I was also to make up lists of the finances that were required as to down payments on merchandise to be shipped to Russia; and also, to order out the cargoes of American suppliers to steamers at New York, and elsewhere in ports of the United States, for shipment to Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. In your position with the Amtorg, were you able to get inside knowledge of its working contacts and relationships in this country?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, I had fairly good knowledge of the working of the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. What were the relations between the Amtorg and the Communist Party of the United States? Were they close and cooperative?

Mr. PITCOFF. I should think very close. You see, we had in Amtorg a fraction composed of party members who were employees of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, that used to meet very frequently as a separate unit of the party. This fraction was divided into two parts. There was the main fraction, which consisted of members who worked in the organization; and there was also what we called the leading fraction, consisting of only a few who were permitted to meet in order to decide party policy and various other matters concerning the work of the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Through that fraction in the Amtorg, there was a very close relationship between the Amtorg and the Communist Party officials in New York and throughout the country?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir. There was also existing a Russian Communist fraction, which, of course, never met with us, but the secretary of that fraction, together with the secretary of our fraction, used to meet quite frequently.

Mr. WHITLEY. You had two Communist Party fractions working in the Amtorg, one composed of members of the Russian party and the other group composed of members of the party in this country?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did your connection with the Communist Party terminate?

Mr. PITCOFF. It terminated at the end of 1933.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall the date on which you were formally expelled from the party?

Mr. PITCOFF. I was not expelled from the party. I resigned in October 1934, and my expulsion from the party was announced in December 1934. You see, the party does not recognize resignations.

Mr. WHITLEY. They are always expelled?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir. I sent in a formal letter of resignation to the central committee of the party on October 26, 1934. After that I was called before various party functionaries. They asked me to reconsider my resignation, but I refused to reconsider it. Subsequently—I believe it was December 15, 1934—my expulsion was announced in the Daily Worker.

Mr. WHITLEY. You stated a moment ago that your connection terminated in 1933?

Mr. PITCOFF. That was from the Amtorg.

Mr. WHITLEY. You continued in the party until the latter part of 1934?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why did you resign from the party?

Mr. PITCOFF. I was brought to believe that the Communist Party was a workers' party to improve the condition of working people in this country as well as throughout the world, but during my stay in the party I became increasingly convinced it was instituting a form of slavery for the working class in Russia and elsewhere, wherever they possibly could, as no other regimented form of capitalism has succeeded in doing. When I learned that what was the real practice of the Communist Party was a form of regimented capitalism, and that I had just been regimented in a capitalistic political system of brutal fascism, I said I chose the democratic form of capitalism, and resigned from the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were disillusioned from your belief concerning the purposes, aims, and objects of the party, and so you resigned?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever previously testified before any body or group?

Mr. PITCOFF. No, sir: I have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why do you appear here as a witness?

Mr. PITCOFF. I appear here today because I fear there exists a grave danger that this so-called regimented form of capitalism which is advocated by the Communist Party, and which it has endeavored to have instituted, is bound to gain ground everywhere. The Communist International was and is maintaining a regime in Russia that it is endeavoring to spread, and it is using all means possible in order to do that.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you feel that there is a real danger in this country?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you appear here in the hope that by exposing and making public knowledge of that kind, you may help to retard its progress?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that progress has been made in the United States?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; it has been made to the extent that the Communist Party has been able to recruit dissatisfied elements into its ranks and around it, by creating a false conception of endeavoring to improve the condition of the working class.

Mr. STARNES. How far have they gone, in your opinion, or to your knowledge?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, there was a time when the Communist Party had a very small membership in this country, and its entire activity was localized, in endeavoring to create a sentiment of protection against the Soviet Union, and trying to get a foothold in various unions, or trade-unions, in the United States. Today they control many unions, and they have many organizations which, although functioning under different names than the Communist Party, nevertheless carry on the Communist Party line and are under the control of the Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. From your 8 years' activity in the Communist Party, did you ever have any opportunity to observe the relationship between the party in this country and the Comintern in Moscow, or the headquarters of the Communist International?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Browder in his testimony stated that the Communist Party was just another political party that made its own decisions in the light of conditions in this country, according to what the political needs in this country are. What was your observation as an active member of the party in that respect?

Mr. PITCOFF. If you mean by that that the membership of the Communist Party makes decisions here in the United States regarding affairs in the United States, that is not true, because the political line of the party is handed down from above, and it is decided by the party, or representatives of the party, in Moscow, together with the head of the International who, in reality, is Joseph Stalin. Then, it is, in turn, brought back to the United States. Sometimes, without even the formality of a convention of the Central Committee, this party line is put into effect.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that the line of the party in the United States, or, in the case of the party in the United States, does it depend on conditions in this country or upon political needs in Soviet Russia?

Mr. PITCOFF. I think it depends on the political needs of this country.

Mr. WHITLEY. In this country?

Mr. PITCOFF. I mean the political needs of Russia. For instance, there was a time when the Communist Party was strongly opposed to the American Federation of Labor in such a way that it created a dual organization known as the Trade Union Unity League. There was no peace to be made with the American Federation of Labor. The worker was to be dissatisfied with the American Federation of Labor, and the membership was to be drawn from the American Federation of Labor into the T. U. E. L., or other independent unions which might be influenced or ruled by the Communist Party. Yet, in 1933, without even the formality of a convention of the American Communist Party, or, I should say, after a decision by a convention of the Communist Party was made endorsing that line, a few months after that political line was completely reversed, and the independent unions

and the T. U. E. L. unions were disbanded without even the formality of asking the membership of the unions whether they would like to be disbanded or not, and they were turned into the American Federation of Labor. Subsequent to that, or after a few months, another policy was made, and that was to get out of the A. F. of L. and into the C. I. O., which was formed a few months after that.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the orders came through, and, without consulting the membership in any way, they were carried out?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir. There was another example: For many years the Communist Party preached antagonism toward any attempt to form a labor party, which at one time existed in the United States. The Communist Party considered it to be a bitter opponent organization; yet, also, without any formal decision by the party organs in the United States, immediately upon the arrival of Browder from Russia, he left for Washington, and declared in favor of that party political line in a convention of the unemployed meeting in Washington.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is another example of Moscow control, or evidence that they dictate the party line in this country?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; that is the way it seems to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it generally understood in party circles, especially among those not in the rank and file of the membership but among those holding official positions and, therefore, entitled to a more intimate knowledge of the work of the party, that the American party receives subsidies from Moscow?

Mr. PITCOFF. There is no question about that. There would be no possibility of publishing the newspapers of the party otherwise. The lower organizations of the party function on their own, and they collect their own funds, but the upper party organs cannot very well get hold of the money. They cannot get enough money from what is collected below for the purposes for which the party members can be taxed for the upper organs of the party, because their expenses are too high for them to be met by the membership below.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, whatever the needs of the party in this country are in carrying on propaganda work, what they cannot take care of themselves is supplied from abroad?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; undoubtedly it is.

Mr. WHITLEY. In your activities in the Communist Party, did you have occasion to come into contact with or have knowledge of the work of the so-called front organizations or innocent organizations?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you name some of the better known Communist Party front organizations for the committee?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, I have had some intimate knowledge of the work of the so-called Friends of the Soviet Union. That was a front organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Controlled and dominated by the Communist Party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; controlled and dominated by it. There was only a party fraction rule. They publish "Know Soviet Russia Today," which advertises all of the glamorous things about the industrialization of Russia and urges American workers to support the Soviet Union at all times, right or wrong.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that organization active in trying to win popular support in this country for United States recognition of Soviet Russia?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that the organization that Corliss Lamont is the head of?

Mr. PITCOFF. I do not think he was the head of it at that time but at a subsequent time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you name some more Communist-controlled organizations?

Mr. PITCOFF. There were some Communist-controlled unions.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about the International Workers' Order?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; that was a Communist-controlled organization. That organization was set up ostensibly for the purpose of obtaining relief for workers on strike by supplying food, clothing, and other things. It was entirely controlled by the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you talking about the I. W. O. or the I. L. D.?

Mr. PITCOFF. I mean the International Workers' Order. That is a fraternal organization that is controlled by the party. Max Bedacht is the head of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he a member of the national committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir. He is a member of the central committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is also secretary of the I. W. O.?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you say that it is a workers' fraternal insurance organization?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir. It broke off originally from the Workmen's Circle, which was a Socialist-controlled organization in New York many years ago. It has grown into great proportions since, and it is completely controlled by the Communist Party. I had one experience with it: After I had resigned from the party, I made application to join that organization, but my application for membership was refused.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was turned down?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You never made application while you were in the party?

Mr. PITCOFF. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your conclusion is that you were turned down because you had broken with the party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about the International Labor Defense?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; that is a party organization, controlled by the Communist Party. It was organized by the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. For what purpose?

Mr. PITCOFF. Ostensibly for supplying legal aid to workers who got in trouble as a result of strike activities with the police. That was the ostensible purpose.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the real purpose? Was it for propaganda work?

Mr. PITCOFF. The real purpose—everybody knows that there was an awful lot of propaganda about the various cases that have arisen in the history of the American labor movement, such as the Scottsboro defense. They have collected enormous sums of money, and they have carried on propaganda ostensibly for the defense of those boys, but, in reality, it was used to spread the ideas of communism.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know anything about the organization known as the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. PITCOFF. Not very intimately.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether it is or was considered to be a Communist-controlled organization?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; it is generally considered to be a Communist organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, in Communist Party circles?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; and also by the type of activities they carry on.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you think of any other front organizations at the moment?

Mr. PITCOFF. Not at the moment.

Mr. VOORHIS. When you say that it is considered to be a Communist organization, I wish you would explain what you mean by that.

Mr. PITCOFF. I mean that the organization is carrying on the propaganda, but not in the name of the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. In accordance with the party line?

Mr. PITCOFF. In accordance with the party line; yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do not mean that the membership of it consists of Communists?

Mr. PITCOFF. No, sir. In 9 cases out of 10 the membership of any organization that is considered a Communist organization does not even know what communism represents.

Mr. VOORHIS. Or what is going on?

Mr. PITCOFF. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the purpose of the front organization. It is not to get an organization composed of Communists, but an organization composed of people who are not Communists but who are to be used in a Communist-controlled organization, and to do what they could not do as members of the party.

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They can exert more influence than known Communists, or people known to be Community Party members.

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. During late years the Communist Party has been rather active in trade-union work?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. During the 4 years that you were an official of the Amtorg, did you carry on any trade-union work on the outside?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that work you were carrying on in behalf of the Communist Party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you explain to the committee the manner in which the Communist Party keeps control or gets control of trade-unions, and how they use them when they get control of them?

Mr. PITCOFF. In those days, when I was secretary of the building-trades department of the T. U. E. L., the party had decided to abandon work within the American Federation of Labor, because there were no possibilities of creating any issues in the American Federation of Labor at that time in order to recruit membership within the American Federation of Labor.

In the building trades particularly construction work was going on on a great scale, and the workers were more or less satisfied with conditions, and there was no possibility of any recruiting; but they set up an organization known as the Building Construction Industrial League, which was to sell the idea of the Communist Party to unorganized building-trades workers of forming industrial unions, which would eliminate all the evils of them. Now, fractions are set up, and those fractions carry on the work among the workers in existing unions or in the newly formed unions. The fractions create the issues around which to recruit the workers. When those workers are recruited, more and more they are called upon to elect officers from the Communist Party, but who, of course, are not advertised as Communist Party members. Those officers, after they have been elected by the unions, rule the unions at the discretion of the party. Immediately all sorts of new issues are introduced into the union, such as the defense of Spain, the defense of China, and the defense of various other things that the party sets up; and, also, the raising of funds for those various campaigns.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those funds are being raised in the unions? !

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir. I know that in the painters' union in New York, during the administration of the Communist Party, there were thousands of dollars collected for the Spanish campaign of the Communist Party. It was on that issue, I believe, that they lost it. They lost out at the recent election.

Mr. WHITLEY. They lost out in the Painters' Union?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, they used the fraction system and obtained control of it?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. They obtain control and dominate with a small minority of the membership?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. The rank and file of the union do not realize that the fraction exists or what it is accomplishing?

Mr. PITCOFF. Sometimes they do realize it. Sometimes they learn too late to ever get rid of them easily. An organized fraction in any union can carry on its rule against an unorganized majority without being unseated for a long time or until the unorganized majority organizes itself against the fraction.

Mr. WHITLEY. Once they get control, through the fraction system, then they proceed to take charge of the union and carry out party lines.

Mr. PITCOFF. Exactly.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in that way are able to use trade-unions?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they also use unions for getting funds for Communist Party purposes?



Mr. PITCOFF. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Pitcoff, you mentioned the Painters' Union a moment ago. Who was the Communist Party representative or head, or leader of the Painters' Union?

Mr. PITCOFF. Louis Weinstock.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is Mr. Weinstock a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Mr. James Metliez, head of the radio workers?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Harry Bridges is affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, I don't exactly; I haven't seen him, but it was the understanding in the party in 1937, during the west coast strike, that he was the one party man with us, was close to the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. While you do not know of your own personal knowledge, you never associated with him, but you do know that in official Communist Party circles he was considered a party man?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, he was considered to be one of the men; he was one of the party men.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with or know in any way Joseph Curran, of the National Maritime Union?

Mr. PITCOFF. Curran must be a recent acquisition of the party.

You see, the Maritime Union is regarded by the party as a very important union to have control of, and it seems to me—there has been a fight for a good many years on the water front by the Communists trying to get control of the Maritime Union—and it seems to me that if Curran was not a member of the party, or if he was not carrying out the line of the party, the Communist Party, that he would be met with a fight in order to get him into that position.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know of your own knowledge that he is?

Mr. PITCOFF. No; I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with or know the affiliations of Mr. John Brophy?

Mr. PITCOFF. Brophy—I do not know him personally, but Brophy was considered to be close to the party in the days when I was a member of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, he worked close to the party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; he was spoken of in the national committee meetings of the T. U. U. L. as a man who would carry out the policy of the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Do you know Michael Quill?

Mr. PITCOFF. No; I don't know him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know anything concerning his affiliations, so far as the Communist Party are concerned?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, the union that he represents was organized by the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. What union?

Mr. PITCOFF. The Transport Workers' Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Transport Workers' Union.

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes. It was organized by the T. U. U. C., the Trade Union Council of the Communist Party but subsequently became a C. I. O. affiliate.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. PITCOFF. And naturally the fraction, the Communist Party fraction, had control of that union.

And at times they would set up people who are not members of the Communist Party but are willing to take orders. We had a situation of that sort in the Building Trades, where we set up several presidents of the various councils or organizations who were not members of the Communist Party but were willing to carry out, either knowingly or unknowingly, the line of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact it was rather to the advantage of the Communist Party to do that when it could find a man like that, was it not?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; they were looking for such men.

Mr. WHITLEY. Men who were not members so that no question would be presented of his being a member of the party and at the same time he would be willing to carry out the orders the same if he were a member?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of your own personal knowledge whether Quill is a member?

Mr. PITCOFF. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you do know that he has been active in the organization, trade-union organization work?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Trade unions which were set up and run by the Communist Party?

Mr. PITCOFF. I should say that if he was not, I mean, he would have quit the leadership of the organization a long time ago by being disgusted with the methods which were used by the party in the way it ran the union.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. PITCOFF. There was a situation—you see the union has control of the taxicab workers in New York City and at one time there was a large group of taxicab workers who broke away from that union and who have sought other kinds of organizations, and they have declared quite openly that they have broken away because of the Communist rule within the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Do you know the affiliation of Michael Obermeyer?

Mr. PITCOFF. Of the food workers?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; I believe that is right.

Mr. PITCOFF. He is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know that of your own knowledge?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean, from your connection with the party?

What about Mr. John Steuben; are you acquainted with him?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; I am. John Steuben is a member of the Communist Party; has carried on work among the dye workers in New York and various other unions in the days when I was a member; and also a member of the T. U. U. C.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know the affiliation of Pat Toohey?

Mr. PITCOFF. Toohey is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. In what trade-union does he work?

Mr. PITCOFF. He was carrying on trade-union work among the miners.

Mr. WHITLEY. Among the miners?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What about Ben Gold of the furriers?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; he is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is a party member?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you mention, Mr. Pitcoff, some of the trade unions that are Communist controlled and dominated?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, the Furrier Workers' Union; the Transport Workers' is controlled by the Communist Party; the Furniture Workers' Union is controlled by the Communist Party; the Maritime Workers' Union—I mean on both the east coast and a part of the west coast. They have a Sailors Union that is not controlled by the Communist Party.

The Furniture Workers; the Metal and Radio Workers' Unions are controlled by Communist Party fractions.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. How about the American Communications Association; do you know anything concerning that?

Mr. PITCOFF. I don't know whether the Communist Party has full control there but it also originated with the Communist Party T. U. U. C., in New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. It originated as one of the Communist Party organizations?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who started the National Maritime Union; who were the individuals more active in the early days of that organization?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, it was started as the Maritime Workers, an industrial union, by Roy Hudson and George Mink.

Mr. WHITLEY. What about the Office and Professional Workers' Union of America?

Mr. PITCOFF. That was originated as an A. F. of L. organization but there was a Communist Party controlled union called the Office Workers' Union and they had both of them for some time, and subsequently they captured control of that organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the Communist Party connections or influence in the Federation of Artists, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; that was started by the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who is that headed by, Mr. Pitcoff?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, I just don't recall.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Mr. Marcel Scherer is the head of it?

Mr. PITCOFF. That is right; Marcel Sherer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know him as a member?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you tell us any other trade union organizations that to your knowledge are unions that have been Communist Party controlled? How about the Electrical and Radio Workers Union?

Mr. PITCOFF. That is an outgrowth of the Metal Workers Industrial Union, which was started by the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know anything concerning the Teachers Union in New York?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, I haven't been intimately acquainted with the union, but it has been spoken by the party fractions, the T. U. U. C., the Teachers Union as being a party-controlled union, by the Communist Party fraction.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Teachers Union?

Mr. PITCOFF. At the head of one fraction was Isadore Begun who was recently, or several times, run on the Communist ticket for offices in New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Mervyn Rathborne?

Mr. PITCOFF. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the Communications Association?

Mr. PITCOFF. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know anything about his affiliations?

Mr. PITCOFF. No; I don't know what affiliations he has.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the affiliations of Wyndham Mortimer of the Automobile Workers Union?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; I was told away back in 1933 that Wyndham Mortimer was a member of the Communist Party, a recruit at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were told that?

The CHAIRMAN. By whom?

Mr. PITCOFF. I was told by the Cleveland organization of the T. U. U. L., and that occurred in Cleveland.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you were told by Communist Party organizers?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That Mortimer was a member.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you going to develop further the Amtorg?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; I expect to get to that in a few minutes, Mr. Chairman.

Are you acquainted with William Albertson of the Food Workers?

Mr. PITCOFF. No; I am not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you think of any trade unions, or leaders of organizations, that have not been mentioned?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, they are too numerous to be thought of in that way.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your own activities in the trade union field work of the Communist Party was the building trades?

Mr. PITCOFF. Building trades and allied industries.

Mr. WHITLEY. And allied industries.

Mr. PITCOFF. I was also a member of the National Committee of the T. U. U. C., the trade-union committee in New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. PITCOFF. And in that connection the affiliation of most of the unions, controlled or workers controlled by the Communist Party, were brought to the attention of this committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. You had first-hand knowledge of the various organizations and their control.

Mr. PITCOFF. Exactly.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, of Communist Party activities in that union.

Now, Mr. Pitcoff, with reference to the Amtorg and its functions in this country, and its relation to the Communist Party: Can you give the committee more details concerning that organization; how does it cooperate with the Communist Party? You mentioned the fact that the Communist Party fractions and most of the employees of the Amtorg are Communist Party members?

Mr. PITCOFF. No; they are not. A pretty good percentage of the employees are members of the Communist Party.

Now, as I have said before, they met in fractions very frequently to discuss the affairs of the Amtorg. Now, the major fractions meets, the larger fraction meets once a month and the leading committee of the fraction brings down the decisions that were made at those meetings, and the leader of the principal fraction, attended by someone from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, presides over the meeting.

Sometimes, also by a member of the district committee of the Communist Party in order to lay down the line that is to be followed, and also in order to check up on what work is being done of the Communist Party.

There are attempts made by the Communist fractions to recruit non-Communist workers in the Amtorg into Communist fractions. Some of those attempts have been successful.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was the National Committee member of the Communist Party, of the largest fraction, who presided at the Communist Party fraction meetings of the Amtorg?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well over fraction meetings that I have attended, Alexander Trachtenberg.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is with the International Publishers Corporation?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did he, as representative of the National Committee of the Communist Party, tell the fractions in the Amtorg what they were to do and how they were to do it?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes. If there existed any differences of opinion on any matters he would straighten them out by saying that he spoke in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he would prevail?

Mr. PITCOFF. Exactly.

Mr. WHITLEY. He would come over, attend these meetings and tell the Amtorg fraction what they were to do; lay down the law to them?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; and sometimes where there existed differences of opinion between the fractions and the Amtorg, Mr. Trachtenberg would state that he would straighten it out with the administration after the meeting of the fraction.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now what, in addition to being a trading organization, corporation, that is, for the Soviet Government, what other functions were performed by the Amtorg, or officers or employees of the Amtorg in this country, Mr. Pitcoff?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, there were many missions sent to this country in order to obtain industrial information. These commissions were

sent to the Amtorg, and the Amtorg used to arrange the attendance at various American plants in order to study production, if possible, secret-trade production, if possible; secret-trade production was also possibly obtained.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. Do you know whether the Amtorg cooperated with these commissions or whether they were ever successful in obtaining industrial secrets?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, I know that they have made many attempts. In other words I met with a commission that came to investigate the production of glass here and they have visited some plants in New Jersey. I do not know exactly what those plants were, and subsequently, in discussing with them they told me that they have obtained more than the owners of those plants were willing to show them.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words had been operating as a legitimate commission to obtain information that was not secret and had obtained secret industrial information?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, yes. You see, there are various processes of manufacturing glass that they were keenly interested in.

The CHAIRMAN. How would they get secret information; through Communists working in the plants?

Mr. PITCOFF. That is very possible, that they had some people who were Communists, working in that plant, but the commission visited these plants and often they were given the privilege of staying several days, or maybe weeks, you see, in order to study the process of manufacture of glass and in that way they were able to obtain whatever secret methods were employed.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they obtain those methods through Communists working in the plants?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; they would.

The CHAIRMAN. There would be no other way to get it?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, there would be another way of getting it if some individual group, or individual, knows of a secret process and they would be willing to relate it to them or to sell it to them.

The CHAIRMAN. But it is more likely, is it not, that through people who were sympathetic with Russia or people who were willing to dispose of it for a price?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of these commissions came to the United States?

Mr. PITCOFF. Oh, a number of commissions. There were commissions that were studying glass; there were commissions that were studying aviation; there was another commission that was here to study the chemical industry, and other industries; the manufacture of paper and such things as that. Almost every industry was studied by these commissions that came from Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. How did these commissions get into the United States; through their connection with embassies?

Mr. PITCOFF. No; at that time there was no embassy. They were permitted admission into this country because the commissions came here to purchase equipment for Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words they would send commissions over here to get supplies. Did these various commissions get naval secrets or aviation secrets or military secrets?

Mr. PITCOFF. Aviation secrets: yes. There is, or was, a special department in the Amtorg which is called the aviation department, and that department is headed by a military officer of the Soviet Union.

Everyone of the heads of these departments is either the head of a military, an aviation, or other military branch in Russia. And they have purchased many engines and also they have purchased quite a few obsolete planes from the United States Government, and in connection with these purchases they have been permitted to have inspectors and otherwise people who got into the plants to examine the engines they purchased and also to examine the methods of production.

The CHAIRMAN. So that although they came under the guise of examining the engines they purchased, they actually got information with reference to the more modern equipment; is that right?

Mr. PITCOFF. And subsequently they have been able to develop—at least, they have advertised it to be so—engines of equal quality to those manufactured by the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they get the information from the United States that they used to do this?

Mr. PITCOFF. They were very eager to obtain whatever information they possibly could from the United States because they consider the technique of the United States to be the superior.

The CHAIRMAN. If we have Communists working here in aviation factories and in the Navy Yards would those Communists cooperate with the commissions, their leaders here for the purpose of getting information to the commission?

Mr. PITCOFF. Definitely so if they were requested to.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, when the commission came it had full cooperation of the Amtorg?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They had the full cooperation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And of any OGPU agents in this country, who also cooperate with them?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the commission, while they were here for the purpose, presumably, for the purpose of doing something legitimate, yet while they were engaged in that business, through contacts with Communists in the aviation plants or in the navy yard, on any manufacturing question, they were able to get secret information that they could not have gotten as a legitimate commission; is that correct?

Mr. PITCOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was going on frequently, you say; that is, commissions came to this country?

Mr. PITCOFF. Oh, yes; and those commissions never stayed longer than 2 or 3 months. Then, their place was taken by another commission. They came right on the heels of the commission so that they kept on changing. You see, at one time, during the height of purchasing that Russia was making in this country, there were thousands of people traveling in this country, thousands of Russians traveling throughout the United States, and visiting numerous plants in the United States, for the study of manufacture and production of

various equipment, of things that were needed in Russia, machinery and in the building industry.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the Communists instructed to render cooperation to those people?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, it isn't done exactly that way. The Communist may not even know the member of the commission, member of the commission may not even know the Communist, but if the Communist Party member knows of any plant and is requested to obtain certain information he certainly is going to obtain that information and he is going to turn it over either to the commission that is visiting the plant or later on to somebody else that has been appointed to receive that information.

The CHAIRMAN. You say there is a special department in the Amtorg dealing with aviation?

Mr. PITCOFF. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. And do they have special departments dealing with any other armaments of a military character besides that?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, at that time the aviation department took care of all such matters. The department called the Aviation Department was relied on and was the representative of the Military Organization in Russia.

There were other departments in the Amtorg which dealt with various phases of industry: One that dealt with oil; a department known as the chemical department. There were various machinery and building departments, and so on; altogether about 15 different departments; electric departments, and so on.

The CHAIRMAN. And they had heads of each department who was a Communist?

Mr. PITCOFF. Who was a vice president of the Amtorg.

The CHAIRMAN. Of each department?

Mr. PITCOFF. Of each department.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was vice president of the Amtorg?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And was from the Soviet Republic?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; who was sent here from Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. And they were working very closely with the Communist Party in the United States through fractions in the Amtorg?

Mr. PITCOFF. And at the top as well.

The CHAIRMAN. And through top organizations; in other words, the central committee.

Did you know any of the Ogpu agents who were here at that time?

Mr. PITCOFF. The representatives of the Ogpu agents are not all Russians; some of them are Americans.

I had the experience at one time of being called to a secret meeting with a member of the party who had been sitting on the same committee with me, and who asked me at that time whether I would be interested to become a secret-service agent for the Soviet Government in the Navy of some foreign country.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that; do you know his name?

Mr. PITCOFF. I know his name but I am wondering if it would be advisable to state that here.



The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is not material, if you have some good reason for withholding it.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have that name, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You have the name?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When was this?

Mr. PITCOFF. That was in the summer of 1931.

The CHAIRMAN. 1931; and he was a member of the party?

Mr. PITCOFF. He was a member of the party.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he an officer of the party?

Mr. PITCOFF. He was an officer of the party.

The CHAIRMAN. And he asked you if you would be willing to become a secret-service agent of the Soviet Government in some other country?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; and I told him that I didn't think my qualifications warranted such a job because I was not so familiar with it and he said that would be taken care of; that I would be sent to Russia for 2 years to be trained.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you that they had a number of secret agents in the United States?

Mr. PITCOFF. Oh, yes; and I asked for time to consider it for a while, and after considering it I declined the offer. Then subsequently another member of the Communist Party told me that he was approached by the same man for the same purpose.

Mr. VOORHIS. When you turned it down did anybody in the organization appear to be mad with you because you would not take the position you were offered?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; not exactly mad—I do not think they showed any resentment there. It was during my stay in the Amtorg that this occurred. On numerous occasions I was called down before the district committee and told to resign from the Amtorg. I complied with their requests and sent in my resignation to my superiors, but those resignations were invariably turned down, until finally it came to the time when there was contact between the American party and the administration of the Amtorg. Then I turned in my resignation and it was accepted.

The CHAIRMAN. As to Americans in the Ogpu service, is it the practice of the Soviet Government to employ Communists in the United States who are qualified for secret service in the United States?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, an American Communist, who is a citizen of this country, is in a position to do secret-service work more effectively than an outsider? Is that true?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; Americans would have better access to various plants and enterprises which are to be investigated.

The CHAIRMAN. If you are an American Communist, and are approached by a leading party official and requested to go into the secret service, or are instructed to do it, and you refuse to do it, what is likely to happen to you?

Mr. PITCOFF. We are not usually instructed. Most party members accept it willingly if they are chosen. However, if you decline, you are not being trusted any more with any work of importance in the party.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us assume that you are an American Communist, and are selected for secret-service work: Would you be instructed to secure employment in an industrial plant, an aviation plant, or something of that sort?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; in the early times, in the functioning of the Communist Party, there was a special attempt made to establish so-called factory nuclei, and particular stress was laid upon the war industries. The Communist Party demanded that its membership go into the war industries, ostensibly for propaganda purposes, but once a party member gets into a war industry, he undoubtedly comes in contact with different secrets that are being hidden in one way or another. In this way, they would be able to obtain information. For a time no one in the party had been able to get into the chemical industry, and the party was making an awful effort in order to find somebody to penetrate the chemical industry in the United States. Subsequently, after 2 or 3 years of effort, they have obtained some people and have established contact with the chemical industry. They have stated the reason for that was that the chemical industry was a war industry, and it was essential that they should get into it.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us assume that in a navy yard there are, we will say, six or seven Communists working as machinists, or in various departments of the navy yard. Now, those six or seven Communists may meet with a party fraction?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They impart their information to whoever is chairman of the fraction. They may give information that the United States is building a new type of engine, or a new type of this or that, whatever it may be, in the way of a military improvement. Then what would that chairman of the fraction do with that information?

Mr. PITCOFF. He would convey it to his superior in the Communist Party, if he did not have direct contact with the Russian Ogpu agent or military agent. Most party members do not have that contact, and they submit the information to their immediate superior. They have the information available, and then the doors, as it goes higher up to the international, are opened wider.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it eventually go to the Amtorg or the Ogpu agents? I am trying to get the connection between the Amtorg and the Ogpu.

Mr. PITCOFF. I think there cannot be any physical distinction made between the various departments. For example, there exists a punitive organization in the Communist Party known as the Central Control Commission. This Central Control Commission is affiliated with the International Control Commission, and this International Control Commission is affiliated with the Moscow Ogpu. The Ogpu of Moscow is affiliated with the Communist Party and the Communist International. So, you see, there cannot be any physical distinction between any of those organizations. They are in unison. The Amtorg is purely a commercial organization; yet it undoubtedly has a connection with the secret service of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that the Communist Party had some difficulty in getting its members into the war industries?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it true that when they formed the American League for Peace and Democracy, which was formerly the League Against War and Fascism, instructions went out to members of the league to join the war industries, particularly navy yards, for the purpose of forming shop nuclei in those industries, so that in the event of a war they could engage in espionage and sabotage?

Mr. PITCOFF. I do not recall those instructions being given to the League for Peace and Democracy, but I definitely recall instructions being given to party fractions in the various unions.

The CHAIRMAN. The point is—I do not remember the exact date—but we have a document from which it appears that the Communist Party instructed their members in the League for Peace and Democracy, or the League Against War and Fascism then, to go into those war industries. In other words, what I am asking is, was the purpose of that to get them into those industries as members of the League Against War and Fascism, because if they had been known as Communists, they could not have gone into them: Is that true?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; if it were known that they were members of the Communist Party, they would have had difficulty in getting into any industry.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us assume this set of facts: They will know that a certain man who is a member of the League for Peace and Democracy is working in the navy yard, or a certain man working in the navy yard joins the League for Peace and Democracy: Now, after he goes into the League for Peace and Democracy, he immediately begins to receive the Daily Worker. It is sent to his house, and he gets other Communist Party propaganda. Meetings are held in the homes of such persons, at which at least one Communist is present. Would that be one method of obtaining secrets from such a man without letting him know what the purpose was? Such men, while not being Communists themselves, belong to the League for Peace and Democracy, and in that way they have direct contacts with Communists. Would that be a method through which the Soviet Union would obtain secrets where they could not obtain them directly through members of the Communist Party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir. The Communists would ask certain questions about work being performed in the navy, which would not arouse suspicion, but I think a surer method would be to call on people from a political organization, and thus consciously extract the secrets from them.

The CHAIRMAN. Assume that they find a man in a navy yard who is sympathetic with Loyalist Spain: That man is solicited, and he is asked to come to some particular place and join the league. He joins the league because he is in accord with its purposes. Then immediately thereafter, the Daily Worker is sent to him, and other Communist literature. Their object, of course, is to gradually get those individuals who are working in the navy yard into the Communist Party, and after they have gotten them in, they begin to get information out of them. Finally, there may be a large number of people involved in it, and there is nothing they can do about it.

Mr. PITCOFF. That is true, but the foremost attempt is to recruit them for the Communist Party, into the political organization.

After they have gone in, they keep them warm toward the party. Eventually, they get them in the party, and once they get them in, they are brought closer to the political line. Then, if they have information, they can get it from them. There are some members of the unions or organizations that cannot obtain secrets, because they cannot work in the particular sections of production where there are secrets prevalent. So those people are used exclusively for propaganda work. It is only where they are able to obtain persons who come in contact with secret processes that they are able to obtain such secrets.

The CHAIRMAN. They have in the United States, as a matter of fact, an elaborate spy system that reaches into the industries throughout the country. Is that a fact?

Mr. PITCOFF. I think it is. I do not think that even the Soviet Union denies that. The Soviet Union has declared that it is its purpose to outstrip all other countries in the world in industrial production, and they are using all means to obtain that position. The whole imperialist set-up of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party has proven that. It requires various industrial machinery and information needed for that production, and everywhere the Ogpu have contacts with the workers who are consciously or unconsciously provided that information.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know from your contact with the Amtorg that the Soviet Union has been obtaining vital secrets from the United States for a long period of time? Do you know that to be the fact as a result of your contacts and experience?

Mr. PITCOFF. It has been stated to me on several occasions by members of the commission that they have obtained secrets on various production processes over a period of time.

The CHAIRMAN. You have, therefore, good reason to believe that is true?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Referring to the set-up of the Amtorg and the manner in which it operates, is that one of their real purposes in the United States?

Mr. PITCOFF. Their real purpose, of course, is to purchase equipment for Russia, but they desire to free themselves of the necessity of continuing to purchase equipment in the United States or any other country. They are trying to improve their industries to such an extent that they would be able to do it themselves or to manufacture all of those things that they use. Naturally, in order to do that, they must obtain secret processes of manufacture and production. They must do that in order to compete with production elsewhere.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not there are many secret agents or Ogpu agents operating in the United States for the Soviet Union?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir. In the Amtorg it is quite obvious or visible, and even the work of the agents criss-cross in the different organizations. One secret agent will come to you soliciting you to find certain information, and another one will come asking you to acquire other information for some other agent. They are continually asking you to obtain certain information either within the Amtorg or outside of the Amtorg, through agents affiliated with or connected

with the OGPU or agents on the outside. There is also spying on the employees. Even the vice presidents or directors of various departments are not immune from that. Subordinate employees look over the various instructions and contacts between the department and the suppliers in order to find if there is anything wrong. A man might be just a mail clerk in the Amtorg, but he may have secret instructions to find certain things out. Of course, they do not know it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything you can add to your statement with reference to secret agents operating in the United States for the Soviet Union?

Mr. PITCOFF. In what way?

The CHAIRMAN. From the information you obtained, you say that there are a number of them here. You know that to be a fact?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not they operate in different industrial sections of the United States, or are they confined to any one area?

Mr. PITCOFF. No, sir; they are not confined to any one area. Most of them are in the eastern part of the United States, around New York and Washington. There are some on the west coast. Their activities are going on around Seattle, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. There were many purchases made there and many shipments made from there to the Far East.

Mr. VOORHIS. To what countries in the Far East?

Mr. PITCOFF. To Russia—to Vladivostok. So there are branches out there.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that there are a great many secret agents who are Americans?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Recruited through the Communist Party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; or through its affiliates.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not, from your contacts and your experience in the Amtorg, how far the secret service of the Soviet Union extends to the Federal Government? Did you hear from officials of any contacts they have with the Government itself?

Mr. PITCOFF. I would not know that. At the time I worked for the Amtorg there was no recognition of the Soviet Union. There were many attempts being made for that.

The CHAIRMAN. Attempts to get into Government offices?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; and to obtain recognition as well. There may have been. It is not out of the question that Communist Party members might have been able to get in at that time as functionaries of the Government inside.

Mr. WHITLEY. From your connection with the Amtorg, do you know whether its business operations and facilities would be made available to the secret agents of the Soviet Union working in this country? By that I mean was the set up in the Amtorg such and their relations with the Soviet Union and the Communist Party in this country such that it would be used by the secret service of the OGPU in their activities?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, if the Ogpu had called on the Amtorg for assistance of any kind, it would be forthcoming?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. There would be no question about that?

Mr. PITCOFF. No, sir. There were some operating within the Amtorg itself.

Mr. WHITLEY. Inside of the organization?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir. There is a certain person—I do not recall his name—who is continually in the Amtorg, and who continually travels between Russia and the United States, Canada, England, and so forth. He is known to be a secret service agent.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, do you know of any other activities engaged in by the O. G. P. U. agents, or their recruits from the Communist Party in this country, other than just espionage activities, or industrial and military espionage?

Mr. PITCOFF. They also try their hand on those who have either quit their service, or those who are dangerous to them. During the first purge, away back in 1930, there were a lot of Russians who refused to go back to Russia. They were people who had served the Soviet Union, and many of them deserted right here in this country.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean they were ordered back to Russia?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; and they refused to return. Stalin passed a law whereby they were condemned to death. As a result of that, many of them deserted right here in this country. It was known to us in the Amtorg.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened to them?

Mr. PITCOFF. They were at large, and some of them were never heard of. Many of them were rounded up. I would not know the details, but a member of the staff of the Amtorg told me on several occasions that some were rounded up and sent back to Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. There were Ogpu agents here to get them and send them back to Russia?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They practically kidnaped them?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. How did they make them go?

Mr. PITCOFF. Where they did not seem to be willing to go, some inducements were made as to their relatives.

The CHAIRMAN. Making them nervous?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; they probably would forsake their relatives. I was told of numerous cases where they were apprehended and sent back.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any instances where Soviet officials were ordered back and made preparations to go, and then suddenly disappeared the day before they were to depart?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; I know of two instances of that sort. I do not know what happened to them. One was the vice president of the Amtorg, whose name was Ruthenberg. He had done some valuable service for the Amtorg for which he was rewarded. A monetary reward was made to him in the form of \$2,000. As soon as that was announced, there was also the announcement of his recall. The day had come, and apparently the steamship tickets were provided, but on the day of sailing, a member of the staff of the Amtorg told me that he had disappeared and never boarded the ship.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has he been heard of since that time, to your knowledge?

Mr. PITCOFF. No, sir. The same thing occurred to another vice president or head of the Amernea.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that an organization?

Mr. PITCOFF. That was a transport organization.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the man's name?

Mr. PITCOFF. Kossof.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his first name?

Mr. PITCOFF. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. He was ordered back to Russia and, before he was to leave, he disappeared?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has anyone, to your knowledge, around the Amtorg heard of him?

Mr. PITCOFF. There was a rumor around that he was sent to Berlin and disappeared there. There were some rumors that he did not board the ship.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was anyone in the Amtorg permitted to discuss his disappearance?

Mr. PITCOFF. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was obvious that they had either been kidnaped or otherwise disposed of?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir. I happened to travel with Mr. Kossof a little while before that to Boston to arrange for the shipment of some paper-making machinery. While in the hotel room he told me that he was very despondent about certain events that had taken place in Europe. I did not enter into much conversation with him, because he was very cautious. He was despondent. I did not press him because I saw that the man was very nervous.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was there a possibility that he was disloyal, or charged with disloyalty to the Soviet Union?

Mr. PITCOFF. He was an old Red Army soldier, and, apparently, they did not get such results as he expected.

Mr. WHITLEY. After that he disappeared?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; after that he was recalled, and then, apparently, he never boarded the steamer.

Mr. WHITLEY. He just disappeared?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know anything about Juliet Stuart Poyntz' disappearance?

Mr. PITCOFF. I knew Juliet Stuart Poyntz very well. She was a prominent party member, and worked for the party-at-large.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did she drop out of active connection with party work during 1934?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; a little before that. The last time I saw her was in New York, in 1934. It was at a court session, when a Communist was tried before the general sessions court. Juliet Stuart Poyntz attended the trial. I began to discuss party questions with her, and she was very cautious. We dropped that subject of discussion when I saw that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you hear any discussion among party workers as to what type of activity she was engaged in shortly before she disappeared?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir; I was told she was an Ogpu agent.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were told by party workers that she dropped out of active party work, and had gone into the work of the Ogpu?

Mr. PITCOFF. They do not refer in the party to them as Ogpu agents. They refer to them as secret workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. They said she had gone into secret work?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You heard party workers say that she was engaged in the secret service?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Which to you meant Ogpu work?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you hear any comment or discussion at the time of her disappearance?

Mr. PITCOFF. Nothing very much. The tendency in the party is for them to say they do not know her. That is when they have become prominent.

Mr. WHITLEY. They said they did not know her?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was subsequent to her disappearance?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir. I could not understand it, because she is one of the most prominent representatives of the party; and so apparently their attempt to say that they did not know her was an attempt to conceal the fact of any connection she might have had with the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the usual procedure in the case of prominent party members. If anything happens to them, the Daily Worker denies that they were connected with the party or were prominent in it?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. If anything out of the routine happens to a party member, as, for instance, if he is arrested or injured in a demonstration of some kind, or comes to public attention in any way, the Communist Party members are silent on the subject?

Mr. PITCOFF. If they do not consider it proper if he was one of these prominent nonmembers, discussing some policy and they deny it the prominent-front organization might take care of him.

The CHAIRMAN. In case of financing, where do they get the money; from the Communist Party? That is, does the Soviet Union send it through the Amtorg?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, the money is received, of course, from the Soviet Union. How it is transmitted is not very well known.

The money in the Amtorg is pooled, and the Amtorg is not just one organization. The Amtorg consists of many organizations. There is the Amkinga, and the Amkina, the trading organizations; and the Andeurotra—by the way, this organization has been disbanded recently.

Now, all of these organizations have a common fund which is in the office of the Amtorg and they have a common directorate. The head of any one of these auxiliary organizations is also a member of the board of directors of the Amtorg; and also all the money is in the



name of the Amtorg and the Amtorg apportions the money to the various organizations.

Now it is very obvious that some of that money was apportioned to the payment of various secret agents that are working for the Soviet Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you know whether any of that money is ever used for any purpose except what is the legitimate business of the Amtorg? In other words do you know of any instances where it has been used for political purposes? Do you know whether any of the funds found their way into political campaigns in this country?

Mr. PITCOFF. Not directly out of the treasury of the Amtorg.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how would it be done?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, there are other ways of obtaining that money. The money may be transmitted to an individual, you see, and in the care of the Amtorg; or it may be transmitted to an auxiliary organization in the care of the Amtorg.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you know whether or not any of the funds of the Amtorg have ever been used for political purposes, that is while you were in it?

Mr. PITCOFF. For propaganda purposes?

The CHAIRMAN. For any propaganda purposes?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, I do not know that. I can state that the funds from the Amtorg itself were never paid on checks that I have ever seen for that purpose. But I know that there was some money being delivered to the party through other means connected with the Amtorg by transmission of the funds to individuals.

And there is money being contributed by members of the Amtorg to the party in the form of taxation, that is, dues.

The CHAIRMAN. How much would they tax the employees of the Amtorg for the party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Sometimes as much as 10 percent of their salaries.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that apply to employees who are Communists only?

Mr. PITCOFF. Just Communist Party members.

The CHAIRMAN. What proportion of the employees are Communists and what proportion are non-Communists?

Mr. PITCOFF. I should say about 30 percent are Communist Party members, or a little more.

The CHAIRMAN. Thirty percent?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; I mean of Americans.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the total number of employees, approximately?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, at the time I was there there were about 700 or 800.

Mr. WHITLEY. Seven or eight hundred?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Communist Party members—you are talking about the American Communist Party now?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have any non-Communists working in the Amtorg?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; they do.

The CHAIRMAN. About how many of the total number?

Mr. PITCOFF. About 60 or 70 percent are nonparty members.

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Mr. PITCOFF. Sixty or seventy percent were nonparty members at the time I was there; it might have been increased since.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. The actual control and direction is in the hand of the Communist officials?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And party members?

Mr. PITCOFF. Oh, yes. The control of the Amtorg and of the board of directors; and this board of directors is always ruled by the Communist Party fraction, by the Russian Communist Party fraction, which of course works in conjunction with the American Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Pitcoff, do you know anything concerning the use of illegal passports by officers and members of the Communist Party?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, I was told, asked on several occasions to surrender my citizenship papers for that purpose, but I have declined.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see; they asked you to turn over your citizenship papers?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. So they could be used to secure false passports?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you join the party under an assumed name?

Mr. PITCOFF. No; I joined the party under my real name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that the general practice; is it the general practice to have them join under their name?

Mr. PITCOFF. No; that is not the general practice.

You see, there are various methods of joining the party. There are methods which I discussed—I might make an application and be assigned to a unit or section or might be a member of the party at large, so that no one would know, not even to the lowest rank, and there are party memberships being carried in that way.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words there is a list of members known as members at large, the identity of which is not even known among the high officials?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. There are a number of those?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Pitcoff, in your connections with trade-union work on behalf of the Communist Party do you know of its having engaged in the use of strong-arm squads, or of violence having been taken on any occasions in connection with trade-union policies or programs?

Mr. PITCOFF. Yes; they do that on many occasions. That is done by two methods: If it is necessary, if they decide to oppose a fraction they may do it with physical violence and that has been done quite extensively. That has been done on the water fronts and it has been done in the furriers' union; it has been done in more than one union where they could not obtain the stronghold just on the basis of propaganda.

Mr. WHITLEY. They do not hesitate to use it to gain a stronghold?

Mr. PITCOFF. No. There are special groups organized for that purpose. They do that also in connection with street meetings. If they find too much opposition to their street corner meetings, coming into their meetings why, they just organize a strong-arm squad to handle it, to subdue opposition, to take over the meeting, and they are doing that today in New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, from your activities over a period of years in the Communist Party, and your knowledge of the workings and teachings, would you say that the Communist Party, which purports to be an American political party, teaches its members that they are first to be loyal to this country and that their first interest is in the United States?

Mr. PITCOFF. Well, it doesn't really. You see, it covers that propaganda under the cloak of internationalism.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. PITCOFF. It obviates the teaching of patriotism to individual countries by teaching that internationalism consists of loyalty to internationalism. That internationalism is in Moscow, which is controlled by the Russian Government, by Joseph Stalin, so they neutralize whatever relationship the individual has to his own country in order to obtain that loyalty to internationalism which really is loyalty to Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. That covers the principle matters I had in mind, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have anything further you wish to add, Mr. Pitcoff?

Mr. PITCOFF. I have nothing else.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will recess until Monday morning at 10 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 11:40 a. m. a recess was taken until 10 a. m., Monday, October 16, 1939.)









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